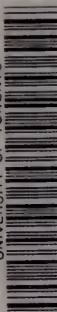


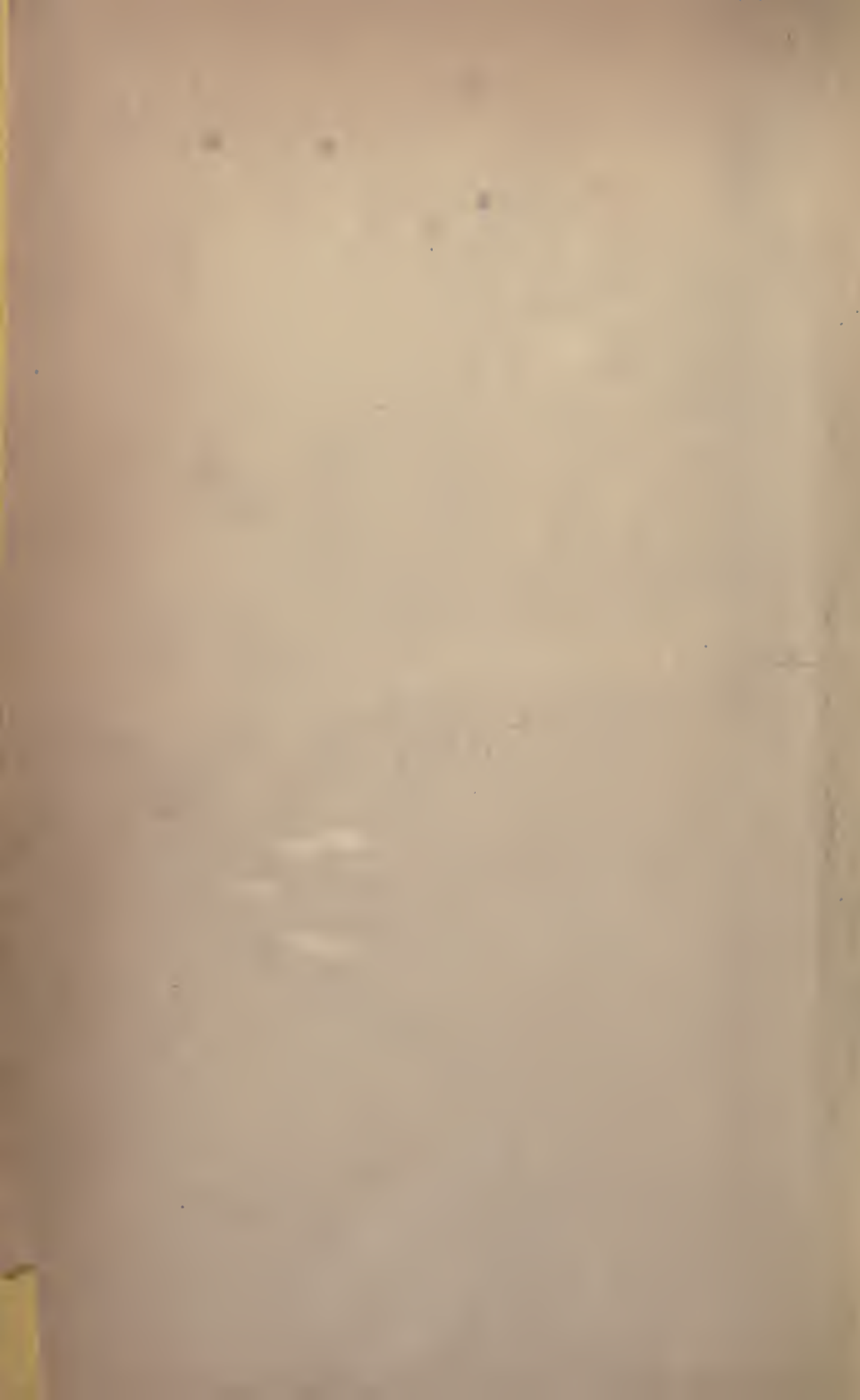
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THE
Whistler
AT THE PLOUGH
AND
FREE TRADE
BY
ALEXANDER SOMERVILLE
ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH
1852.





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(The whistler at the plough.
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FREE TRADE AND THE LEAGUE:

A BIOGRAPHIC HISTORY

OF THE

PIONEERS OF FREEDOM OF OPINION,
COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE, & CIVILISATION,
IN BRITAIN,

FROM

THE TIMES OF SERFDOM

TO

THE AGE OF FREE TRADE IN MANUFACTURES,
FOOD, AND NAVIGATION.

BY

ALEXANDER SOMERVILLE.

["ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH."]

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JAMES AINSWORTH, 93 PICCADILLY.

1853.



INTRODUCTION.

IN beginning this biographical history of **FREE TRADE AND THE LEAGUE**, we may glance briefly at the subjects and plan of arrangement.

FIRST DIVISION.—The writers who have left records of the dawning of free trade, and who wrote before the time of Adam Smith, come first in order, with examples of their opinions, and notices of themselves and of the commercial circumstances of the country when they wrote.

SECOND DIVISION.—From the advent of Adam Smith to the passing of the corn-law of 1815. This division brings under notice all previous corn-laws, from the earliest records, and gives biographical notices and specimens of the free-trade writers and public speakers of its period.

THIRD DIVISION.—From 1815 to the formation of the National Anti-Corn-Law League. This includes other anti-corn-law associations, and biographical notices of the principal reformers of commerce within that time.

FOURTH DIVISION.—From the formation of the National Anti-Corn-Law League to the return of Mr Cobden to parliament in 1841, with biographies of the early members.

FIFTH DIVISION.—From 1841 to the commencement of the registration movement at the close of the South Lancashire election in 1844, with biographies.

SIXTH DIVISION.—From the beginning of the registration movement to the introduction into parliament of Sir Robert Peel's bill for the abolition of the corn-law in 1846, with biographies.

SEVENTH DIVISION—From the introduction of Sir Robert Peel's bill to the dissolution of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, with specimens of protectionist speeches, and notices of protectionist biographies.

EIGHTH DIVISION—Contains those anti-corn-law associations which were contemporary with the League, but necessarily omitted in the main narrative to avoid digression; with biographic notices of their chief supporters.

NINTH DIVISION—Contains supplementary biographies omitted from earlier divisions, and relates the proceedings of free-traders from the dissolution of the League in 1846 to the election of Lord Morpeth and Mr Cobden as the representatives of the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1847; including the visits of Mr Cobden to the various nations of Europe.

TENTH DIVISION—Continues the same.

INTRODUCTION.

IN asking the reader to form an acquaintance with the subjects of this Biographic History of Freedom of Opinion, Commercial Enterprise, and Civilisation, I shall state the circumstances briefly under which it was arranged as it now stands; for, had it been designed at first to be as comprehensive as it now is, it would have been slightly altered in the title and heading of the pages.

At the dissolution of the *National Anti-Corn-Law League* in 1846, which occurred immediately after the enactment of the law for the prospective abolition of the duties on foreign corn in 1849, the popularity of the leading members of that body caused the public to inquire for memorials of their personal history. I was applied to by the conductors of various newspapers and other persons, (being known to have had an intimate connection with *the League* in a literary capacity,) to furnish written sketches of the principal members.

But it appeared to me only just that many persons who had assisted to repeal the Corn Law merited a place in a series of Memoirs who were not leaders. It had also been suggested to me that a Selection of the numerous articles which I furnished to different periodicals in the advocacy of free trade, and of which the members of the League generally had expressed a favourable opinion, would be an acceptable book with the public; and, finding a publisher of the same opinion, it was agreed to unite the two works in one volume—the Selections and the Memoirs—and to give it the title by which the author was best known, *The Whistler at the Plough*.

In preparing those Selections and the Memoirs it was found to be impracticable to do justice to the latter in the space available for them. Yet *The Whistler at the Plough* is in reality a volume of Free Trade history. It is published in connection with the work now before the reader.

The *Biographic History* was designed to be in one volume of 640 pages; but, in researching for the earlier services which League members rendered to Free Trade before the League existed, and of political philosophers and statesmen dead, who had, in times gone by, promoted that cause, many remarkable men were found who merited space which one volume would not afford. Poulett Thom-

son, Huskisson, Ricardo, Adam Smith, and even the lesser disciples of those teachers; William Pitt, also, who attempted and struggled, and repeated the attempt and the struggle as prime minister for seven years, to carry into practice, by legislation, the principles taught by Adam Smith—a period of struggle as long as the campaign of the Anti-Corn-Law League fifty-five years afterwards, foiled by the monopolist manufacturers, of whom those at Manchester took the lead. William Pitt's services and sacrifices to the nation, in the cause of free trade, were found to be too remarkable and too little known to be omitted, or only slightly noticed, in this work. For the first time, probably, justice has been rendered to that minister, who has been less appreciated for his good—and more unsparingly condemned for his bad—measures than any other statesman in England.

But the seeds of freedom of commercial enterprise were sown by many hands before the time of Adam Smith and William Pitt. It was, therefore, held to be a just necessity, to trace the growth of commercial monopolies and the individual services of those philosophic and mercantile writers who opposed them to remoter periods of history. This task carried the inquiry to the times when opinion and speech contended with the church for freedom, and beyond those times. It led to the period when the freedom of person in the serfs, and the right to exercise their industry, were asserted against the feudal lords, by the aid of the church and the monarchy. In short, it was found that, as there had been pioneers of civilisation in all periods of our history, it was necessary to go back to the beginning. The matter has, therefore, so accumulated as to make two volumes of the *Biographic History* indispensable. The first contains the lives of the pioneers of civilisation and freedom from the earliest period up to the death of William Huskisson, David Ricardo, and Lord King; the second opens with Poulett Thomson, and comprises all persons prominently or efficiently engaged in liberating, or in opposing the liberation of, the trade in food and the laws of navigation.

ALEXANDER SOMERVILLE.

FREE TRADE AND THE LEAGUE.

FIRST DIVISION.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ADVENT OF
ADAM SMITH.

SECT. I.—WAUB AND WASSA THE SAVAGES.

To any nation, internal productiveness by industry and external intercourse with other nations by commerce, are the only sources of prosperity and enduring power. Commerce is the best guarantee of peace and progressive civilisation. The first element of commerce is security; the second freedom: security of person and property; freedom of locomotion and exchange.

Waub was a naked savage in a forest far beyond the Rhine, with strong fingers and long nails. When he was hungry, and had slain no enemies in war on which to appease his cannibal appetite, he scratched roots from the ground with his nails and ate them.

Wassa was also a naked savage, but not a cannibal. Being fleet of foot and hungry, he captured a goat and ate of its flesh. But he was also cold, for he was naked, and he put the skins of the goat around him for a garment.

Waub lay on the ground eating his earthy roots under a covering of grass and leaves which he had gathered, but which art had not yet rendered into a roof or a mat, when Wassa passed near him covered in the skin of the goat and eating a piece of its flesh. "Give me that flesh," cried Waub, "I am hungry." "Nay," replied Wassa, "it is my own, but if you desire to have it, give unto me of those earth nuts to eat with my flesh, and thou shalt have a piece of my flesh to eat with thy earth nuts." And they exchanged. And thus, we have heard, did the trade of exchange begin among the savages whose descendants afterwards became the kings, the nobles, and the people of England.

But while Wassa still tarried, Waub cried, "Give me that skin, I am cold." "Nay," said Wassa, "it is my own. But get thee more earth nuts, ye who fear not to scratch for them where the great boar is that ate our neighbour Gobbo, and I shall to the mountains and fetch thee a goat. We shall eat of its flesh and of your roots and fruits together; and for as many roots as shall serve me to take to the mountains when I go to lie in wait for the goats next time, thou shalt have a skin for a garment." Waub said he was willing; and so the first contract of exchange was made.

But when Wassa went to the mountains, Waub went not to the wooded dell where the plants grew with the roots called earth nuts. "For," said he, "why should I go in the way of the great boar which ate up our neighbour Gobbo, when I can get the flesh of a goat for food, and the skin of a goat to wear for a garment? I am stronger than Wassa; he is fleet of foot; but I am stronger. I shall have both skins, that which he is to fetch for me and also that which he wears for a garment."

So Waub laid hold of Wassa on his return and took both skins from him by force. He took the flesh of the goat also and gave Wassa nothing. Had resistance been made, he might have killed and eaten Wassa himself. Thus was trade hindered at the very beginning, for there was no security of person and property—the first element of commerce. Wassa betook himself to the mountains and lived apart from Waub, and had more skins than he could fasten as garments upon his body; while heavy-footed Waub, who could catch no goats, soon wore out his two skins, and once more walked in the forest naked, or covered himself with loose grass and leaves when he lay down to rest.

But in process of time they both became chiefs among savages, and made war upon each other and upon other chiefs. They took captives in the wars, of whom some were saved alive, while some were slain and eaten. Wassa and the chiefs who, like him, lived in advance of their age, said it was more useful to save the captives alive, and add them to the numerical strength of their tribes. But Waub, like the chiefs who believed with him, said it was an old custom to kill their captives and eat them, and he would not set aside the old customs; he never knew good to follow the changes called improvements. "I have always been a cannibal," said he, "and shall live and die a cannibal, as my father did before me."

SECT. II.—THEOBRAS THE FEUDAL CHIEF.

Hundreds of generations had lived and passed away, and mankind were not as they were in the days of Waub and Wassa. There had been war always, and it still continued. Commerce there had been none; nor had its time come. Yet civilisation had begun to track the forests with its footsteps.

Theobras, a great warrior, was now chief of the boar forest where Waub had scratched for roots, and of the mountains where Wassa caught the wild goats. Upon a rock in one of the ravines in those mountains he had built a strong place of residence and defence. He had vassals under him, who for their fiefs in land, forest, and river, did him military service. They had serfs under them, and he himself yielded to the superiority of a suzerain, his cousin Theodoric.

Said the fair lady, Brensa, to him one day when he returned in triumph from the conquest of other lordly chiefs whom he had reduced to vassalage, "Why is my Theobras not kind? Is it well that I should be so many months alone within these walls, and have no men of craft left to make sandals for my feet, to tan the skins for my new robe, to carry fresh rushes to my chamber, and make me the garnituro against your coming? Is it well that all my lord's men of handicraft should be makers of bows and arrows, of clubs and spears, and hammerers and grinders of that black metal called iron, which they have found in the mountains, to make you swords of war? Is it well that my lord should be long absent, and be ungallant when he returns, and withhold from me my heart's desire? Give me the freedom of John the hammerer of iron, Peter the tanner of skins, Joseph the plaiter of straw and flax, and his brother Gudge, the curious worker in wood, William also, the sandalmaker, and the expert fashioner of robes of fur, the son of Burr the herd. Let them have workshops without the walls of the castle, and dwelling-places there also. Let them have freedom to go in search of skins, of straw, of wood, and iron. Let them go far and return as they list with what they gather together. Perchance they may find gold in the mountain as well as iron. Take them not again to the wars, for they are men cunning in handicraft and they may be slain. Let them be free to serve me, my lord Theobras, if ye love me."

To which Theobras replied, Brensa, it is the glory of the age in which we live that a lady asks not a favour of her lord in vain. John, Peter, Joseph, Joseph's brother Gudge, and

the expert fashioner of robes, the son of Burr the herd, shall have workshops in which to do you service, but they cannot have liberty to go and return as they list. For, know ye not, Brensa, that to make them freemen is to lay the axe to the root of this glorious fabric of feudal society which our forefathers reared out of anarchy, and which we have inherited and consolidated? Know ye not that it would be danger to us and ruin to themselves, even as stones taken from the castle walls would be worthless if thrown loose upon the ground, while the walls would already prove that the time of their decay was come, were I to set them free? Know ye not that all men were free once, and that they were cannibals in those days, and slew one another for daily food? The authority of the lords-paramount among whom I now stand second only to Theodoric my cousin, has been reared upon the subjugation of anarchy; the liberty of each man to slay his neighbour, or take from him his bow and arrow, his club, or his goat's flesh, is now suppressed; and life and death and limb are vested in the feudal chiefs, or granted by the chief to vassals who do service for the privilege. We have redeemed mankind from barbarism, they must continue in servitude to us, else they return to barbarism again."

So John the hammerer of iron, Peter the tanner of skins, Joseph the worker in straw and flax, Gudge his brother, the curious worker in wood, William the worker in leather, and the expert fashioner of fur robes, the son of Burr the herd, continued to be bondsmen. Each pursued his craft in his workshop, but none had liberty to go abroad in search of material to work upon, or to see what kind of instruments other craftsmen worked with. Neither could they retain for themselves aught which they made, or exchange it for the work of other bondsmen's hands. And so it resulted, that though aristocracy had arisen upon the suppression of barbarous anarchy, and men were no longer savage, with power to slay one another, commerce made no progress; for its first element, security to person and property, did not exist, while its second element, freedom of exchange, could not exist, there being no security to individual property.

SECT. III.—ARISTOCRACY, MONARCHY, AND THEOCRACY.

New generations came and passed away. The noble chiefs of the highest degree under the suzerains had willingly established kingly powers and kingly titles; for each saw it to be within the scope of his intrigue or the fortune of war to become a monarch; while the nobles of inferior degree, the major part of the aristocracy, hoped in monarchy to find protection from the injustice of the great chiefs. Thus arose that institution of monarchy in modern Europe, which, through many vicissitudes and modifications, still exists. Feeble always when the feudal aristocracy were strong, and often powerless to rule, it restrained neither licentiousness of power nor ferociousness of manners, because it could not give punishment to injustice.

But there was a greater power than aristocracy and monarchy combined, which modified both—theocracy. Partaking of the spirit, the forms and the practice of the feudal ages, the church lifted its mitred head, with its superior and inferior orders, and not only exercised the temporal power co-equal with the monarchy and the aristocracy, but practised the all-supreme power of awarding to kings and nobles, to the rulers and the ruled, to the feudal lords and the feudal serfs, their spiritual destiny after this life. Theocracy had its religious creeds and its moral precepts. But it was its assumption of supernatural power which bridled the unruly lords, restrained the license of kings, and raised the feudal boors somewhat above brutishness.

The distracted vassals and serfs, and the monarchs hardly less distracted, because powerless against the turbulent chiefs of feudalism, found protection in the theocratic institutions. That they might reduce the power of the nobility by adding to their muniments of war and enjoyments of peace, the kings gave charters of freedom to the workers in timber, iron, leather, and cloth; the brewers of malt and the grinders of meal, who inhabited the fortified dwelling and working places, the future borough towns, under the protecting walls of the feudal castles. What the kings began the church extended, by drawing forth the industrial genius of the people to be exercised in arts, handicraft, and agriculture. And the theocratic power rested not until feudalism was abolished, and men ceased, in England at least, to hold property in the persons of their fellow-men.

But the track of civilisation, emerging from barbarism in the forests of savage Europe, as now traced, crossed in many instances the remnants of a former civilisation. It came upon

the municipal remnants of the Gaulic and British colonies of old Rome. Roman civilisation had arisen out of a system not unlike the feudality of the Europe which we have just glanced at. Migratory bands carried the religious castes and classes of the Asiatic east to the European west. The domination of the most powerful, perhaps the religion of all, perpetuated the class differences; but the wars of conquest in which all were engaged gave birth to individual activity of thought even in the lowest. They founded and reared the Roman state in Italy; they carried conquests far beyond Italy; and so long as they made new conquests, and took fresh plunder to Rome, their governing power endured. But they knew not the principles of commerce. They despised trade, and perished under conquerors who plundered them in like manner as they had conquered and plundered others. Without external commerce and internal manufactures and trade, states cannot endure. And without freedom of action to the industrious, and security to the property of the humblest citizen, manufactures and commerce cannot take root and flourish to sustain a state. In England at this day, the major part of all the manufacturers and merchants who have given wealth, power, and solidity to their country, have sprung at no distant date, many of them in their own persons in the last and present generations, from that class of the people which in Rome or Greece would not have been permitted to acquire property, nor to rise above the plebeian condition.

Rome and Greece perished; for their national resources were expansive only by war. A violent extinction, or slow decay and ruin, must of necessity overtake a nation which is always destructive of the world's wealth, consuming always and producing nothing. Modern states shall survive difficulties of early existence and imperfect government, and expand and become powerful, and be filled with the elements of physical comfort and mental happiness in proportion as the destructive practice of war is departed from, with its non-remunerative consumption, and in proportion as liberty to produce and exchange commodities of use is extended.

But the conquests of Rome in Gaul and Britain deposited the political seeds of that freedom which in a subsequent age germinated and grew to strength, and gave existence to a new principle—the civilizing and liberalizing principle of commerce. The impossibility of retaining so many distant colonies in subjection by the presence of Roman legions, when Rome had not legions to devote to such a duty, led to the enfranchisement of municipalities with powers of self-government. When the conquering tribes from the back-grounds

of Europe, led by the warriors who, in time, became feudal chiefs and kings, over-ran the empire and the colonies of Rome, they were not so powerful in destruction as to obliterate all traces and traditions of the municipalities. In the fief granted by a suzerain to a lord, or by a lord-paramount to a vassal, the towns and their population were included; and the lord assumed the right of disposing of all or any of the inhabitants as his will directed him. But he could not always exercise this right. The democratic principle of Roman municipality was dormant but not dead, and it was at times, by the poignancy of the feudal oppression, roused from dormancy.

Had the theocratic, the aristocratic, and monarchial powers been content to hold the feudal rule equally between them, democracy might have slept itself to death, or, waking from sleep by oppression, have destroyed its own existence in the violence of its efforts to be free. But the theocratic power, assuming authority over the kings and lords, and possessing a sacred character, gave freedom to bondsmen, by affording sanctuary in the churches. Rebellious vassals and fugitive boors, to escape from punishment, fled to the churches within the walled towns, claimed sanctuary before the altars, and obtained it. In the towns they became residents, and traders, or craftsmen, and, from the manner of their entrance there, were not likely to be the last who would oppose, or speak of opposing, the privileges of the lords-paramount. By the sanctuary of the church, in short, there were drawn from feudal dominion assemblages of men who imbibed and propagated opinions of individual liberty, not only subversive of feudalism, but ultimately subversive of theocracy and church sanctuary itself. In like manner the monarchs gave charters of incorporation to those town-dwelling opponents of aristocracy, with the view of weakening the lord-superiors of fiefs, and of strengthening monarchy; and the incorporated burghers ultimately became too strong even for kings, and demanded and obtained a share in the supreme government of the nation.

In later times we have seen the incorporated towns, trades, and public bodies of men, restraining the expansion of trade. Looked upon thus, they have been condemned as monopolists, and all trade charters and commercial privileges of corporation have been condemned with them, as unjust and always evil in their operation. But they were not always unjust nor always evil in their operation. Their first purpose was to protect private property and individual liberty, without which protection no commerce could have come into existence in the feudal ages. It was when the first element of commerce,

the security of individual possessions, had been long established and long out of danger, and upon which commerce had become national, and was so great as to require the complete application of its second element, freedom of exchange. It was then that corporations, once the cradles of infant trade, and for many generations its nurseries, were found to be so small for its dimensions as to restrain its growth and to cripple it.

Yet, notwithstanding the privileges of the chartered traders dwelling in towns, neither the royal protection nor the influence of the church, as a theocracy, were always able to save them from the injustice of the feudal barons. The borough trader was allowed to come without the walls with his wares to sell at castle gates and at the statute fairs; but the retainers of the lord, often headed by the lord himself, lay in watch for the burgher's return with the price of the goods he had sold. This led to the burghers raising a militia, and going forth in armed bands, which again led to warfare, and not unfrequently to the feudal chiefs uniting together, laying siege to, capturing and plundering, the refractory towns. But this again, especially in Italy and Flanders, roused the burghers to new efforts of resistance, and even to aggression upon the castles and the fiefs, whereby they asserted their independence, and wrested from the lords-paramount charters of enfranchisement and treaties of peace.

Thus we see how antagonistic principles and actions have produced results favourable to human liberty and civilisation. From the cannibalism of the savage, through all the gradations of tribe-chieftainship, aristocracy, theocracy, monarchy, municipalities, and democratic representations, we may trace the progress of security to individual property, and the nearer approach of those ages of civilisation in which men shall exchange their thoughts and their commercial commodities with equal freedom, and in which the physical and the intellectual nature of all human kind shall be enduringly exalted.

We shall now review individually those personages of history who have by laws, or philosophy, or commercial practice, taken a lead in the development of the civilizing principles of trade.

SECT. IV.—KING OFFA OF MERCA.

The last and the greatest act of statesmanship in favour of commercial freedom, previous to the time when those words before the reader's eyes were first traced on paper, was the act of Sir Robert Peel, for the abolition of all restrictions on

the importation of corn into the British islands; an act passed in 1846, to take final effect in 1849. The last public declaration of Sir Robert Peel's sentiments upon this act, and upon the other free-trade measures passed into law while he was prime minister, was made to his constituents in the town of Tamworth, at the general election of 1847, a year after he had ceased to be prime minister.

In that same town of Tamworth the first political letters from England to a foreign ruler, establishing a treaty of commerce were written. They were the letters of Offa, king of Mercia, to Charlemagne of France. Mercia was one of the seven kingdoms into which England was divided by the Anglo-Saxons. It comprised the present counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Northampton, Rutland, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Stafford, Salop, and Chester. It thus included the shores of the Humber, Trent, Thames, and Severn, and the Dee, at Chester, which was for many centuries after that period a chief seaport. But in addition to holding the possession of those navigable rivers, Offa was the superior of the other Anglo-Saxon kings. They held their kingdoms from him by feudal tenure.

In forming treaties of commerce with Charlemagne he acted for all England. His own letters of negotiation have not been preserved, but one of the answers received has been committed to history. It refers in the first instance to the tax upon pilgrims travelling to Rome.

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Franks and Lombards, and patrician of the Romans, to our venerable and most dear brother, Offa, King of the Mercians, greeting. First, we give thanks to God for the sincere Catholic faith which we see so laudably expressed in your letters, concerning the strangers who, for the love of God and the salvation of their souls, wish to repair to the thresholds of the blessed apostles, let them travel in peace without any trouble. Nevertheless, if any are found among them not in the service of religion, but in the pursuit of gain, let them pay the established duties at the proper places."

This refers to the practice of smugglers going into the dominions of Charlemagne under the disguise of pilgrims. He continues:—

"We also will that merchants shall have lawful protection in our kingdom according to our command; and if they are in any place unjustly aggrieved, let them apply to us or our judges, and we shall take care that ample justice be done to them."

Offa began to reign in the year 757 and died in 795. Besides encouraging our internal and external commerce, he caused a ditch to be cut from Bristol to Bassingwork in Flintshire, as a barrier to the Britons in Wales. He overcame the disturbers of peace on every side and maintained peace, whereby he did more to make trade extend itself than any law directly intended for its extension could have done. Trade is as natural to human society as vegetation is natural to the earth. It will at any time, in any place, spring, grow, and flourish, if not restricted by the want of freedom or opposed by violence.

Articles of silver and gold were probably those which the pilgrim smugglers and the English merchants dealt in; for English workmanship in gold was already famed upon the continent. The returns for such commodities were probably silks from Lombardy; but more certainly they were in good part religious relics manufactured at Rome and sold in England.

Previous to this date the Jews were settled in England as traders. Possibly that enterprising but oppressed race introduced the civilizing elements of foreign commerce into Britain as they did into every other nation of Europe. Previous to the crusades which gave the warrior Christians of Europe an insight into the costumes of dress and furniture in the east, and enabled them to return to their respective countries with much useful knowledge of arts and manufactures, the migratory Jews were the only instructors of the Europeans in the uses of articles of oriental luxury.

SECT. V.—KING ALFRED.

This illustrious prince may be reckoned as one of the promoters of English commerce, inasmuch as he taught his Saxon subjects the use of a naval armament, and the practice of ship-building for the defence of the coasts and towns situated on navigable rivers. The Danes, a Scandinavian race, who were well practised and adventurous upon the sea as the Saxons had formerly been, invaded England as the Saxons had also formerly done. Alfred fought many battles with the Danes, defeating them, and being defeated in turn. They were too courageous, too well inured to the adventures of war, and too much in love with the fertile fields which the Saxons had usurped, to be easily driven away. To the future advantage of the maritime superiority of Britain, they remained, and mingled their blood and energetic natures with the slower and more solid Saxons. It has also been alleged

that Alfred instituted trial by jury, which, had it been true, might have been set down as promotive of that security to life and property which is the original source of trade. But trial by jury—a jury formed of the witnesses for and against an accused person—had been practised immemorially by the Saxons, and continued to be practised for several centuries after Alfred's time. However, there were other things done by Alfred which gave an impetus to the trading progress of the kingdom. He not only built ships and practically taught the duty of self reliance, he improved the art of house-building by the use of stones and brick, and encouraged religion and learning by the foundation of colleges, and by denying preferment, clerical or political, to priests or laymen who were not able to read Latin or English. He classified and embodied in writing the laws which before were traditional and capricious. All those good services were for the future benefit of commercial England. They would have been more immediately beneficial had not wars, as usual, interrupted the progress of the internal and external trade, which was the offspring of liberal and honest government. Alfred died in the forty-sixth year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign, in the year 901.

SECT. VI.—KING ATHELSTAN.

This king was the grandson of Alfred, and is more remarkable than any of his predecessors for the respect he paid to trade and traders. He passed a law that every merchant who had made three foreign voyages should be created a thane, or a noble, with all the honours and privileges of nobility. He was the first monarch who ruled over the whole of England. He engaged in several wars, but peace and not conquest seems to have been his motive. He overcame the Welsh in battle, and captured Howell their chief. But he gave him his dominions back, saying it was more glorious to make a king than to dethrone one. He made the Welsh tributary to England, and entered into treaties of peace with the Scotch. He promoted the progress of religion and learning by having portions of the Bible translated into Saxon. He promoted civilisation by the free scope and favour he gave to commercial intercourse. Having reigned fifteen years and some odd months, from 925 to 941, Athelstan died at Gloucester on the 27th of October, and was buried at Malmesbury.

SECT. VII.—THE PRINCESS ELFGIVA.

Edmund, brother and next successor of Athelstan, need only be mentioned here for the sake of his wife, Elfgiva. This lady gained an illustrious place in history by the devotion of her royal influence and wealth to the liberation of villains and slaves. She purchased the liberty of those who had good ability as craftsmen, and set them to work as freedmen. She thus extended the foundations of that personal freedom and industrial enterprise which has made Britain eminent among nations. Elfgiva was celebrated in her day for all the other virtues which do honour to womankind. Her husband, King Edmund, was stabbed by an assassin named Leof, in Puckle Church, Gloucestershire, in the seventh year of his reign, and was buried at Glastonbury Abbey, in Somersetshire. Of this abbey, at that time, Dunstan, the famous blacksmith, was abbot. The next two kings, Edred and Edwy, may only be named, because Dunstan lived while they reigned, and was banished by Edwy. He was recalled by Edwy's successor, Edgar, and made Archbishop of Canterbury.

SECT. VIII.—KING EDGAR THE PEACEABLE.

This king promoted commerce and manufactures. He enjoined by law, with the advice of Dunstan, that all monks should learn some trade of handicraft, practise it in the monastic establishment, and teach it to others. He built ships, and increased the navy to 350 vessels; maintained the national supremacy in the English and Irish Channels against invasion and piracy; and reigned in greater dignity and power than any previous sovereign of England. To keep the feudal turbulence of the Thanes in moderation, he founded the Abbeys of Abingdon and Ramsey, and added much wealth and many privileges to that of Croyland, and also built forty-seven monasteries, in all of which, for the benefit of the untaught boors, who knew no arts but swine-breeding and a rude agriculture, he caused the mechanical arts to be made a monastic qualification. To restrain excessive drinking, he caused pins to be inserted in the drinking cups, and ordained that certain penalties should be paid by those who drank deeper than the next pin. To destroy the wolves of the Welsh mountains, he laid a tribute of wolves' heads on the princes of Wales, who sent him 300 each year for three years, after which they had none to send, the wolves being all dead. Edgar the Peaceable died in the year 975, in the thirty-second year of his age and seventeenth of his reign, and was buried

at Glastonbury Abbey. He was succeeded by his son Edward, a youth twelve years old, who, at the end of three years and a half, was murdered in Corfe Castle, Dorsetshire, at the instance of his stepmother, Elfrida, that her son Ethelred might be king. Ethelred was crowned by Dunstan, who was still archbishop of Canterbury. On this occasion a coronation oath was administered to the sovereign for the first time, a step towards constitutional government suggested and enforced by Dunstan. This Ethelred, second of the name, was a feeble king, always embroiled in warfare. In his reign Dunstan died. But the archbishop succeeded before his death in impressing upon the criminal Elfrida the necessity and virtue of penitence. She founded two nunneries and confined herself to one of them, that of Wherwell, three miles from Andover, in Hampshire. In accordance with the counsel of Dunstan, who never omitted an opportunity of advancing the interests of manufactures and trade, she gave freedom and corporate privileges to many of the bondmen around Wherwell, and granted them the charter of a fair. The fair is to this day a great mart for sheep, to which the farmers of Wilts and Hampshire go with their flocks. The land, which was given to the freedmen as an inheritance, is in most part now a preserve for game. We may stand on the elevated green, where sheep, cattle, and farm-implements are shewn for sale, and look abroad upon the bewildered agriculture amid the game preserves, and back upon the far distant pages of history, and be at a loss to decide, so far as any evidence there can prove, whether the world has advanced or retrograded, or only stood still, since those pages were written.

SECT. IX.—ST DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP AND BLACKSMITH.

If, standing on the green at Wherwell fair, in Hampshire, we be at a loss to say whether the world has advanced, or retrograded, or stood still, during the 870 years which have elapsed between the last queenly days of Elfrida the criminal, and the eleventh year of Victoria the virtuous, so far as wild beasts and birds, and the bewildered science of agriculture can help us to a decision, we shall not be at a loss to tell in which direction the world has moved if we turn to the forges of the mechanics and the science of working in iron. From the rude smithies of Dunstan at Glastonbury and Abingdon, where the simplest forgework was associated in the popular mind with the belief that the monkish mechanic was assisted by demons who were taken by the nose with his red hot tongs to hold them to their work, and who in turn took the red hot

tongs and held Dunstan their master by the nose! Let us turn from those rude smithies, and the ruder traditions of the demon apprentices, and look upon the engine and the machine making of the Stephensons, Sharps, Fairbairns, Roberts's, or Nasmyths of Manchester, or into the workshops of a thousand other master mechanics throughout the kingdom, and what see we? Machinery, as if it had mind and soul within it, is making machinery; making it to work in the mine, in the ship, at the factory, at the forge, with the spindle, with the shuttle, with the hammer, with the file, upon water, upon earth, and upon all the materials which come out of water or of earth. Machinery making machinery, as if every motion was an impulse of benevolence, each heave of the motive steam an aspiration for human well-being; making it to comfort and clothe the body, to transmute the body's rags for the mind's highest services; making machinery to imprint, while it is yet the sleeping time of night, mind-enlarging thoughts in endless multiplication of copies; machinery making machinery to take the speed of the wind to all the compass points at once, from whence the wind ever blew, to scatter millions of thoughts among millions of thinkers while the sun is still but rising; making machinery to subdue time and space, highest mountains and widest oceans, to achieve conquest over enmities as deep as oceans—over differences of language, race, and prejudice, obdurate as mountain rocks and almost as ancient. And who stands by to guide that machinery whose motion is thus to create power to multiply and reproduce? Not the evil demons whom ignorance associated with Dunstan, when English iron-working was first begun, for all the services done for mankind here are beneficent, righteous, and spirit freeing; not the divinities fabled to be godlike, for there is nothing done here which is magical or mysterious, all is explicable, scientific, simple. Mechanic journeymen and apprentices of intelligent thought, of skilful hand, *direct* the bellows to blow the furnace, the hammers to strike the heated iron, the chisels to cut it, the incisors to incise it, the planes to plane it, the lathes to fashion it, the screws to screw and join it, and the rivets to rivet it; and when it is fitted, joined, rivetted, and built into an engine, they give it fire and water, and it heaves and blows, and takes upon itself the offices of life and the power of locomotion, and performs more wonderful feats of strength than is attributed even in tradition to that fabled assistant whom Dunstan led forth to work by the nose with his red hot tongs.

That Dunstan was a politician, so acute in his tactics as to be accounted in history a cunning schemer, we easily need

believe. No other species of political talent could have raised him, as a monk, to be successively abbot, bishop, archbishop, and pope's legate, in times of such turbulence, and during the reign of no less than seven kings. Had he been a less ambitious man, he would have been less useful to the age in which he lived and to posterity. Had he been a less talented and patriotic man, yet not less ambitious, he would have been content to rule as an archbishop without instructing mankind and sowing the seeds of civilisation through his country as a mechanic. To his counsel given to the sovereigns under whom he lived, and to his own episcopal injunctions to the clergy whom he governed, to have all monasteries associated with workshops for the practice and diffusion of the mechanical arts, England, in her subsequent ages of industry, is deeply indebted; more indebted to Dunstan than to any single improver of the science of mechanics after him until James Watt.

But he was a painter as well as a worker in iron and all other metals. A picture of the Saviour, with Dunstan prostrate, painted by himself, and bearing inscriptions from his own hand, is still preserved at Oxford. Another branch of art to which he applied himself was somewhat analogous to the designer or pattern drawer of modern calico printers. He drew the patterns for the colours in lady's robes, coloured them, and instructed others in the art. Historians, living long after the semi-barbarous age of Dunstan, have ridiculed this distinguished churchman for the supposed puerility or vulgarity of his pastimes; they themselves being inexcusably ignorant of the unspeakable services rendered to all posterity by a man in his position rescuing a nation from industrial lethargy and ignorance.

The casting of church bells was one of his mechanical employments; and there is reason to believe that he invented moveabletypes for printing. He died in the year 989.

From this period up to the Norman invasion in 1066, there was nothing done by any individual or public event to promote trade, and not much done, save what resulted from incessant wars and revolutions, to deteriorate it. Perhaps the country derived an ultimate advantage from those wars, arising from the invasions of the Danes, which more than counterbalanced the evil done at the time. An adventurous and hardy race of maritime northerners settled in all the seaports, and sowed the ancestral energies of the future mariners of England. There was one man, however, in this period who should not be overlooked—Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester. His services to commerce resulted from his ser-

vices to humanity. In conjunction with him, we should also notice St Augustin, who had devoted himself in the same manner to teach them humanity and the spirit of Christianity several centuries earlier.

SECT. X.—THE ANTI-SLAVERY PREACHERS, ARCHBISHOP AUGUSTIN
AND BISHOP WULFSTAN.

History affirms that Britain owes the introduction of the Christian religion, through the mission of St Augustin, to the sale of English slaves in Rome. There Gregory, the patron of the Christian missionary, saw them exposed for sale, and, pitying the heathens who made commerce of their children, he sent Augustin to Britain to convert them to religion and humanity. But, unwilling as the Pagan Saxons were to embrace the new religion, they were most obdurately stubborn, and for several centuries they continued obdurate, on the business of slave dealing. Five hundred years after the conversion of the Saxon kings and people nominally to Christianity, there were regular markets for the exportation of slaves to Ireland at Chester and Bristol, those cities being the chief ports for Irish intercourse, slaves being the chief commodity exchanged for gold and silver, of which Ireland then possessed more than England. The superior knowledge of the industrial arts among the Irish in that age, which the remnants of architecture and records of learning still attest, was doubtless the attractive cause which induced the slave commerce with the less civilized but commercially inclined Saxons. William of Malmesbury, writing nearly a hundred years after the Norman conquest, affirms that the practice of selling even their nearest relations had not been entirely abandoned in Northumberland. Possibly the Romans, who were the first slave dealers in Britain whom we read of, and remnants of whom remained long in Northumberland, their descendants are alleged to be traceable there to this day—possibly the slave selling was both introduced and continued by them.

In the biography of Bishop Wulfstan, written about the time of the Norman conquest, we read the following:—

“There is a seaport town called Bristol, opposite to Ireland, into which its inhabitants make frequent voyages on account of trade. Wulfstan cured the people of this town of a most inveterate custom, which they derived from their ancestors, of buying men and women in all parts of England and exporting them to Ireland for the sake of gain. They carried women to market in their pregnancy that they might get a better price. You might have seen, with sorrow, long

ranks of young persons, of both sexes and of the greatest beauty, tied together with ropes, and daily exposed for sale; nor were they ashamed—oh, horrid wickedness!—to give up their nearest relations, nay, their own children, to slavery. Wulfstan, knowing the obstinacy of those people, sometimes stayed two months among them, preaching every Lord's day, by which, in process of time, he made so great an impression upon their minds, that they abandoned that wicked trade, and set an example to all the rest of England to do the same."

In the reign of the second Ethelred, between 978 and 1016, laws were passed, by the influence of the church, forbidding the sale of slaves out of the kingdom. But laws were enacted rather as admonitions than as statutes. The trade was not abolished until a later period.

The relative proportions of freemen and bondmen, and the various classes of those in bondage immediately before the Norman invasion, have been thus recorded.

SECT. XI.—CLASSES OF SAXON SOCIETY.

The population of England was then, about the year 1050, estimated at 1,800,000.

In thirty-four counties the burgesses and citizens amounted to 17,105; villains to 102,704; bordars to 74,823; cottars, 5947; serfs or thralls, to 26,552; the remaining population consisted of freemen, ecclesiastics, knights, thanes, and landowners. Two-thirds of the entire population, subsisted in different degrees of servitude, though the persons strictly slaves were not above one out of every seven of the higher laborious classes of villains, bordars, and cottars.

The price of a slave was quadruple that of an ox—slaves and cattle formed the living money. They passed current in the payment of debts and in the purchase of commodities, at a value fixed by law, and supplied the deficiency of coin. Thus *pecus cattle* is the origin of the Latin *pecunia*, money, and of the English word *pecuniary*. The manumission of a slave to be legal had to be performed in public, in the market, in the Hundred Courts, or in the church, at the foot of the principal altar. The lord, taking the hand of the slave, offered it to the bailiff, sheriff, or clergyman, gave him a sword and a lance, and told him the ways were open, and that he was at liberty to go wheresoever he pleased.

The operatives of the Anglo-Saxons were mostly in a servile state. The clergy and the great had domestic servants who were qualified to supply them with those articles of trade and manufacture which were in common use. Hence in monas-

teries we find smiths and carpenters, millers, illuminators, architects, agriculturists, and fishermen. Smiths and carpenters were the most numerous and important, as ministering to the chief secular pursuits of the time—war and agriculture.

The shoemaker was a comprehensive trade, uniting branches that now form distinct businesses, as appears from the following list of articles he fabricated:—Ankle-leathers, shoes, leather hose, bottles, bridles, thongs, trappings, flasks, boiling vessels, leather neck-pieces, halters, wallets, and pouches.

The salter, baker, cook, and fisherman, were common occupations.

The art of dyeing scarlet by the help of an insect was discovered about 1000. Weaving and embroidery were practised. Edward the Elder had his daughters taught to exercise their needles and distaff. Indeed spinning was the common occupation of the Anglo-Saxon ladies. Alfred, in his will, calls the female part of his family the “spindle-side.” So, too, Egbert, when entailing his estates on his male descendants to the exclusion of females, says—“To the spear-side, and not to the spindle-side.” Of the skill and industry of the ancient spinsters we have an extraordinary instance in the tapestry which is still preserved in the cathedral of Bayeux. This curious relic of antiquity is a vast linen web 214 feet long, and two broad, on which is embroidered the history of the conquest. It is supposed to have been executed by English women under the direction of Matilda, wife of William I. Many of the figures are without stockings, though none are without shoes, which makes it probable that shoes were more generally used than stockings at this period. The common people, for the most part, had no stockings, nor any other covering on their legs, and even the clergy celebrated mass with their legs bare, till a law was made against the practice in the council of Chalchnythe in 785. Wooden shoes, which are now esteemed the marks of the greatest indigence and misery, were worn by the greatest princes of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries.

From the custom of kings making presents of rich garments, vases, bracelets, and rings to their Witans and courtiers, and of great lords doing the same to their knights, the trade for making these must have had much employment. One of the Saxon trades seems to have been the tavern or public-house; for a priest is forbidden to drink at the “wine tuns.” An ale-house and ale-shop are also mentioned in the laws.

The Anglo-Saxons, who were unacquainted with the building arts, destroyed the magnificent structures left by the Romans. Nor did they much improve in the knowledge of

architecture for two centuries after their arrival. During that period masonry was quite unknown and unpractised in this island: the walls of the churches and even of the cathedrals were built of wood. Towards the end of the seventh century masonry was restored, and some other arts connected with it introduced by two ecclesiastics who had visited Rome. These were the famous Wilfred, Bishop of York, and Benedict Biscop, founder of the Abbey of Weremouth. Wilfred was a great architect, and erected several structures at York, Ripon, and Hexham, which were the admiration of his age. Those singular structures, called round towers, of which specimens are still to be seen at Ardmore in Ireland, and Abernethy in Scotland, are supposed to have been erected in the tenth century.—(*Wade's Chronology, Craik's British Commerce, Camden's Britannia, Turner's History, Macpherson's Commerce.*)

SECT. XII.—THE ANTAGONISM OF MONARCHY, ARISTOCRACY, AND THEOCRACY, RESULTS IN THE GREAT CHARTER OF ENGLAND.

From the Norman invasion in 1066 to the signing of Magna Charta by King John on the 15th of June 1215, commerce, domestic and foreign, was sacrificed by revolutions and war, and by legislation intended for its promotion, not less detrimental than revolutions and war. The kings who reigned during that time were—*First*, William the Conqueror, who reduced many of the free Saxons to bondage, and who, through a new feudal system, turned the civilisation of England backward. *Second*, William II., his son, who, like him, laid cultivated districts of great extent and high fertility waste, for the pleasure of hunting—an evil example readily imitated by the nobility and gentry, and not yet abandoned. In Hampshire alone, they laid waste thirty-six parish churches and villages, and forty miles of country, giving no compensation to the plundered inhabitants. *Third*, Henry I., youngest son of the Conqueror, who had a literary education, and from it was surnamed Beauclerc. He did some good for trade by the regulation of weights and measures. *Fourth*, Stephen, the grandson of the Conqueror. *Fifth*, Henry II., the grandson of Henry I., and son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, a French noble. *Sixth*, Richard I., the crusader, third son of Henry II., after whom was King John, the sixth son of Henry II. In the reign of Henry I., an assembly, which is alleged to have been the first parliament, was held at Salisbury, but it consisted only of the privileged nobles and bishops. In that

reign the navigation of the Trent and the Witham was improved by a cutting seven miles long. Stephen did less for the advancement of trade than his predecessor Henry I. In him the monarchy had neither honour nor safety ; it was beset with conspiracies on every side. "The succession to the crown" not being regulated by any fixed principle, the decease of the sovereign was invariably followed by an interval of rapine and confusion. Till a new king had ascended the throne, and received the homage of his subjects, it was assumed there could be no violation of "the king's peace ;" in consequence of this mischievous doctrine, the execution of justice was suspended, and the most lawless outrages committed with impunity. The disorders which usually accompanied a demise of the crown were continued uninterruptedly during the whole of Stephen's reign. To secure a usurped throne, he was compelled to make concessions to the clergy and nobility, equally destructive to his own authority and the public tranquillity. The former considered themselves bound by their oaths of allegiance to the king only so long as they were protected in their usurpations ; and the latter, in return for their submission, claimed the right of fortifying their castles, of coining money, of making war, and exercising other functions of sovereignty. Besides the general desolation arising out of a disputed title, the country was ravaged by baronial feuds, in which the nobles, aided by their vassals and mercenary adventurers, made war upon each other with the utmost fury. During these conflicts the condition of the people was most deplorable ; no security either for person or property. The castles were so many dens of robbers, who sallied forth day and night to commit spoils on the open country, the villages, and even the cities ; the woods were infested with banditti ; and such were the dangers to which the inhabitants were continually exposed, that on closing their doors at night it was customary to put up a short prayer against thieves and plunderers.

Torture was frequently resorted to by the titled brigands to extort from the people the produce of their industry. "Some," says the Saxon chronicler, "they hanged up by the feet, and smoked with foul smoke ; some by the thumbs, or by the beard, and hung coats of mail on their feet. They put them into dungeons with adders, and snakes, and toads ; many thousands they wore out with hunger." In short, the reign of Stephen was a condensation of all the evils of lawless power—neither justice nor humanity—and the natural result of such disorder was the cessation of the arts of industry, the land was left untilled, and a grievous famine ensued,

which reduced both the spoilers and the spoiled to extreme destitution.

The manners and customs of this half-civilized age are not without interest, and shew that an uneducated period is not one of virtuous simplicity. The court, in its perambulations through the country, exhibited a motley assemblage of the kind usually congregated at Bartholomew fair. "When," says Peter of Blois, "the king sets out in the morning, you see multitudes of people running up and down as if they were distracted; horses rushing against horses; carriages overturning carriages; players, whores, gamesters, confectioners, mimics, tailors, barbers, pimps, and parasites, making so much noise, and, in a word, such an intolerable tumult of horse and foot, that you imagine the great abyss hath opened, and that hell hath poured out all her inhabitants."

More abbeys were erected in this reign than in 100 years before, and the king giving leave to the nobles to build castles, 1500 of these fortresses were erected in different parts of the kingdom. There was no regular taxation, but the contending parties maintained themselves principally by the plunder of each other's tenants.—*Wade's Chronology*.

Henry II. came more into conflict with the clergy than with the nobles who had disturbed Stephen's reign. The ecclesiastics committed many offences, they resisted the power of the civil law, upon which the king held a national assembly of lords, lay and clerical, at Clarendon, a royal residence three miles east of the city of Salisbury, in January 1164. A series of regulations for the clergy were promulgated, and called, from the name of the place, the constitutions of Clarendon. The pope refused to ratify them, and Beckitt, archbishop of Canterbury, sided with the pope. The monarchy, in the person of Henry II., for a time asserted its superiority over the church, but the church was at last powerful enough to make the king hold the stirrups while the archbishop mounted his horse. And again the church gave monarchy, also in the person of Henry II., forty stripes on the bare back. The clergy waxed more loose in their moral discipline by the increase of their power, yet still they took the lead in all works of public improvement. In this reign a priest, Peter of Colechurch, built the first London bridge. The ascendancy of the clerical power resulted well for the liberty of the lower grades of the people. In their opposition to the king and the feudal barons, the clergy liberated many bondmen, and hastened the time when all were free. And when the time came that they were all free, the excesses of the church were corrected, and its power was subdued by the united

action of the liberated bondmen of the aristocracy, from whom their freedom had been wrested, and of the monarchy which became strong as the barons, divested of their feudal privileges, became weak.

Richard I., by joining in the crusades, served English commerce by his absence and want of opportunities to do it injury. King John led the way to his own subjection and the extension of popular rights by imprisoning twenty-two noblemen in Corfe Castle, where they were starved to death. "Liberty of all kinds was vendible in the reign of John," says the *British chronologist*, "even that of commerce and commercial rights. The men of Worcester paid the king 100 shillings that they might have the liberty of selling and buying dyed cloth as formerly. Geoffrey Fitzpierre gave two good Norway hawks for leave to export a hundred weight of cheese out of the king's dominions. The Archdeacon of Wells gave one tun of wine for leave to carry 600 seams of corn whither he would. Peter Parois gave twenty merks for leave to salt fish as Peter Chevalier used to do. Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain the king's request to Isolda Bisset that she should take him for a husband. Roger Fitzwalter gave three good palfreys to have the king's letter to Roger Bertram's mother that she should marry him. Robert de Veaux gave five of the best palfreys that the king would hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife." And so on did the king proceed from one bad act to a worse, until he vexed the nobles so much, that they rose against his injustice, pronounced the charter to him, and bound him to it.

The charter, however, was considered rather a public recognition of dormant immunities than a concession of new privileges. But even this indicated a progression in society; for it was no slight step in constitutional liberty to have acknowledged, and defined by a public law, rights which were previously vague or obsolete.

It ordains that all freemen shall be allowed to go out of the kingdom and return to it at pleasure. One weight and one measure shall be established throughout the kingdom; courts of justice shall be stationary, and not ambulatory with the king; circuits were to be held regularly every year; and justice no longer to be sold, refused, or delayed. Merchants to be allowed to transact all business without being exposed to tolls and impositions. No freeman to be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement or liberties, or outlawed, or banished, or anywise hurt or injured, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or the law of the land. Lastly, there was a stipulation in favour of the villains, the most numerous

class probably in the kingdom, and which hitherto had been considered unworthy of legislative notice. It was ordained that they should not be deprived, by any fine, of their carts, ploughs, and implements of industry.

Civil liberty had yet, however, made little progress. Laws were only arbitrary edicts issued by the king, with the consent of his privy council. According to feudal principles, all property was held of the king, on consideration of certain services. When a baron died, the king immediately took possession of the estates, and the heir was obliged to make application to the crown, and desire that he might be admitted to do homage for his land, and pay a composition to the king. This composition was arbitrary, and frequently exorbitant, the king keeping possession of the estate till it was paid. If the heir were a female, the king was entitled to offer her any husband he thought proper of the same rank; and if she refused him she forfeited her land. Even a male heir could not marry without the royal consent; and it was usual for men to pay large sums for the liberty of choosing a wife. Justice was a regular article of traffic, even in the king's court; and in Madox's History of the Exchequer there are numerous instances of the sums paid for the delaying, expediting, suspending, and, doubtless, preventing justice.

SECT. XIII.—HISTORICAL GLANCE FROM KING JOHN TO RICHARD II.

King John died in 1216, and was succeeded by his son Henry III., who died in 1272. Henry III was succeeded by his son Longshanks, Edward I., who died in 1307. Longshanks was a king of war and not of commerce. Fortunately both for his English subjects and his Scottish enemies, he died at a time when the warlike conquest of Scotland seemed almost certain. Had he completed the conquest, and made Scotland an integral part of a British kingdom, as it is now, the service to both countries, and to civilisation, would have been some justification of his warlike adventures. But the political policy of that age despised commercial alliances. No moderation on the part of the English would have sufficiently sweetened the bitterness of denationality among the Scotch. But there would not have been moderation. That quality of government was unknown then, and for several centuries afterwards. It was better, therefore, that Edward I. died at the time he did. He was succeeded by his son Edward II., who was monstrously put to death by a confederacy between his queen and the nobles. The external wars in his father's reign were succeeded by in-

tornal broils in his. The kingdom was still infested with robbers, who were greatly augmented in number by the famine which prevailed during most of the time of Edward II. The waste by war had led to the neglect of agriculture; the barons were unable to feed their retainers, who, being discharged, met in troops like armies, and overran the country. Edward II. was succeeded by his son Edward III., who died in 1377. He, too, was a warring and wasting king, and he had a son more mischievous than himself, Edward the Black Prince. Fortunately for England, this firebrand expired in early life. Edward III. was succeeded by Richard II., son of the Black Prince. Richard died in 1399.

During the reign of those five sovereigns, Henry III., Edward I., Edward II., Edward III., and Richard II., from 1216 to 1399, England produced several eminent servants of their country and of mankind. The names of some of them are entirely lost, though the benefits they gave to their country survive. Others are only known by name, no record tells from whence they came, how long they lived, nor when they died. One of these was a weaver of Bristol.

SECT. XIV.—THOMAS BLANKET.

While Edward III., in 1337, repeated his invasion of Scotland, and "ravaged the country with great fury, burning Aberdeen and many smaller towns," as the historians tell us; and while he was engaged in raising an army to invade France in 1338, exacting from the impoverished English people all their wealth to waste it in war; and when he was wasting France with war, borrowing money from all foreign princes who would lend to him, pawning the English crown, which made him a king, that he might still farther extend destruction over fertile France; when, in the battles which our historians and poets have so minutely recorded, and loftily sung of, swords clashed with swords, and battle-axes rung upon coats of mail, the warrior-heroes of England, mingling their blood and hacked heads with the blood and hacked heads of the warrior-heroes of France, there was a servant of mankind making a noise in Bristol, which was of infinitely greater service to England than the entire conquest of Europe would have been. This was Thomas Blanket. The noise he made was not that of the clashing sword, but of the clashing shuttle. His purpose was not to destroy what his country already possessed, but to give his country what it did not yet possess—*blankets*—a covering of comfort to go to bed with, to sleep under, that it might be refreshed in sound sleep, and rise in health and strength to

its daily work of making mankind happier by being happier itself.

Thomas Blanket was soon imitated by his neighbours, who, like him, set up looms in their own houses, and made woollen cloth like that which he made. The cloth was named by his name; and to this day, and through all time in this country, will the name be known, though nothing else is known of this weaver than that he was the first to introduce the blanket manufacture into England.

No cloth of any kind had been weaved in England before the reign of Edward III. We read that in 1331 John Kemp, from Flanders, introduced the weaving of cloth into England, that the king invited fullers, dyers, and so forth, to come from Flanders and settle here. This policy on the part of Edward was discreet; and, viewed in connection with some other of his actions, prove him to have had some perception of the real sources of national well-being. But he no sooner allowed the cloth manufacture to be implanted in England than he almost rooted it up again by restrictive enactments and oppressive taxes to carry on his wars.—(See sections 17, 18, 19, and 20.)

The manufacture of the twisted double thread of woollen, called worsted, was introduced into England about this time, or soon after. The village of Worsted, about fifteen miles from Norwich, was the first place where this thread was made, and it took the name of the village. There is no spinning nor woollen manufactures there now (1848) but from the tombs in the graveyard, and the benefactions left to the parish which are recorded in the church, we have proof that the manufacturers of Worsted were numerous, opulent, and lived there in successive generations during several centuries.

It may also be noticed here, that after inquiring into the history of the parish and manufactures of Worsted, we visited Linsey, which gave the name to the fabric known as Linsey Wolsey; and Kersey and the Mere close to it in Suffolk, where the workshops were situated in which the cloth called Kerseymere was first made. The cloth so called now differs from the original, and there is but little trade of any kind in Kersey now. But, as at Worsted, the graveyard and the church have many records of manufacturers long deceased. Their names, though now Anglicised and common in Suffolk, are all of Flemish origin.

Colchester in Essex was also the English home of many Flemish emigrants who brought their manufacturing enterprise with them. The working of baize was carried on there to a large extent; but this was long subsequent to the time of Edward III. to which we must again return.

SECT. XV.—JOHN WICKLIFF.

John Wickliff was neither a trader nor a maker of laws to promote or retard the progress of trade; nor was he a warrior who wasted the wealth and national prosperity which trade is parent to. But he was an emancipator of the human mind, the originator of that church reform in England which reduced the theocratic power from its dangerous height to a level commensurate with the development of democracy, and of that civil liberty upon which the free commerce of nations can alone be solidly reared and permanently maintained.

He was born in the reign of Edward II. 1324, at Wickliff, from whence his name, a secluded village on the Yorkshire bank of the Tees, a few miles distant from the carpet weaving town of Barnard Castle, in Durham. It is remarkable that Wickliff village, famous as the birth-place of this Protestant reformer, should have continued to be, as it still is, the property of a Catholic family. Wickliff was educated for the priesthood at Oxford, and was subsequently incumbent of the parish of Lutterworth. He was an eloquent preacher, and a bold speculator both in politics and religion. He is first mentioned in history in the year 1360, in a controversy between the different orders of friars. Soon afterwards he stepped forth and denied the supremacy of the church at Rome. He maintained that the Scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the state, and should be reformed by it; that the clergy ought to possess no estate; that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true religion; and that where repentance is sincere confession to a priest is useless. He translated the Scriptures, but his version has never been published; his other numerous works are chiefly in manuscript in the libraries at Oxford. He died at the vestry of Lutterworth, of paralysis of the brain, while administering the sacrament on the 31st of December 1384, aged sixty.

The unhappy differences which now arose on religious questions at home and abroad, gave birth to many crimes upon both sides, and to persecutions abhorrent to reason and humanity; yet, out of those differences arose thinkers and habits of thought which ended in the good of all. Religious persecution drove the Flemings to England, not alone with their peculiar opinions about auricular confession, transubstantiation, miracles, images, and clerical authority, but with their peculiar skill in the manufacture of cloth, worsted, and "bays and says," and silk. They settled in our towns and villages, and gave us manufactures which have become the chief pillar of our national greatness.

SECTION XVI.—ROGER BACON.

There were several eminent ecclesiastics, and other learned men besides Wickliff in the time of Henry I., the first three Edwards, and Richard II., there was Michael Scot the mathematician, John Duns Scotus the learned casuist, Matthew Paris the historian, and Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower the poets; but none of them exercised any discernible influence on politics or popular progress. None of them were pioneers to the army of thinkers who have followed and liberated mankind save Wickliff and another. That other was Roger Bacon, a monk, sometimes called a magician, but in reality a practical philosopher, and by far the greatest benefactor to his country as a mechanic, who had appeared since the death of Archbishop Dunstan.

He was born near Ilchester in 1214. The novelty of his researches in natural philosophy alarmed the monks of his order. They looked upon him as half magician, half heretic, or half of something deemed to be more dangerous than either, and confined him for a space of twenty years. But he was too much of a philosopher to affect to work miracles. Many of his writings are in the library of the British Museum, and shew him to have been a philosopher of amazing comprehensiveness, not alone for the age in which he lived, but for any age. His "Opus Magus," his "Theasarus Chemicus," and his "Treatise on the Infirmities of Old Age," have been published.

Notwithstanding the obstacles to the discovery and diffusion of knowledge, says the author of *British Chronology*, writing of this period, there was a visible intellectual progress, to which Roger Bacon, that great luminary of the thirteenth century, most effectually contributed. This prodigy of his age recommended his contemporaries to interrogate nature by actual experiments in lieu of wasting time in abstract reasoning. No man, says he, can be so thoroughly convinced by argument that fire will burn as by thrusting his hand into the flames. Bacon himself spent two thousand pounds—a great sum in those times—in constructing instruments and making experiments in the course of twenty years; and it is a well-known fact, that by those experiments he made many discoveries which have excited the astonishment of succeeding ages. He despised magic, incantations, and other tricks, as criminal impositions on human credulity, and affirmed that more surprising works might be performed by the combined works of art and nature than even were pretended to be performed by magic. "I will now," says he, "mention some of

the wonderful works of art and nature, in which there is nothing of magic, and which magic could not perform. Instruments may be made by which the largest ships, with only one man guiding them, will be carried with greater velocity than if they were full of sailors; chariots may be constructed that will move with incredible rapidity without the help of animals; instruments of flying may be formed, in which a man, sitting at his ease, and meditating on any subject, may beat the air with his artificial wings after the manner of birds; a small instrument may be made to raise or depress the greatest weights; an instrument may be fabricated by which one man may draw a thousand men to him by force and against their wills; as also machines which will enable men to walk at the bottom of rivers or seas without danger."

Most of the wonders here indicated have been accomplished in modern times, though by means probably very different from those imagined by Roger Bacon. The locomotive steam engine; the paddle wheel and the screw propeller; the diving bell; and the hydraulic press. Hydraulic presses are now (1848) made to raise to the height of two hundred feet the tubular tunnels of the Britannia railway bridge, weighing each thirteen hundred tons; and other presses ("all small instruments," as Bacon foreshadows) may be made to lift any weight whatever.

Of the chemical discoveries of Roger Bacon, gunpowder has become the most popular. It was his misfortune to live in an age when chemical discoveries could not serve the manufacturing industry of the country, that having hardly then come into existence. This remarkable man of sciences died at Oxford on the 11th of June 1292.

SECT. XVII.—THE LAWS OF THE STAPLE.

The word staple, in its primary acceptation, appears to have meant a particular port or other place to which certain commodities were obliged to be brought to be weighed or measured for the payment of the customs, before they could be sold, or in some cases exported or imported. Here the king's staple was said to be established. The articles of English produce upon which customs were anciently paid were wool, sheepskins, (or woolfells,) and leather; and these were accordingly denominated the staples or staple goods of the kingdom. The persons who exported these goods were called the Merchants of the Staple: they were incorporated, or at least recognised as forming a society with certain privileges, in the reign of Edward II., if not earlier. Hakluyt has printed a

charter granted by Edward II., the 20th of May 1313, to the mayor and council of the merchants of the staple, in which he ordains that all merchants, whether natives or foreigners, buying wool and woofels in his dominions for exportation, should, instead of carrying them for sale, as they had been wont to do, to several places in Brabant, Flanders, and Artois, carry them in future only to one certain staple in one of those countries to be appointed by the said mayor and council. It appears that, upon this, Antwerp was made the staple. But, although the power of naming the place, and also of changing it, was thus conferred upon the society, this part of the charter seems to have been very soon disregarded. In subsequent times the interferences of the king and the legislature, with regard to the staple, were incessant. In 1326 it was, by the royal order, removed altogether from the continent, and fixed at certain places within the kingdom. Cardiff, in Wales, a town belonging to Hugh Despenser, is the only one of these new English staples the name of which has been preserved. It may be noted also that tin is now mentioned as one of the staple commodities. In 1328, it was enacted "that the staples beyond the sea and on this side, ordained by kings in times past, and the pains thereupon provided, shall cease, and that all merchant strangers and privy (that is, foreigners and natives) may go and come with their merchandizes into England, after the tenor of the Great Charter." In 1332, however, we find the king ordaining, in the face of this act, that staples should be held in various places within the kingdom. In 1334, all the lately established staples were again abolished by the king in a parliament held at York. In 1341, the staple was re-established by a royal act at Bruges, in Flanders. In 1348, again, after the capture of Calais, that town was made the staple for tin, lead, feathers, English-made woollen cloths and worsted stuffs, for seven years. All the former inhabitants of Calais, with the exception, it is said, of one priest and two lawyers, had been removed, and an English colony, of which thirty-six merchants from London were the principal members, had been settled in their room. In 1353, by the statute called the Ordinance of the Staples, the staple for wool, leather, woofels, and lead, was once more removed from the continent by act of parliament, and ordered to be held for ever in the following places, and no others—namely, for England, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, and Bristol; for Wales, at Carmarthen; and for Ireland, at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda. The "for ever" of this statute remained in force for ten years,

and no longer. From the preamble of the statute 43d Edward III., it appears that it had been ordained, for the profit of the realm, and ease of the merchants of England, that the staple of wools, woolfels, and leather, should be holden at Calais; and that there accordingly it had been holden since the first of March 1363. By this last-mentioned act, however, passed in 1369, it was again, in consequence of the renewal of the war with France, fixed at certain places within the kingdom—being for Ireland and Wales the same that have been just mentioned, but with the substitution, in the case of England, of Hull, Boston, Yarmouth, and Queenburgh, for Canterbury, York, Lincoln, and Norwich. In 1376, nevertheless, on the complaint of the inhabitants of Calais, that their city was declining, the staple was restored to that place; and it was now made to comprehend, not only the ancient commodities of wool, woolfels, and leather, and those more recently added, of lead, tin, worsted stuffs, and feathers, but also cheese, butter, honey, tallow, peltry, (or skins of all kinds,) and what are called “gaulæ,” which have been supposed to mean osiers for making baskets; these different articles probably comprehending all the ordinary exports from the kingdom. But this restriction of the whole export trade to one market was soon relaxed. In 1378 (by 2d Rich. II. stat. 1, c. 3) it was enacted, that all merchants of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, Arragon, and other countries towards the west, that would bring their vessels to Southampton, or elsewhere within the realm, might there freely sell their goods, and also recharge their vessels with wools, and the other merchandises of the staple, on paying the same customs or duties that would have been payable at Calais; and in 1382 (by the 5th Rich. II. stat. 2, c. 2,) all merchants, whether foreigners or natives, were permitted to carry wool, leather, and woolfels, to any country whatever, except France, on payment of the Calais duties beforehand. In 1384 we find the wool-staple altogether removed from Calais and established at Middleburgh. In 1388 (by the statute 12 Rich. II. c. 16) it was ordered to be fixed once more at Calais; but in 1390 (by the 14th Rich. II. c. 1) it was brought back to the same English towns in which it had been fixed in 1353. The very next year, however, it was enacted that, instead of these towns, the staple should be held at such others upon the coast as the lords of the council should direct; and it would even appear (from the 15th Rich. II. c. 8) that, at least for a part of the year, the staple of wool and also of tin was still at Calais. “Staples and restraints in England, and a second staple and other restraints at the same time on the continent!” exclaims the his-

torian of our commerce, in noting this fact, "the condition of the merchants who were obliged to deal in staple goods was truly pitiable in those days of perpetual changes." It is not quite clear, however, that the English staples were still continued; it is perhaps more probable that they had been abolished when the staple was restored to Calais. However this may be, it appears, from the statute 21 Rich. II. c. 17, passed in 1398, that at that time Calais was the only staple; and such it continued to be from this time till it was recovered by the French in 1538, when the staple was established at Bruges. The old staple laws, however, had been considerably relaxed in the course of that long interval.

One of the prerogatives assumed by the crown in those days, somewhat similar in its nature to that of fixing the staple of the foreign trade of the kingdom, was the right of restricting all mercantile dealings whatever, for a time, to a certain place. Thus, Matthew Paris tells us that, in the year 1245, Henry III. proclaimed a fair to be held at Westminster, on which occasion he ordered that all the traders of London should shut up their shops, and carry their goods to be sold at the fair, and that all other fairs throughout England should be suspended during the fifteen days it was appointed to last. The king's object, no doubt, was to obtain a supply of money from the tolls and other dues of the market. What made this interference be felt as a greater hardship was, that the weather, all the time of the fair, happened to be excessively bad, so that not only the goods were spoilt, exposed as they were to the rain in tents only covered with cloth, and that probably imperfectly enough; but the dealers themselves, who were obliged to eat their victuals with their feet in the mud, and the wind and wet about their ears, suffered intolerably. Four years afterwards the king repeated the same piece of tyranny, and was again seconded by the elements in a similar fashion. This time, too, the historian tells us, scarcely any buyers came to the fair; so that it is no wonder the unfortunate merchants were loud in expressing their dissatisfaction. But the king, he adds, did not mind the imprecations of the people.

There was nothing that more troubled and bewildered both the legislature and the popular understanding, during the whole of this period, than the new phenomena connected with the increasing foreign trade of the country. The advantages of this augmented intercourse with other parts of the world were sensibly enough felt, but very imperfectly comprehended; hence one scheme after another to retain the benefit upon terms wholly inconsistent with the necessary conditions of its

existence. Of course, in all exchange of commodities between two countries, besides that supply of the respective wants of each which constitutes the foundation or sustaining element of the commerce, a certain portion of what the consumer pays must fall to the share of the persons by whose agency the commerce is carried on. It is this that properly forms the profits of the commerce, as distinguished from its mere advantages or conveniences. The general advantages of the commerce, apart from the profits of the agents, are alone the proper concern of the community: as for the mere profits of the agency, the only interest of the community is, that they shall be as low as possible. From the course, however, that the popular feeling has at all times taken, it might be supposed that the very contrary was the case; for the cry has constantly been in favour of making this agency, as far as possible, a monopoly in the hands of the native merchants, although the effect of the exclusion of foreign competition, if it could be accomplished, really could be nothing else than an enhancement of the profits of the agency, and, consequently, of the charge upon the consumer. In fact, if the exclusion were not expected to produce this effect, it never would be sought for by the native merchants. That it should be sought for by them is natural enough, but that they should be supported in this demand by the community at large is only an instance of popular prejudice and delusion. In all commerce, and especially in all foreign commerce, a body of intermediate agents, to manage the exchange of the commodities, is indispensable; the goods must be brought from the one country to the other, which makes what is called the carrying trade; they must be collected in shops or warehouses for distribution by sale; even their original production, in many cases, cannot be efficiently accomplished without the regular assistance of a third class of persons:—namely, dealers in money or in credit. But to the public at large it is really a matter of perfect indifference whether these merchants, ship-owners, and bankers, or other capitalists, be natives or foreigners. Not so, however, thought our ancestors in the infancy of our foreign commerce. The commerce itself was sufficiently acceptable; but the foreigners, by whose aid it was necessarily in part carried on, were the objects of a most intense and restless jealousy. Whatever portion of the profits of the commerce fell to their share was looked upon as nothing better than so much plunder. This feeling was even in some degree extended to the whole of the foreign nation with which the commerce was carried on; and, in the notion that all trade was of the nature of a contest between two ad-

verse parties, and that whatever the one country gained the other lost, the inflammation of the popular mind occasionally rose to such a height that nothing less would satisfy it than an abjuration of the foreign trade altogether. But it never was long before this precipitate resolution was repented of and revoked.—(*Craik's British Commerce, Macpherson's Annals.*)

SECT. XVIII.—THE CLOTH TRADE.

In the wars between Henry III. and his barons, the latter endeavoured to turn to account against the king the national jealousy of foreigners, which his partiality for his wife's French connexions had greatly exasperated. In 1261 they passed a law which may be regarded as the first attempt to establish what has been called, in modern times, the manufacturing system. It prohibited the exportation of wool, the chief staple of the country, and ordained that no woollen cloths should be worn except such as were manufactured at home. Whatever may be thought of the policy of nursing the infancy of domestic manufactures in certain circumstances by protections of this description, the present attempt was undoubtedly premature, and its authors confessed as much by appending to their prohibition against the importation of foreign cloth an injunction or recommendation that all persons should avoid every superfluity in dress. What were thus denounced as extravagant superfluities were evidently those finer fabrics which could not yet be produced in England. The effect of this law, in so far as it was enforced or obeyed, could only have been to add to the general distress, by embarrassing more or less all classes of persons that had been ever so remotely connected with the foreign trade, and above all others the chief body of producers in the kingdom. If the wool was not to go out of the country, much wealth both in money and in goods would be prevented from coming in, and all the branches of industry which that wealth had hitherto contributed to sustain and feed would suffer depression.

It would appear that, either from want of skill, or a scarcity of woad, in consequence of the usual importations from the continent being checked, dyed cloths could not be obtained in sufficient quantity in England a few years after this time; for it is recorded that many people were now wont to dress themselves in cloth of the natural colour of the wool. Simon de Montford, it seems, professed to be an admirer of this plainness of apparel, and was accustomed to maintain that foreign commerce was unnecessary, the produce of the country being fully sufficient to supply all the wants of its inhabitants. And

so, no doubt, it was, and would be still, on this principle of rigidly eschewing all superfluities; but that is the principle of the stationary and savage state, not of civilisation and progressive improvement.

The prohibition against the importation of foreign cloth, however, appears to have been soon repealed. In 1271, when disputes broke out between Henry and the Countess of Flanders, we find it renewed in terms which imply that the trade had for some time previous been carried on as usual. This second suspension also was of short duration; and on various subsequent occasions, on which the attempt was made to break off the natural commercial intercourse between the English producers and the Flemish manufacturers, the result was the same; the inconvenience was found to be so intolerable to both countries that it never was submitted to for more than a few months or weeks.

Absurd regulations, however, were from time to time imposed on the trade carried on by foreigners, the temper and principle of which would, if carried out, have led to its complete extinction, and which, half measures as they were, could only have had the effect of diminishing its natural advantages. In 1275, for instance, an order was issued by Edward I., obliging all foreign merchants to sell their goods within forty days after their arrival. If foreigners continued to resort to the country in the face of the additional risks created by this law—risks of inadequate returns if they complied with it, of detection and punishment if they attempted to evade it—we may be certain they exacted a full equivalent in the shape of higher prices for their goods; or, if they failed to do this, they must soon have been forced to give up the trade altogether, for there was no other way by which it could be made to yield its usual profits.

SECTION XIX.—THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS.

In the year 1290 the bigotry and rapacity of Edward I. inflicted what must have proved a severe blow upon the commerce of the kingdom by the sudden expulsion of the whole body of the Jews. The principal pretence for this proceeding appears to have been that the Jews had been the chief clippers of the coin. The principal motive, no doubt, was the replenishing of the royal exchequer by the spoil of the hated and helpless race; for the Jews had always been regarded, not only as foreigners and aliens, but as, in a manner, the absolute property of the crown, which, under that view, was restrained from pillaging and otherwise oppressing them

to any extent it chose by neither law nor custom, nor by anything except a prudent calculation of how far it might go without injury to its own interests—without impairing the productiveness of the source from which it drew its iniquitous profits. In the present instance, even this consideration gave way under the pressure of some strong excitement or urgent need, the popular feeling, we may be sure, eagerly seconding the royal passion or policy. The manner of the proceeding was as barbarous as the motive, whether fanaticism or thirst of plunder, might prepare us to expect. Only two months' warning was given before the fatal 1st of November, on which day it was ordered that every Jew should quit England, never to return, on pain of death. Not only all their houses and tenements, but also all their bonds for money owing them by Christians, were seized by the king, who afterwards exacted payment of the debts, as if the money had been lent by himself. The accounts differ as to whether they were allowed to carry their movable property with them; as much, of course, was left them as might defray their charges in crossing the sea, and we may suppose they secretly conveyed away as much more as they could; it is affirmed that whole ship-loads of them were made away with by the sailors for the sake of what they had with them. The common account is that the exact number thus driven out was 16,511; and no Jew was ever afterwards allowed to set foot in this country, till, without any change having been made in the law, they quietly began to reappear after the restoration, three hundred and seventy years subsequent to the general expulsion.

SECT XX—I.—GOVERNMENT AND NATURE AT WAR.

No foreign merchants were in those days allowed to reside in England except by special license from the king; and even under this protection they were subjected to various oppressive liabilities. It was not till 1303 that a general charter was granted by Edward I., permitting the merchants of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Provence, Catalonia, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Querey, Flanders, Brabant, and all foreign countries, to come safely to any of the dominions of the English crown with all kinds of merchandise, to sell their goods, and to reside under the protection of the laws. But even this general toleration was clogged with many restrictions. The goods imported, with the exception of spices and mercery, were only to be sold wholesale. No wine was to be carried out of the country without special license. Above all, no relaxation was granted of the

ancient grievous liability under which every resident stranger was placed of being answerable for the debts and even for the crimes of every other foreign resident. It appears from the records of the Exchequer that, in 1306, a number of foreign merchants were committed to the Tower, and there detained until they consented severally to give security that none of their number should leave the kingdom, or export anything from it, without the king's special license. Each of them was at the same time obliged to give in an account of the whole amount of his property, both in money and goods. Security against being subjected to this kind of treatment had been accorded in a few particular instances; but it was not till the year 1353 that the law was formally altered by the Statute of the Staple already mentioned, and the ancient practice was not wholly discontinued till long afterwards.

The general charter of 1303 was followed within four years by a still more extraordinary attempt than any that had yet been made to control the natural course of commerce. In 1307, Edward issued an order prohibiting either coined money or bullion to be carried out of the country on any account. The merchants, therefore, who came from other countries were now reduced to the necessity of either directly bartering their commodities for the produce of the kingdom, or, if they sold them for money in the first instance, of investing the proceeds in other goods, before they could be permitted to return home. This was a restriction so thoroughly opposed to every commercial principle, that it could not be rigidly maintained; the very year following its promulgation, an exemption from it was accorded to the merchants of France by the new king, Edward II., and similar relaxations of it were afterwards permitted in other cases. But, although from its nature it did not admit of being strictly enforced, it long continued to be regarded as the law of the country, and repeated attempts were made to secure its observance. In 1335, by the 9th Edw. III. st. 2, it was enacted, that no person should henceforth carry out of the kingdom either money or plate without special license, upon pain of forfeiture of whatever he should so convey away. Sworn searchers were appointed to see that the law was observed at all the ports; and it was further ordered, that the inn-keepers at every port should be sworn to search their guests: the fourth part of all forfeits was assigned as the reward of the searchers. In 1343, by the 17th Edw. III., nearly the same regulations were repeated, the principal variation being, that, to induce them to do their duty more diligently, the reward of the searchers was now raised to a third

part of the forfeits, and penalties were provided for their neglect or connivance. We may gather from all this that the law had been extensively evaded. At length permission was given generally to foreign merchants to carry away one half of the money for which they sold their goods; the law is thus stated in the 14th Rich. II. c. 1, passed in 1390, and more explicitly in the 2d Hen. IV. c. 5, passed in 1400; but it is still expressly ordered, by the former of these statutes, that every alien bringing any merchandise into England shall find sufficient sureties, before the officers of the customs, to expend the value of half of what he imports, at the least, in the purchase of wools, leather, woofels, lead, tin, butter, cheese, cloths, or other commodities of the land.

The ignorance and misconception from which all this legislation proceeded, are exhibited in a striking point of view by the fact that the above-mentioned original order of Edward I., prohibiting the exportation of money, expressly permits the amount of the money to be remitted abroad in bills of exchange. And at all times, while the exportation of money was forbidden, the remittance of bills seems to have been allowed. But a bill of exchange remitted abroad is merely an order that a certain party in the foreign country shall receive a sum of money which is due to the drawer of the bill, and which would otherwise have to be sent to the country where he resides; if no such money were due, the bill would not be negotiable; every such bill, therefore, if it did not carry money out of the country, produced precisely the same effect by preventing money from coming in. It was fit and natural enough, however, that this simple matter should fail to be perceived in times when it was thought that a great advantage was gained by compelling the foreign merchant to sell his goods for produce instead of for the money which the produce was worth; indeed, it may be fairly said, instead of for less money than the produce was worth, for all restraints of this description inevitably operate to enhance the price of what is prevented from being openly bought and sold on the terms that would be naturally agreed upon between the parties themselves.

Another strange attempt of the English commercial legislation of those times was to impose a certain measure upon all foreign cloths brought to the country. By the act 2d Edw. III. c. 14, passed in 1328, it was ordered that, from the Feast of St Michael ensuing, all cloths that were imported should be measured by the king's aulnagers, and that all those that were not found to be of a certain specified length and breadth should be forfeited to the king. The dimen-

sions fixed by the statute were, for cloth of ray, (supposed to mean striped cloth,) 28 yards in length by 6 quarters in breadth; and for coloured cloth, 26 yards in length by $6\frac{1}{2}$ quarters in breadth. The regulation of weights and measures within the kingdom was a proper subject of legislation, and had necessarily engaged attention long before this date; although, at a period when science was unknown, the methods resorted to were necessarily very inartificial, and sometimes singular enough. Henry I., for example, soon after he came to the throne, in ordaining that the ell or yard should be of uniform length throughout the kingdom, could find no better standard for it than the length of his own arm. It might also have been found expedient, both for fiscal and other purposes, to direct that all cloth made for sale within the kingdom should be of certain specified dimensions; regulations to that effect have at least been usual down to our own day. But it was to stretch legislation on such matters beyond all reasonable limits to attempt to fix a measure for the cloth made in all foreign countries. Such a law, in so far as it was enforced, could only have the effect of diminishing the supply, in other words, of raising the prices of foreign goods. But, like most of the other absurd restrictions of the same character, the maintenance of this regulation was soon found to be impracticable: if it had been rigorously insisted upon, it would have excluded the manufactured goods of certain foreign countries from the English market altogether; and accordingly, after giving a great deal of useless annoyance both to foreign merchants and their English customers, and after special exemptions from it had been granted to several nations, it was at last repealed by the 27th Edw. III. st. 1, c. 4, passed in 1353, which provided that, "whereas the great men and commons have shewed to our lord the king how divers merchants, as well foreigners as denizens, have withdrawn them, and yet do withdraw them, to come with cloths into England, to the great damage of the king and of all his people, because that the king's aulnager surmiseth to merchant strangers that their cloths be not of assize," therefore no foreign cloths should in future be forfeited on that account, but, when any was found to be under assize, it should simply be marked by the aulnager, that a proportionate abatement might be made in the price.

This was also the era of various statutes against the supposed mischiefs of forestalling. The statute "De Pistoribus" (attributed by some to the 51st year of Henry III., by others to the 13th of Edward I.) contains the following enpassioned description and denouncement of this offence: "But especially

be it commanded, on the behalf of our lord the king, that no forestaller be suffered to dwell in any town, which is an open oppressor of poor people, and of all the commonalty, and an enemy of the whole shire and country; which, for greediness of his private gains, doth prevent others in buying grain, fish, herring, or any other thing to be sold coming by land or water, oppressing the poor and deceiving the rich; which carrieth away such things, intending to sell them more dear; the which come to merchant strangers that bring merchandize, offering them to buy, and informing them that their goods might be dearer sold than they intended to sell, and an whole town or a country is deceived by such craft and subtlety." It might be supposed from all this, that the forestaller bought the commodity for the purpose of throwing it into the sea or otherwise destroying it; it seems to have been forgotten that, like all other dealers, he bought it only that he might sell it again for more than it cost him, that is to say, that he might preserve it for a time of still higher demand and greater necessity. But for him, when that time of greater scarcity came, there would be no provision for it; if the people were pinched now, they would be starved then. The forestaller is merely the economical distributor, who, by preventing waste at one time, prevents absolute want at another; he destroys nothing; on the contrary, whatever he reserves from present consumption, is sure to be reproduced by him in full at a future day, when it will be still more needed. Were it otherwise, forestalling would be the most losing of all trades, and no law would be required to put it down. The English laws against forestalling, regrating, and engrossing, however, cannot well be made a reproach to the thirteenth century, seeing that they were formally renewed and extended in the sixteenth, and were not finally removed from the Statute Book till towards the end of the eighteenth. And even yet forestalling is considered to be a misdemeanour at common law, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

A still more direct attempt to derange the natural balance of supply and demand was made by parliament in 1315, when, with the view of relieving the people from the pressure of a severe famine, it was enacted that all articles of food should be sold at certain prescribed prices. It was strangely forgotten that the evil did not lie in the high prices, but the scarcity, of which they were the necessary consequence. That scarcity, of course, the act of parliament could not cure. In fact, food became more difficult to procure than ever; for even those who had any to sell, and would have brought it to market if they could have had a fair price for it, withheld it rather than dis-

pose of it below its value. What was sold was for the most part sold at a price which violated the law, and which was made still higher than it would otherwise have been by the trouble and risk which the illegality of the transaction involved. Butcher-meat disappeared altogether; poultry, an article of large consumption in those times, became nearly as scarce; grain was only to be had at enormous prices. The result was, that the king and the parliament, after a few months, becoming convinced of their mistake, hastened to repeal the act.

The same thing in principle and effect, however, was repeated not many years after, by acts passed to fix the wages of labourers—in other words, the price of the commodity called labour. In 1349, (the 23d of Edward III.) immediately after what is called the Great Pestilence, there was issued (apparently by the authority of the king, although it is printed as a statute) “An ordinance concerning Labourers and Servants;” which directed, first, that persons of the class of servants should be bound to serve when required; and, secondly, that they should serve for the same wages that were accustomed to be given three years before. This ordinance, indeed, further proceeded to enjoin that all dealers in victual should be bound to sell the same “for a reasonable price,” and inflicted a penalty upon persons offending against that enactment—although it did not presume expressly to fix a maximum of prices. The next year, by the 25th Ed. III., st. 2, after a preamble, declaring that servants had had no regard to the preceding ordinance, “but to their ease and singular covetise,” the parliament established a set of new provisions for effecting its object: this act, however, contains nothing on the subject of the prices of provisions. The Statute of Labourers was confirmed by parliament in 1360, (by 34th Edward III. c. 9,) and its principle was long obstinately clung to by the legislature, notwithstanding the constant experience of its inefficiency, and indeed of its positive mischief, and its direct tendency to defeat its own proposed object; for a law is rarely harmless because it is of impracticable execution; the unskilful surgery of the body politic, as of the body natural, tears and tortures when it does not cure, and fixes deeper and more firmly the barb which it fails to extract. By the 13th Rich. II. st. 1, c. 8, (passed in 1389-90,) it is ordained that, “forasmuch as a man cannot put the price of eorn and other victuals in certain,” the justices of peace shall every year make proclamation “by their discretion, according to the dearth of victuals, how much every mason, carpenter, tiler, and other craftsman, workmen, and their labourers by the day, as well in harvest as in other

times of the year, after their degree, shall take by the day, with meat and drink, or without meat and drink, and that every man obey to such proclamations from time to time, as a thing done by statute." It is also ordered that victuallers "shall have reasonable gains, according to the discretion and limitation of the said justices, and no more, upon pain to be grievously punished, according to the discretion of the said justices." Finally, provision is made for the correct keeping of the assize (or assessment from time to time) of the prices of bread and ale. The earliest notice of an assize in England is found in the rolls of parliament for 1203, the 5th of John; but the first introduction of the practice is probably of older date. The most ancient law upon the subject that has been preserved is that entitled the *Assisa Panis et Cerevisiæ*, commonly assigned to the 51st Hen. III. (A.D. 1266.) The assize of bread and ale, it is to be remembered, determined the prices of these commodities, not arbitrarily, but by a scale regulated according to the market-prices of wheat, barley, and oats, so that the prices that were really fixed were those of baking and of brewing. The assize of bread was re-enacted so lately as the beginning of the last century, and was only abolished in London and its neighbourhood about thirty years ago: in regard to other places, although it has fallen into disuse, the old law still remains unrepealed. But various other articles, such as wine, fish, tiles, cloths, wood, coal, billets, &c., have at different times been made subject to assize; and in the case of most of these the assize was a perfectly arbitrary determination of the price. The present period furnishes us with a curious example of the manner in which some of these attempts operated. By an ordinance issued in 1357, (commonly called the 31st Edw. III. st. 2,) it was directed that no herrings should be sold for a higher price than forty shillings the last. But, in 1361, we find the king and his council, in a second ordinance, (commonly called the statute 35th Edw. III.) frankly confessing that the effect of the attempt to fix prices in this case had been, "that the sale of herring is much decayed, and the people greatly endamaged, that is to say, that many merchants coming to the fair, as well labourers and servants as others, do bargain for herring, and every of them, by malice and envy, increase upon other, and, if one proffer forty shillings, another will proffer ten shillings more, and the third sixty shillings, and so every one surmounteth other in the bargain, and such proffers extend to more than the price of the herring upon which the fishers proffered it to sell at the beginning." The ordinance promulgated with the intention of keeping down the price of herrings, had actually raised it.

Wherefore, "we," concludes the new statute, "perceiving the mischiefs and grievances aforesaid, by the advice and assent of our parliament, will and grant, that it shall be lawful to every man, of what condition that he may be, merchant or other, to buy herring openly, and not privily, at such price as may be agreed betwixt him and the seller of the same herring." This failure, however, did not deter the parliament two years after from fixing a price for poultry, (by the statute 37 Edw. III. c. 3;) but the next year that also was repealed by the 38 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 2, which ordained that all people, in regard to buying and selling, and the other matters treated of in the preceding statute, should be as free as they were before it passed, and as they were in the time of the king's grandfather and his other good progenitors.—(*Craik's British Commerce.*)

SECT. XXII.—RICHARD II. JOHN BALL, WAT TYLER, AND JACK STRAW.

Of the personal qualities of the three men last named we know little. The historians of their times have obscured them in ridicule. They rose against the feudal laws with a hundred thousand followers, and demanded protection to private property and domestic sanctity. They demanded the abolition of slavery; freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impost; and a fixed rent on land instead of the services done by villainage. Also that men should be allowed to work wheresoever and for whomsoever they chose. At that time no man was allowed to work out of his own neighbourhood except the inhabitants of Staffordshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, part of Yorkshire, and the marches of Scotland and Wales.

The mob of a hundred thousand persons who rose at the preaching of John Ball, and at the outrage committed upon Wat Tyler's daughter by the gatherers of poll-tax, and the vengeance of the incensed father, were easily dispersed. Tyler was slain by Walsworth, Lord Mayor of London, and John Ball and the secondary general, Jack Straw, were hanged. But the principles of protection to private property, freedom of slaves, freedom of internal commerce, and liberty to working men to choose their own masters, could not be extinguished upon the gallows. The mob was dispersed, and its leaders put to death, but the people of all degrees beneath the rank of the feudal barons and the heads of corporations, who now assumed privileges over inferiors similar to baronial feudalism, in their workshops, in their fields, upon their family hearths, and in their individual minds, maintained the principles of personal freedom and security to private property.

But the extension of those principles was accelerated and carried into political society by the attempt of the king to reign in absolute sovereignty; the barons confederated, marched upon the king in London, punished his advisers, clerical as well as lay, and, that they might control him the more effectually, they appealed to the burgher class of traders and freedmen for help. This contest resulted in less power to the sovereign, more to the people, and greater trouble and danger to the barons. The latter were divided; some adhering to Richard and others conspiring to dethrone him. In the midst of these distractions his cousin Henry Duke of Lancaster appeared in open rebellion against him in Yorkshire, declaring that he came to redress grievances. The nobility and gentry flocked to his standard. Richard was deposed, and Lancaster was made king as Henry IV.

SECT. XXIII.—HENRY IV. THE PROUD CLERGY, AND THE “ILLITERATE PARLIAMENT.”

Shakespere has put into the mouth of this troubled and troublesome king the royal aphorism, “Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.” Henry IV. had not been long crowned until the barons conspired against him to restore Richard II.; and to sustain his kingly position he surrendered more of the kingly power to the people than they had ever possessed in England before. “Favoured by the times,” the House of Commons increased vastly in importance, and pushed their inquiries into every department of the administration. Henry’s pecuniary embarrassments, his defective title, and the frequent insurrections in favour of Richard and the Earl of March, compelled him to court the favour of the people through their representatives; and the men who were originally deemed of no other use than to raise money, became, by almost imperceptible degrees, a coequal part of the legislature.—*Wade*.

In the year 1400, many noblemen were executed for attempting the restoration of Richard; and in the same year that unfortunate sovereign was assassinated. He was thirty-three years of age, and had reigned twenty-two years and three months.

Henry, to distract the attention of the public from his personal circumstances as a usurper as much as possible, engaged in wars. But this policy, evil in its first results, extended the national liberties. To carry on those wars supplies of money were required, and men to make up the armies. The raising

of supplies suggested new thoughts to the members of parliament, and the raising of armies withdrew from slavery large bodies of men who did not willingly return to it again; on the contrary, many of them who returned from the wars sought residence and employment in the towns, and, by their tales of the oppression of feudalism, added to that hostility which was now everywhere active in behalf of personal freedom.

In this reign also the representatives of the commons began to turn the current of popular inquiry against the church. It was the first time that the domestic power, offspring of theocracy and monarchy, assumed the right of deliberative action. Monarchy, weak and impoverished, appealed to democracy for aid; and democracy turned upon theocracy, strong and wealthy, and directed the monarch's attention to the church's wealth. The parliament in which this was done met on the 6th of October 1404, and consisted of "such as were not skilled in the laws," so the clerical historians wrote; and it was called by them the "illiterate parliament." It consisted, however, of the fathers of English commerce, justice, and dignity. The king demanded a supply of money from it; and by petition it turned his attention to the revenues of the church, which consisted of one-third part of the whole lands of England, which yielded the king no personal service. The time, however, had not yet arrived for the monarchy to make such an inroad upon the theocratic institutions, and the petition was ejected. Neither were the commons strong enough to insist against the church; they granted the required tax, and the people paid it, though not without murmurs.

In the next year, 1405, the king, sensible that he should not in justice or policy call upon the people for another levy immediately, assembled the barons and clergy, and preferred his demands to them. They refused to grant him money, alleging as an excuse that it could only be granted by parliament regularly assembled. To save their own revenues was their real motives for refusal; but in the allegation they put forth they gave birth to a principle of popular power which in after times advanced the popular liberties, and became the safeguard of private property.

In 1406 the king, thus pressed by necessity, called a parliament, which met at Westminster; but instead of voting supplies, it employed itself on the question of its privileges, and passed an enactment in favour of freedom of election. The king, however, kept them together until, wearied and threatened, they complied.

The merchants were by this parliament commissioned to guard the seas from May in that year to Michaelmas, in consi-

deration for which they were empowered to draw certain taxes upon wine, wool, and leather. This commission to the merchants was given because there was no naval power sufficient to guard the coasts. By plague, famine, and insurrection, the monarchy was almost powerless; and but for the development of the mercantile enterprise of the people, which grew as personal freedom grew, despite the hindrance of war, famine, and plague, and the tyranny and turbulence of the nobles—more hurtful to commerce than all the other plagues—the kingdom would have been defenceless. Yet, when the next parliament was called in 1410, the king, under shadow of the clergy, ordered the sheriffs to have no regard to the majority at elections, but to return such members as would be most subservient in the levying of taxes. The commons, however, petitioned the king to fine the sheriffs who had made false returns, and again petitioned that the revenues of the clergy might be applied to the defence of the kingdom. The petitions were refused, the king not daring to be the enemy of clerical supremacy. The commons also supplicated that the statute for burning heretics might be repealed; but instead of complying, the king ordered John Bradley, a tailor, who had spoken heresy, to be burned in Smithfield; whereupon the commons, accounting that act a deliberate insult, refused to vote supplies until compelled.

Henry once more ravaged Scotland and plundered Edinburgh; and having put more noblemen to death than had been executed in any one reign before, he died on 20th March 1413, in the 47th year of his age and 14th of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Henry of Monmouth, Prince of Wales.

SECT. XXIV.—HENRY V. AND JOHN BRADLEY THE TAILOR.

Had all men beneath the degree of feudal chiefs remained in bondage, and in the condition of brutishness which accompanied bondage, they would have neither been heretical nor seditious. Wickliff would have preached to stone walls; or if such men as Bradley the tailor heard him, they would have been insensible to his doctrines like the stones. But free inquiry followed free industry wherever it was established. In the church or in the feudal castles the doctrines of Wickliff made small progress; but they were admitted to the workshops. Thoughts became words, and words principles, even with men so humbly esteemed in those days as tailors; and one of them gave proof that thoughts, words, and principles

when the national rights of mankind were involved in them, could survive the fires of Smithfield. They sacrificed him, put his body into a barrel and burned it, but the principles of free inquiry could not be consumed within the barrel. They escaped, and in time extended over the nation. To this day they are expanding over the world. Henry V., at that time Prince of Wales, was present at the execution, and offered the man pardon if he would recant. He would not accept life by recantation. The fire was lighted, and the prince had him unloosed, took him out of the fire, and promised him pardon and a pension provided he would recant; but he refused the offer, and suffered death.

No other two men in that reign produced such an effect upon the world as this warrior prince and this martyr tailor. The prince is illustrious in historic and poetic pages for the fires of war and disasters kindled in the land of France, and again and again heaped up afresh with new fuel. The tailor is but incidentally mentioned in history, and that partly because the prince was at his execution, and partly because the commons refused to vote supplies, deeming the execution for heresy an insult to them. The prince is famed for destroying human life and industrial property to extend his conquests and personal power, though that power did not survive himself, even to his own family. The tailor is known by name, yet hardly famed, for suffering his own life to be destroyed rather than those principles should be suppressed which have freed the nation and are fast emancipating the whole family of mankind. The prince with courage hacked Frenchmen to the earth who defended their rights, and left them on the earth to die. The tailor animated Englishmen who advocated their rights to persevere, and with courage died. How small the prince! How great the tailor!

In the early part of the reign of Henry V. some progress was made by the commons in the extension of the popular liberties, but captivated by his victories in France, they yielded themselves to his will. He died 31st August 1422, leaving an infant son who became Henry VI., and Catherine his widow a princess of France. This widow subsequently married with Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, whose grandson, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, became Henry VII., the first of the Tudor kings of England. He attained to the throne at the close of the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. Those wars began soon after the death of Henry V. and the accession of his infant son Henry VI. Commerce made little progress during that time; but as the feudal

aristocracy were self immolated in the carnage, and the people of England freed from bondage by that self destruction, we may glance briefly at the events.

SECT. XXV.—OF THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER.

Henry VI. an infant of the house of Lancaster, succeeded his father who was descended from the *fourth* son of Edward III. But he was molested throughout his life by his troublesome uncle, the Duke of York, descended from the *third* son of Edward III. The Duke of York, by the assistance of the Earl of Warwick and other nobles, was made king by the title of Edward IV. in 1461; Henry being deposed after living a miserable life of royalty from 1422 to 1461. The Lancasterians adopted a *red rose* as their badge, and the Yorkists a *white rose*. Hence the war was called the "wars of the roses." Warwick, after making Edward king, turned arms against him, took him prisoner, and placed him in confinement in Middletown Castle, Yorkshire, while Edward's prisoner, Henry VI. remained in the tower of London. Edward escaped, and, in a great battle at Barnet, killed Warwick, who fell with 10,000 men and many nobles. Edward died in 1483, and was nominally succeeded by his son Edward V. a child eleven years old. Within nine weeks from this child's accession, he and his brother were murdered by order of their uncle, Richard Duke of Gloucester. This undutiful uncle was crowned as Richard III. on the 6th of July 1483, and was slain on Bosworth field on the 22d August 1485, by Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond and his followers. Richard had carried his ill-gotten crown for safety to the battle with him. It was at once placed on Richmond's head, and, without more crowning, he became Henry VII.

Thus ended the wars of the roses, after a desolating period of thirty years. Twelve pitched battles had been fought, besides skirmishes innumerable. Eighty princes of the blood royal had perished, and the old nobility were almost entirely annihilated. The country had been trampled by the hoofs of war, and no man's life or property were safe. But now that the turbulent nobles had worn themselves out, and the people had worn out their bondage, and were, with very few exceptions, free; and now that a vigorous monarch devoted himself to the maintenance of peace and the improvement of the laws, the nation sprung up again as plants spring up after a long and dreary winter.

SECT. XXVI.—WILLIAM CAXTON THE PRINTER.

Of no single cause or power under heaven is the emancipation of the human mind, the extension of trade, or the civilisation of nations more directly a result, than of the art and practice of printing. It was in 1473, while Edward IV. warred against the adherents of Henry VI., and Warwick and the other nobles hacked themselves, the monarchy, and the nation, in pieces with their battle-axes, that William Caxton, a man who had gone to Cologne on the business of commerce, returned to England with the art of printing. By the favour of Milling, Abbot of Westminster, he set up a press in the armoury of the abbey in 1474; the press did not immediately put on its strength and majesty, but it was destined to rule, has ruled, and will continue to be the sovereign power over all others, royalty itself obedient to its bidding, while mankind endures on earth. William Caxton died 1491.

SECT. XXVII.—THE FIRST OF THE TUDOR KINGS.

On the accession of Henry Earl of Richmond to the crown of England as Henry VII. thirty years of a ferocious internal war were followed by peace. Fourteen hundred and eighty-four years of the Christian era had passed over England, and until now the larger number of the population were slaves. One thousand and fifty-seven years had elapsed since the Romans, whose British roads had carried internal intercourse throughout the island, withdrew, and left Britain to itself and to other conquerors; and during all that time intercourse between shire and shire, lordship and lordship, town and town, had been continually subject to the interruption, alike of those who were privileged to obstruct traffic by law, and by the lawless who were privileged by a freebooter's power.

But the barons who, by their privileges, their cupidity, or their wars, had thus cankered the national commerce at its core, had lifted suicidal hands against themselves, and were now dead and buried; some in marble tombs, some in mud ditches in the battle-fields, but all, save a few that were powerless, dead. Henry was king. There had been no previous sovereign in England with such power as he now possessed. With but few exceptions he used it well for the public good; without an exception he used it vigorously.

He passed laws restraining the surviving nobility, or the new nobles whom he created from the middle ranks of society, from enlisting retainers and giving them lodges and liveries. The services of villainage expired, and the bondmen took

liberty wherever they chose, while no superior had the power of re-conveying them to bondage. He gave the nobility and other great proprietors the power of cutting off the entails upon their estates, by which measure he wisely calculated upon keeping their power within bounds by their own acts of alienating their property. He gave to the poor the right of suing *in forma pauperis*. But, greater than any of these, he established security and freedom of internal intercourse throughout the kingdom. Foreign commerce sprung up at the outposts; inland trade grew up and flourished everywhere.

The greatest error of this commercial king was committed in his enforcement of new taxes under the allegation, on belief "that what comes into the government from the people is but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud and falls back upon the earth again." This error was cherished long after Henry's time; and even in these days of railway legislation the error still leads men of sagacious minds astray. (See the parliamentary proceedings in 1845, '46, '47, and '48, relative to railway capital; see also parliamentary debates in 1847, on a motion for a grant of L.16,000,000 sterling to make railways for the relief of Irish distress.) It is no longer admitted that a king or a government may draw taxes from the public as a cloud gathers moisture to be returned to the earth again. But those who, on the plea of providing employment and wages for a large body of the population by authorizing the construction of an unlimited extent of public works, thereby withdrawing capital from other investments, gathering it from every point as "moisture is gathered to the cloud to be returned to the earth," are not advanced in wisdom beyond Henry VII. though having the advantage of him by no less than three hundred and forty years of experience.

The greatest honours of Henry VII. beyond those of reigning over a nation for the first time free, for the first time during many centuries at peace, and for the first time rapidly progressing in domestic arts, inland trade, and foreign exchanges all at once, was the honour of living when Columbus and other navigators discovered the western world.

SECT. XXVIII.—HENRY VII. AND COLUMBUS.

The reign of this sovereign is memorable for the two greatest events in the history of nautical discovery and of modern commerce—the achievement of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the revelation of the new world of

America by the voyage of Columbus. Both these great discoveries were made in the search after the same object, a route to India by sea, which serves in some degree to account for the two having been so nearly coincident in point of time. Bartholomew Diaz returned to Portugal from the voyage in which he had rounded the southern extremity of Africa in December 1487. Some years before this date, however, Columbus had conceived his more brilliant idea of reaching the oriental world by sailing towards the west; a course which, on his conviction of the earth's rotundity, he calculated would bring him to the eastern confines of the same golden continent, the western parts of which were gained by proceeding in the opposite direction. Among the various states and crowned heads to which the illustrious Genoese proposed the glory of his great enterprise before he found a patroness in Isabella of Spain, one was our Henry VII., to whom he sent his brother Bartholomew in 1488. In his passage to England, Bartholomew was captured by pirates, plundered of everything, and made a slave. After some time he made his escape, and reached this country, but in such a state of destitution that he was obliged to apply himself to drawing sea-charts for a livelihood, and for the means of procuring himself decent clothes, before he could appear in the royal presence. King Henry so far listened to his proposals as to desire him to bring his brother to England; and he was on his way to Spain for that purpose, when, on reaching Paris, he learned that Columbus had already set out on his voyage under the patronage of the Spanish court. The capture of Bartholomew by pirates, it is remarked by the historian of our commerce, "thus turned out, under the direction of Providence, the means of preserving the English from losing their industry and commercial spirit in the mines of Mexico and Peru." Columbus sailed on his memorable voyage, from the bar of Saltes, near Palos, in Andalusia, on Friday, the 3d of August 1492, and reached the island of San Salvador on the 12th of October. He afterwards discovered Cuba, Hispaniola, and others of the West Indian islands; and, on the 15th of March 1493, he again landed at Palos, bringing back to the astonished nations of Europe the tidings of his success, in having reached what he continued to believe to his dying day to be the eastern shores of the Indies; for it was not till twenty years after this time, and seven years after the original discoverer of the new world had been laid in his grave, that the Pacific was first seen from the mountains near Panama by Balboa. On the 25th of September 1493, Columbus sailed from Cadiz, on his second voyage, from which he returned to

the same port on the 11th of June 1496, after having discovered the Caribbee Islands, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica.

In the next section we present a memoir of Sebastian Cabot, the discoverer of North America.

Henry VII. died on the 21st of April 1509, in the 53d year of his age and 24th of his reign. He is alleged to have left treasure behind him equal to L.16,000,000 of the currency of 1848. He had a propensity to gather and trade in money, and historians have spoken severely of him as an avaricious miser; they seem to forget, however, that Henry VII. did not waste his resources in war. He permitted all who would engage in trade to do so; and in several projects of commerce he united with his subjects, adding to their respective revenues by their joint enterprise.

SECT. XXIX.—SEBASTIAN CABOT OF BRISTOL.

The earliest of the eminent English navigators, and greatest of them all, deserves a prominent place among the pioneers of British commerce. He was born at Bristol about the year 1475. When he was four years old he was taken by his father, Sir John Cabot, or John Gavatta, to Venice, the city of his ancestors, where he resided for some time. This circumstance, united to that of his parentage, has given some colour to the Italian account, which claims him for a countryman, and affirms that he was born at Venice, and which seems to have been implicitly received, not merely by Hakluyt, Purchas, and Churchill, but by Hume, Foster, Charlevoix, and Barrow. The authority on this point is indisputable, although it has been strangely overlooked for nearly three centuries. In Richard Eden's "Decades of the New World"—a rare and curious black-letter volume, published in 1555—the following marginal note occurs on page 255:—"Sebastian Cabot told me that he was born in Brystow, and that at iii. years old he was carried with his father into Venice, and so returned agayne into England with his father after certayne years, whereby he was thought to have been born in Venice."

Sebastian manifested a decided inclination to the life of a sailor, was early instructed in all the branches of navigation, and was allowed to make several short trips to sea in order to acquire a competent knowledge of the practical part of his profession. Europe was at this period "ringing from side to side" with the discoveries of the Portuguese in the east, and the still more brilliant and important ones of Columbus in the western hemisphere, and the young Cabot warmly partook of

the general enthusiasm. Speaking of the effect produced in England by the news of the discoveries of Columbus, he says, "All men, with great admiration, affirm it to be a thing more divine than human;" and afterwards, he adds, "by this fame and report, there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing." Happily the flame was cherished. It was in 1493 that Columbus returned from his first expedition; and, on the 5th of March 1496, a patent was granted by Henry VII. to John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Saucius, authorizing them, their heirs, or deputies, to "sail to all parts, countries, and seas of the east, and of the west, and of the north, under our banners and ensigns, with five ships, of what burden or quantity soever they may be, to seek out, discover, and find, whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces, of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians." The monarch, in granting the patent, however, stipulated for one-fifth part of the profits which might arise from any enterprise undertaken upon it. The mention of the father's name in this patent has led many to suppose that he also was a distinguished navigator; but of this, notwithstanding what Hakluyt says, there is no conclusive evidence. It has never been affirmed that all the sons engaged in the voyage, and yet the presumption is just as strong with regard to each of them as to the father. All that we know of the latter is, that he came to England "to follow the trade of merchandise." Might not the wary king be looking to the funds of the wealthy Venetian as the best security for his portion, and for the faithful execution of the terms of the patent? The expedition sailed from Bristol on the spring of 1497, with the view of exploring a northern passage to India. Cabot first directed his course to Iceland, and thence launched out into the unknown seas of the west. On the 24th of June 1497, he came in sight of land to his great surprise, "not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay." This land was the continent of North America; for, although some modern authorities assert that Cabot went no farther north than the latitude of 56⁰⁴, it appears from Ramusio's preface to the third volume of his "Collection of Voyages," that he actually penetrated as far north as 67⁰. He even sailed a considerable distance into Hudson's Bay; but the crew wanted the enthusiasm of their captain, and, getting tired of the difficulties and toils which they here encountered, compelled him reluctantly to return to England

Nothing daunted by the experience of the past, we find our young navigator no sooner landed upon his native shores than, making application for another patent to enable him to set out again on a fresh voyage of discovery. His request was granted and a new patent issued on the 3d of February 1498. The discovery of this important document by his recent biographer, after a tedious search in the Roll's chapel, has effectually cleared up a point of great consequence in the memoir of Sebastian and the annals of English navigation. It gives authority to John Kabotto, "That he, by him, his deputie, or deputies, sufficient, may take at his pleasure vi, English shippes in any porte or portes, or other places within this our realme of England, or abeisances, so that, and if the said shippes be of the bourdeyn of cc. tounes or under, with their apparail requisite and necessarie for the safe conduct of the said shippes, and them convey and lede to the lande and isles of late found by the same John in our name, and by oure commaundements." Here is distinct testimony to the important fact that Sebastian Cabot was the first discoverer, or—if the Northmen did actually reach America in the eleventh century—the first civilized discoverer of the continent of America. For it is matter of history that Columbus did not effect that discovery on which his fame rests till his third voyage, upon which he set sail on the 30th of May 1498; but Sebastian, as we have seen, discovered Labrador in the month of June of the preceding year. Of the results of this second expedition little is known; nor do we hear anything of Sebastian for a period of fourteen or fifteen years after his second return to England.

In 1512 he entered into the service of Spain; but, on the death of King Ferdinand, he returned to England. In 1517 he sailed on an expedition of discovery, but was forced to put back by a mutiny of his crew. In 1518 we find him again in the employment of the court of Spain, as pilot-major; and in 1526 he took the command of an expedition to the Molucca islands, on behalf of a company formed at Seville. In this charge he visited Brazil, and afterwards explored the river La Plata as far as a small island nearly opposite where Buenos Ayres now stands, whence he proceeded to the Parana, which he explored to its junction with the Paraguay. There is reason to believe that Cabot, during his residence in South America, formed a plan for the conquest of Peru, and communicated his views to the court of Spain.

In 1548 Cabot returned to England. What the precise motives were which induced him to resign his honourable and lucrative post in the Spanish marine, are not precisely known;

but there is sufficient evidence of the high estimation in which the English sailor was held abroad, in the formal and urgent demand made by the Spanish ambassador, that "Sebastian Cabot, grand pilot of the emperor's Indies, then in England, might be sent over to Spain, as a very necessary man for the emperor, whose servant he was, and had a pension of him." The demand was not complied with; but a pension of 250 marks, (L.166:13:6,) with the office of grand pilot of England, were conferred upon him by Edward VI. It was by the advice of Cabot that Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition to the north of Europe was undertaken. The scheme completely succeeded, and opened up a lucrative trade to the English merchants with Russia. His death took place about the year 1557. His faithful friend, Richard Eden, attended him in his last moments, and has left on record some particulars of the scene, which exhibit the master passion of Cabot's mind holding its sway to the last. Eden laments that, "even in the article of death, he had not shaken off all worldlie vaine glorie," for he talked flightily about a divine revelation to him of a new and infallible method of finding the longitude, which he was not permitted to disclose to any mortal. "When we remember," says the biographer whose labours have vindicated for Cabot his title to the highest rank in the annals of maritime discovery—"when we remember the earnest religious feelings exhibited in the instructions of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and which formed so decided a feature of Cabot's character, it is impossible to conceive a stronger proof of the influence of long-cherished habits of thought, than that his decaying faculties, at this awful moment, were yet entangled with the problems which continue to this day to vex and elude the human intellect." The dying seaman was again, in imagination, on that beloved ocean over whose billows his intrepid and adventurous youth had opened a pathway, and whose mysteries had occupied him longer than the allotted span of ordinary life. The date of his death is not known, nor, except presumptively, the place where it occurred. From the presence of Eden, we may infer that he died in London. It is not known where his remains were deposited. The claims of England in the new world have been uniformly and justly rested on his discoveries. Proposals of colonization were urged on the clearness of the title thus acquired, and the shame of abandoning it. The English language would probably be spoken in no part of America but for Sebastian Cabot. The commerce of England and her navy are admitted to have been deeply—incalculably—his debtors. Yet there is reason to fear that, in his extreme age, the allowance which

had been solemnly granted to him for life, was fraudulently broken in upon. His birth-place we have seen denied. His fame has been obscured by the English writers, and every vile calumny against him eagerly adopted and circulated. All his own maps and discoveries, "drawn and written by himself," which it was hoped might come out in print—"because so worthy monuments should not be buried in perpetual oblivion"—have been buried in perpetual oblivion. He gave a continent to England, yet no one can point to the few feet of earth she has allowed him in return.

SECT. XXIX.—THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE AND THE STEELYARD COMPANY.

The Steelyard Company was a body of German merchants, resident in England, or, when not resident, with agencies in England. They had extensive privileges to trade between London and the towns of the Hanseatic League. These Hanse towns were about seventy in number, chief of which was Lubeck. The communities within them respectively had taken up arms of defence against their baronial neighbours, who, dwelling in castles, sallied forth, robbed them, and obstructed their trade; and ultimately they leagued themselves together, and, making war upon the barons, reduced the castles, established free governments, made treaties of peace with kings and other states, and bound themselves to unite for mutual defence against all enemies. By trading to England they acquired warehouse and office property in London called the Steelyard. As it is doubtful whether they gave their trading designation to the property, or derived their designation from it, we shall waste no speculations upon the meaning of the term "Steelyard." The seventy Hanse towns which were leagued together comprised four districts, called the districts of Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic. Of the factories of the Hanse towns in foreign countries, four were accounted of chief dignity, Novgorod in Russia; London, in England; Bruges, in Flanders; and Bergen, in Norway. It is uncertain when they founded settlements in those towns, but it is conjectured that their settlement in London was more ancient and more extensive than any of the others. They were not imitated by the burghal communities of England, Scotland, or Ireland, in throwing off the baronial and kingly powers, and establishing municipal republics, which is clearly traceable to the fact already noted, that in Britain the monarchy sided with the burghal interests against the baronial privileges. But when centuries had passed away, and monopolies of associated

traders, of associated manufacturers, and of associated landowners had come in conflict with each other, or had been allied in legislative injustice to make each other rich at the national expense; and when it came to pass in the year 1839 that the population of Britain cried to the legislature for liberty to buy corn wherever they could obtain it, and the legislature, composed chiefly of the great landowners, monopolists in corn, still denied them that liberty, a deputation of the manufacturers of Manchester assembled in London said, "Let us imitate the Hanseatic League, which resisted the great barons of Germany; let us form a league of the towns of Britain against the monopolists of corn, and cease not to oppose them until they yield." And they did this, and were successful. They formed the *National Anti-Corn-Law League*, to the labours of which this *Biographic History* is dedicated. And we shall proceed to the historic delineations of that great subject, as soon as we have glanced at the rise and progress of the government and commerce of Britain, and noted the names and services of those original thinkers and pioneers of free trade, who preceded the members of the *National Anti-Corn-Law League*.

There had been treaties between the English sovereigns and the Hanse merchants during several centuries before the reign of Edward IV., but they were violated on both sides it was alleged, and, beyond doubt, on the side of the English kings. In 1475 Edward IV. renewed the treaties in a more formal manner, and consented to pay L.10,000 as compensation due to the Hanse merchants. The Steelyard Company continued to have privileges in England, and to virtually monopolize the English foreign trade until the reign of Henry VIII. In the reign of his son, Edward VI. their privileges were abolished and transferred to the English company of merchant adventurers.

SECT. XXX.—OF SCOTTISH AND IRISH COMMERCE.

Of Scottish commerce we could do little but write of the burghers and lords, the lords and kings, striving for liberty, for mastery, for safety, or for existence as in England. Berwick was the depository of the traffic of the Hanse merchants trading with Scotland. William Elphinstone, a merchant on the Clyde, trading largely in pickled herrings and salinon, founded the commerce of Glasgow early in the fifteenth century, by drawing the fishing boats from different ports of the western coasts to the Broomielaw, the district of Glasgow where the wharfage is still situated. But as we are tracing the fortunes

of commerce as affected by the political and theocratical institutions of the nation, and not purporting to give a continuous history of commercial progress, adventure, and misadventure, we can only say of Scotland, that its trade was affected by all the adverse influences which fell upon the trade of England, while, under a colder climate and less fertile soil, it had fewer of those natural favours which, even in the times of war and waste, smiled upon England, and made England smile again.

Ireland had commercial struggles of a different kind from those of England and Scotland; she had to struggle with English conquest. The period when we may most fitly review what she had been and what she became, what she might have been and what she could not be, is that period when the great teacher of political economy and commercial freedom, Adam Smith, made a convert of one of the greatest statesmen of modern times—William Pitt. And when William Pitt made the attempt to apply the principles of free trade to the intercourse of England with Ireland, but was prevented by the English manufacturers, who had not then, nor long after, become students of Adam Smith and of their own best interests.

SECT. XXXI.—THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND.

This association of traders originated as early as the beginning of the 14th century. In 1493, when Henry VII. entered upon a three years' quarrel with the Flemings, the merchant adventurers of England were sent out of Flanders and the Flemings were ordered away from England. During the interval of trade the English merchants continued to buy cloth from the manufacturers, say the historians, though they had no foreign outlet for it. "They were a strong company, and well underset with rich men, and did hold out bravely, taking off the commodities of the kingdom though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent." In the reign of the next king, Henry VIII., when he was involved in a foreign quarrel, and the commodities of the nation had no vent, a royal order was issued that the merchants were to buy the manufactured goods from the "poor men" in all parts of the kingdom. But the lord treasurer's answer to the king was, that the "sullen merchants said they would not buy that which they had no use for."

This company had not only become strong enough to dare to be "sullen" to a despotic king, but they dared to assert a control over the national trade; "nay, the fellowship of the mercers and other merchant adventurers, dwelling in the city

of London, had made an ordinance and constitution that no Englishman resorting to the said marts abroad should either buy or sell any goods or merchandises there, unless he first compounded and made fine with the said fellowship of merchants of London at their pleasure, upon pain of forfeiture of the goods so by him bought or sold; which fine, imposition, and exaction, at the beginning, when it was first taken, was demanded by colour of a fraternity of St Thomas of Canterbury, at which time the said fine was but the value of half an old noble sterling, (3s. 4d.) and so by colour of such feigned holiness it hath been suffered to be taken for a few years past; and afterward it was increased to a hundred shillings Flemish; and now it is so that the said fellowship and merchants of London take of every Englishman or young merchant being there, at his first coming, twenty pounds sterling for a fine, to suffer him to buy and sell his own proper goods, wares, and merchandises that he hath there." It is asserted that the effect of this imposition had been to make all merchants not belonging to the London company withdraw themselves from the foreign marts, whereby the woollen cloth, which was one of the great commodities of the realm, "by making whereof the king's true subjects be put in occupation, and the poor people have most universally their living," and also other commodities produced in different parts of the kingdom, were not disposed of as formerly, "but, for lack of utterance of the same in divers parts where such cloths be made, they be conveyed to London, where they be sold far under the price that they be worth, and that they cost to the makers of the same, and at some time they be lent to long days, and the money thereof at divers times never paid." On the other hand, foreign commodities, the importation of which was now wholly in the hands of the London Company, were sold at so high a price, that the "buyer of the same could not live thereupon; that is to say, could not retail them at a living profit."

We find the monarchy, in the person of Henry VIII., strong enough, with the good-will of the populace and the new aristocracy—a very different aristocracy from the feudal barons who had been self-sacrificed in the wars of the princes of York and Lancaster—we find this king, with these influences to back him, strong enough to demolish the theocratic power and plunder it; not to destroy it utterly, but to bring it to the dust, roll it in the dust, strip it of its wealth, and leave it to get up again if it could. We find the monarchy strong enough for its representative to commit crimes at once the most horrible, and proclaim by the laws that those crimes were virtues; and yet that monarchy was not strong enough to resist and set at defiance

a street riot of the London 'prentices, those 'prentices backed by the populace and the merchant adventurers in their opposition to foreigners trading and carrying on handicrafts in London, were used by the merchant adventurers to control the monarchy, deter the king from granting trade privileges to any but themselves and operate upon to extend the privileges of monopoly to themselves. It is true that the leader of the 'prentices, John Lincoln, in the riots against settlers and foreigners, was hanged, and that ten gallows on wheels were taken to the city to hang many more; but the principle of monopoly prevailed, and a law was passed in parliament granting the exclusive privileges which the 'prentices had been urged to demand by street rioting.

SECT. XXXII.—THE PROGRESS OF COMMERCE AND MONOPOLY.

The discoveries of Columbus, Cabot, and the earlier navigators, together with the commercial spirit of Britain, quickening and expanding every year, now that all men were free to go whither they would, led other adventurers to the sea. In the reigns of the other Tudor sovereigns who succeeded Henry VII. and Henry VIII., namely, Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, several enterprising navigators went forth upon the oceans of the world to extend the political and commercial dominion of England. Sir Martin Frobisher voyaged in search of new routes to India by the north; and, though not succeeding, he discovered useful products of nature, and added to geographical knowledge; he brought products also which were not useful, black stones supposed to be transmutable to gold, and was sported with for the folly. Sir John Hawkins voyaged to the coast of Africa, and—accursed be the day—discovered that he could make gold out of black men, by selling them to slavery. He brought the gold home, and was neither rebuked for his folly nor his sin; on the contrary, others joined him in the trade. Sir Francis Drake voyaged round the world, took gold from the Spanish Americans, incurred some discredit for piracy but much applause for enterprise, and added greatly to commercial and geographical knowledge.

Elizabeth, to the Spanish ambassador, who demanded to know by what right Drake or any English navigator dared to go into the Indian seas, (the Western Atlantic, Gulph of Mexico, and Pacific,) replied that "she understood not why her subjects, or those of any other province, should be debarred from the Indies, (the Americas,) to which she could not admit that the Spaniard had any just title." She maintained that no imaginary right of property, asserted either by the

Spaniards or the Portuguese, could hinder others from trading to those countries; "nor," she continued, "could she or any other prince be with reason prevented from freely navigating that vast ocean, seeing the use of the sea and the air is free to all. Neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people or private persons, forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof." If the recent voyages of the English navigators inspired this high remonstrance worthy of a queen of England, it is not less certain that this dignified assertion of national rights led to the great national adventures, perseverance, and success which followed.

Captain John Davis penetrated to the north, discovered the straits which bear his name. Cavendish, Merrick, Richard Hawkins, Weymouth, Lancaster, and many others, penetrated southward and east, and traversed India. Some were fortunate for themselves, others had nothing but misfortunes; yet all added to the extension and knowledge of foreign trade.

Sir Walter Raleigh and his brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, directed their talents and enterprise to colonization. Gilbert perished with four ships on the coast of Newfoundland. Raleigh, not discouraged by two failures, of which this was one, voyaged to the west again, and discovered that part of the continent which forms the states of North Carolina and Virginia, the latter being so named by Queen Elizabeth.

It is to be regretted that Elizabeth did not perceive that companies or individuals among her own subjects, who monopolized the trade to certain parts of the world, or in certain professions at home, were equally blameable with the sovereigns or nations who sought to monopolize the American seas and coasts, and whom she so regally rebuked for wrongdoing. The company of merchant adventurers, imitating the foreign company of the steelyard, was imitated by many other companies, some of them of magnitude with great purposes, others contemptible in persons and purposes.

From companies the monopolies descended to individuals, until it became customary to sell exclusive privileges of trading in particular articles, or in particular localities, to any person who could pay to the crown a price for the privilege, and exercise sufficient interest with the ministers of the crown to be preferred. Among other excellent services to the commerce of this country, we find Sir Walter Raleigh denouncing those monopolies in parliament; with what effect is uncertain; occasionally they were revoked; but only, as it appeared, to be sold at a higher price to new competitors.

It must be observed, however, that most of the companies trading abroad were liable to depredation at sea from

enemies, as the factors and factories, settled by them in far-off lands, were liable to attacks from savages, or natives rising against them, to protect one another, and to be at the joint expense of armed defences in their first settlements, they united together in companies—the Turkey Company, African Company, Spanish Company, (trading to South America,) the East India Company, and others.

Having, in previous sections, traced the origin of commerce, and the progress of personal liberty, up to the reign of Henry VII., at which period of time all classes of men were, for the first time in England, free; without which personal freedom, trade, the foundation of national greatness, could not flourish; and having now glanced at the progress of geographical discovery and commercial enterprise, in the reigns of the five Tudors, sovereigns whose vigorous governments preserved the monarchy entire on one hand, and the personal freedom of the people on the other, we come to the period of the first of the Stuarts, James I.

SECT. XXXIII.—EDWARD MISSELDEN, FREE TRADE.

The monopolies sold by the crown and bought by ministerial favourites increased in number to an unparalleled extent in the reign of James I. and his son Charles I. In 1622 we find a gentleman named Edward Misselden, dedicating a small but important work, entitled *Free Trade*, to the Prince of Wales, Misselden adopts the errors common in his time, which were hardly admitted to be errors two hundred years after, when the first commercial reformer of the board of trade, Huskisson, endeavoured to instruct the legislature on subjects of commerce, namely, that the wealth of the nation is derived from the difference which the price of goods exported out of the country bears over goods imported into the country. He believes, erroneously, that gold paid for the produce of foreign countries is a national loss. But he sees clearly that the monopolies of traders at home, who exclude one another from dealing where they can or choose is a loss. It is against such monopolies as these that he directs his missive, *Free Trade*.

Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, declared that “monopolies are like hydra’s heads—they grow up as fast as they are cut off.” Sir William Petty, ancestor of the Marquis of Lansdowne, a family which has produced several eminent public men, seems to have been the first practical writer who can be called a free trader.

SECT. XXXIV.—SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

There is a small town in the middle of Hampshire, in a valley with powerful streams of water running through it, called Rumsey. In that town, engaged in the manufacture of cloth, on one of those streams, there lived, at the beginning of the 17th century, a manufacturer named Anthony Petty. He had a son called William, born in 1623, who became an eminent scholar, physician, inventor, statesman, and commercial philosopher. In forming his own opinions on commercial policy, and in attempting to form the opinions of others, he was the earliest and the soundest thinker and writer on free trade who had yet appeared.

In childhood and throughout life he displayed a genius for the mechanical arts. He made rapid progress in polite literature, the Greek, Latin, and French languages. Thus accomplished at the age of fifteen, he went in search of farther improvement to Caen in Normandy. On returning to England, he obtained a situation in the money office, and having saved about threescore pounds, he deemed this small sum sufficient to defray the expenses of travelling in foreign parts.

He embarked for the Netherlands about the year 1634, taking with him his younger brother, Anthony, whose education he also undertook. He visited several universities and studied for a physician at Paris, and was there the friend of his celebrated countryman, Thomas Hobbes. He returned to England in 1646, bringing with him ten pounds more than he took away; his mercantile genius having turned his attention, it is supposed, to traffic, although a pupil of medicine.

In 1647 he obtained a patent for an instrument resembling the modern pantograph, whereby two copies of the same thing might be written at once. Some time after this he fixed his abode at Oxford, where he practised physic and chemistry with great success, and assisted Dr Clayton, the anatomist, in his dissertations. Having had university honours and a fellowship conferred on him, he became anatomy professor to the university, and professor of music to Gresham College. In 1652 he was appointed physician to the army in Ireland. He was likewise physician to three successive lord-lieutenants, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Henry Cromwell. His fertile genius, however, could not be confined to the science of medicine alone. Being an excellent mathematician, he observed that, after the Rebellion in Ireland of 1641, the forfeited lands, which had been allotted to the soldiers for suppressing it, were very defectively measured, and made such representations upon the subject to Oliver Cromwell, that he granted

him a contract in 1654, to make new admeasurements, which he executed with great accuracy. By this contract he gained upwards of ten thousand pounds. And it appears, by authentic records, that in 1655 he had surveyed 2,800,000 acres of forfeited improvable land, part of which he had divided amongst the disbanded soldiers. Henry Cromwell being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in the course of that year, he chose Dr Petty to be his secretary; and in 1657 made him clerk of the council, and procured him a seat in the English parliament, in which he served for the borough of Westlow in Cornwall. He met with a severe mortification, however, in being impeached in March 1658, by Sir Hierom Sankey, for high crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office of surveying and distributing the Irish lands. The matter came not to a final issue, the parliament being suddenly dissolved by Richard Cromwell. But Sir Hierom Sankey commenced a more vigorous prosecution against him in Ireland, upon his return thither soon after the dissolution of the parliament; and though he published a justification of himself, yet neither this performance, nor a letter written in his favour by Henry Cromwell, to his brother the protector, could prevent his being dismissed from all public employment as soon as Richard Cromwell had resigned, and the remnant of the long parliament had re-assumed the reigns of government.

On the Restoration, Dr Petty came to England, and was very graciously received by his majesty; soon after he resigned his professorship of Gresham College, the king having appointed him to be one of the commissioners of the Court of Claims, established in Ireland in 1662, to settle the claims relating to forfeited estates in the kingdom. His majesty likewise conferred on him the honour of knighthood, granted him a new patent constituting him surveyor-general of Ireland, and, in his instructions to the Court of Claims, ordered that all the forfeited lands which had been assigned to him, and of which he had been possessed in May 1659, before his dismissal from his former employments, should be confirmed to him for ever. Sir William Petty's estates amounted now, according to his own account, to six thousand pounds per annum.

Upon the institution of the Royal Society of London, in 1662, Sir William Petty was elected one of the council, and though he no longer practised as a physician, his name was inserted on the list of the fellows, upon the renewal of the charter of the College of Physicians in 1663. Sir William about this time invented a double-bottomed ship, to sail

against wind and tide, which performed one successful voyage very expeditiously, from Dublin to Holyhead, in July 1664. He gave a model of this vessel to the Royal Society, which is still preserved in their repository; he likewise communicated to that learned body, in 1665, a discourse on ship-building. Sir William employed great part of his time for many years in attempts to improve upon his ship; and after having made upwards of twenty models at great expense, he at length had a vessel completed according to his own instructions, which was publicly tried in the harbour of Dublin, in December 1684. Sir William had asserted "that he would construct passage-boats between Dublin and Chester, which should be a kind of stage-boats; for they should be regular in going and returning on set days, in all weathers, as the stage-coaches between London and a country town;" "but this experiment completely failed, yet the vexation occasioned by the disappointment did not deter Sir William from continuing his studies for the improvement of shipping during the remainder of his life, and though he made no more public experiments, he wrote several ingenious essays on the subject."

In the year 1666, Sir William published a book entitled *Verbum Sapienti*, containing an account of the wealth and expenses of England, and the method of raising taxes in the most equal manners, shewing likewise that England can bear the charge of four millions annually, when the occasions of the government require it. Though this was the first tract on the public revenues published by our author, yet it appears that his famous treatise on *Political Arithmetic* was presented by him to Charles II. in a manuscript, upon his restoration. He had likewise published a small piece on a more limited plan in 1662, entitled "A Treatise on Taxes and Contributions, shewing the nature and measures of crown lands, assessments, customs, poll-money, lotteries, benevolence," &c.; but his *Verbum Sapienti* was a better display of his abilities as a political calculator, and was well received from its novelty, there being at that time scarcely anything extant upon the finances or the property and resources of the kingdom.

In 1667, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hardnesse Walbe, and relict of Sir Maurice Fenton, baronet; and from this time he engaged in various pursuits. He opened lead mines, and began a trade in timber; he likewise set up an iron-work, and established a pilchard fishery, all in Ireland, by which he greatly benefited that country and enriched himself. Though he now resided chiefly in England, yet he made frequent visits to Ireland, and promoted the establishment of a philosophical society at Dublin, in imitation of the

Royal Society of London, of which he was president in 1684. In 1685 he made his will, which is as remarkable as any other transaction of his life. Amongst other things, he takes notice that, from thenceforward "he should confine his studies to the anatomy of the people, to political arithmetic, and to the improvement of ships, land-carriages, and pumps, as of most use to mankind, not blaming the study of other men." But death put a period to his useful labours in the year 1687, when he was carried off by a gangrene in his foot, occasioned by the gout. Sir William Petty was the first able financier of this country who reduced the art of raising and applying the public revenues of the kingdom to a scientific system. His *Political Arithmetic* is a masterpiece of its kind, considering the time at which it appeared, and long served as a grammar to the students of political economy. It was published in London, by his son, in 1698, in 8vo, and has been frequently reprinted. Sir William Petty's eldest son was created Baron Shelburne, in the county of Waterford, by William III., but dying without issue, he was succeeded in that honour by his younger brother, Henry, who was created Viscount Dunkeran, in the county of Kerry, and Earl of Shelburne, in 1718. From this nobleman is descended the present Marquis of Lansdowne. Sir William Petty's history affords a remarkable instance of the establishment of a noble family from the united efforts of ingenuity and industry in one man, who, from so small a beginning as sixty pounds, and after being reduced to such penury in France as to be obliged "to live for a week on two or three penny worth of walnuts," hewed out a fortune to himself, and left his family at his death, L.6500 per annum in land, above L.45,000 in personal effects, and a plan of demonstrable improvements on his estate, to produce L.4000 per annum more.

From his *Political Survey of Ireland*, we make the following extracts, which are curious; they refer to the year 1676:—

"The number of the people in Ireland is about 1,100,000, viz., 300,000 English, Scotch, and Welsh Protestants, and 800,000 Papists, whereof one-fourth are unfit for labour, and about 75,000 of the remainder are, by reason of their quality and estates, above the necessity of corporeal labour; so as there remain 750,000 labouring men and women, 500,000 whereof do perform the present work of the nation.

"The said 1,100,000 people do live in about 200,000 families or houses, whereof there are about 16,000 which have more than one chimney in each; and about 24,000 which

have but one; all the other houses, being 160,000, are wretched, nasty cabins, without chimney, window, or door to shut, even worse than those of the savage Americans, and wholly unfit for making merchantable butter, cheese, or the manufacture of woollen, linen, or leather."

Sir William Petty was in favour of a union between England and Ireland, not politically alone, but one of free commercial intercourse. In 1664 an act passed in England prohibiting the importation of cattle and beef from Ireland. Of this act Sir William Petty said—"If it be good for England to keep Ireland a distinct kingdom, why do not the predominant party in parliament, suppose the western members, make England beyond Trent another kingdom, and take tolls and customs upon the borders?—or why was there ever any union between England and Wales?—and why may not the entire kingdom of England be farther cantonized for the advantage of all parties?"

In a work entitled *A Treatise on Contributions, shewing the nature and measures of Crown Lands, Assessments, Customs, Poll Money, Lotteries, Benevolences, &c.*, Sir William Petty expounds the economical truth, that the value of commodities depends more frequently on the labour required to produce them than on any other cause. Mr Maculloch pronounces this to be "one of the most remarkable of the early tracts in any branch of political economy." Petty illustrates his subject thus:—

"A collateral question may be, how much corn or rent this English money is worth? I answer, so much as the money which another single man can save within the same time, over and above his expense, if he employed himself wholly to produce and make it: viz., let another man go travel into the country where is silver, there dig it, refine it, bring it to the same place where the other man planted his corn, coin it, &c., the same person, all the while of his working for silver, gathering also food for his necessary livelihood, and procuring himself covering, &c., I say the silver of the one must be esteemed of equal value with the corn of the other, the one being perhaps twenty ounces and the other twenty bushels. From whence it follows that the price of a bushel of this corn ought to be an ounce of silver.

"And forasmuch as possibly there may be more art and hazard in working about silver than about the corn, yet all comes to the same pass; for, let a hundred men work ten years upon corn, and the same number of men the same time upon silver, I say that the neat proceed of the silver is the price of the whole neat proceed of the corn, and like parts

of the one the price of like parts of the other, although not so many of those who wrought in silver learned the art of refining and coining, or outlived the dangers and diseases of working in the mines. And this, also, is the way of pitching the true proportion between the values of gold and silver, which many times is set, by popular error, sometimes more, sometimes less, diffused in the world; which error (by the way) is the cause of our having been pestered with too much gold heretofore, and wanting it now."

"If a man can bring to London an ounce of silver out of the earth in Peru, in the same time that he can produce a bushel of corn, the one is the natural price of the other. Now, if by reason of new and more easy mines, a man can get two ounces of silver as easily as he formerly did one, then corn will be as cheap at ten shillings the bushel as it was before at five shillings."

"Natural dearness and cheapness depend upon the few or more hands requisite to necessaries of nature; as corn is cheaper where one man produces corn for ten, than where he can do the like but for six, and withal, according to the climate, disposes men to a necessity of spending more or less. Corn will be twice as dear where are two hundred husbandmen to do the same work which an hundred could perform."

SECT. XXXV.—LEWIS ROBERTS, MERCHANT AND CAPTAIN OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

This author published a work entitled "the Merchants' Map of Commerce," and another of the "Treasure of Traffic," from which we make a few extracts to shew the nature of the merchandise in which some of the principal companies dealt previous to the year 1641.

Roberts was one of the first writers who justified the exportation of gold under any circumstances, and the first, we believe, who wrote of the Manchester cotton trade. "When I survey," he exclaims, "every kingdom and great city of the world, and every petty port and creek of the same, and find in each of these some English prying after the trade and commerce thereof, . . . I am easily brought to imagine that either this great traffic of England is at its full perfection, or that it aims higher than can hitherto, by my weak sight, be either seen or discerned. I must confess England breeds in its own womb the principal supporters of its present splendour, and nourisheth with its own milk the commodities that give both lustre and life to the continuance of this trade which I pray may neither ever decay nor yet have the least diminution

But England being naturally seated in another corner of the world, and herein bending under the weight of too ponderous a burden, cannot possibly always and for ever find a vent for all those commodities that are seen to be daily imported and brought within the compass of so narrow a circuit; unless there can be, by the policy and government of the state, a mean found out to make this island either the common emporium and staple of all Europe, or at leastwise of all these our neighbouring northern regions." He then proceeds to observe that English commerce was formerly confined to the export of the staple merchandise of the country, "such as are cloths, lead, tin, some new late draperies, and other English real and royal commodities," and to the import from foreign parts of mere supplies for ourselves; but that "the late great traffic of this island hath been such that it hath not only proved a bountiful mother to the inhabitants, but also a courtcous nurse to the adjoining neighbours;" so that whatever trade they had lost we had gained, and they now obtained a large portion of what they consumed of the produce of distant parts of the world through the medium of England. Thus England, he proceeds, had fallen into the traffic with India, Arabia, and Persia, which was formerly enjoyed by Venice, and now furnished that very city plenteously with the rich commodities of these eastern countries. London also supplied the place of Venice to the rest of Italy. To France England still brought the excellent commodities of Constantinople, Alexandria, Aleppo, and the rest of the Turkish dominions, the French having almost lost their own trade with those parts. Nay, to the Turks themselves England now conveyed the precious spices of India, after their own merchants had ceased to carry on that trade. "Will you," continues our author, "view Muscovia, survey Sweden, look upon Denmark, peruse the East Country, and those other colder regions, there shall you find the English to have been; the inhabitants, from the prince to the peasant, wear English woollen livery, feed in English pewter, sauce with English Indian spices, and send to their enemies sad English leaden messengers of death. Will you behold the Netherlands, whose eyes and hearts envy England's traffic, yet they must perforce confess that, for all their great boasts, they are indebted to London for most of their Syria commodities, besides what of other wares else they have of English growth. Will you see France, and travel it from Marselia to Calais, though they stand least in need of us, yet they cannot last long without our commodities. And for Spain, if you pry therein from the prince's palace to the poor man's cottage, he will *voto a Dios* (vow to God) there is no

clothing comparable to the English bay, *nor pheasant excelling a seasonable English red herring!*"

The India Company, he says, trading to Persia, India, and Arabia, export to these countries our English commodities, and bring back thence "pepper, cloves, maces, nutmegs, cottons, rice, calicoes of sundry sorts, bezoar stones, aloes, borax, calamus, cassia, mirabolans, myrrh, opium, rhubarb, cinnamon; sanders, spikenard, musk, civet, tamarinds, precious stones of all sorts, as diamonds, pearls, carbuncles, emeralds, jacinths, sapphires, spinals, turques, topazes, indigo, and silks, raw and wrought into sundry fabrics, benjamin, camphire, sandal-wood, and infinite other commodities." "And, though in India and these parts," he adds, "their trade equalizeth not neither the Portugals nor the Dutch, yet, in candid, fair, and merchant-like dealing, these Pagans, Mahometans, and gentiles hold them in esteem far before them, and they deservedly have here the epithet of far more current and square dealers. And, although for the present this trade and company do suffer under some adverse clouds, and groan under some unkind losses by the falsehood of the Netherlanders, and sad accidents at sea, yet their adventures and acts are praiseworthy, and their fair endeavours for England's honour in point of trade meriteth due commendations and just applause." The affairs of the company, in truth, had been all this reign in a very depressed state.

The Turkey Company is the next that Roberts notices. Of this body he says, "Not yearly, but monthly, nay, almost weekly, their ships are observed to go to and fro, exporting hence the cloths of Suffolk, Gloucester, Worcester, and Coventry, dyed and dressed, kerseys of Hampshire and York, lead, tin, and a great quantity of the abovesaid India spices, indigo, and calicoes; and in return thereof, import from Turkey the raw silks of Persia, Damasco, Tripoly, &c., galls of Mosolo and Toccat; chanilets, programs, and mohairs of Angora; cottons and cotton-yarn of Cyprus and Smyrna, and sometimes the gems of India, and drugs of Egypt and Arabia, the muscadins of Candia, the corance (currants) and oils of Zante, Cephalonia, and Morea, with sundry others." The mention of cotton by Roberts in these accounts of the exports of the East India and Turkey companies appears to have been generally overlooked; the earliest notice either of the English cotton manufacture or of the import of the raw material being commonly stated to be that found in his subsequent work, "The treasure of Traffic," published in 1641, where, it is said, "The town of Manchester, in Lancashire, must be also herein remembered, and worthily for their encouragement commend-

ed, who buy the yarn of the Irish in great quantity, and, weaving it, return the same again into Ireland to sell. Neither doth their industry rest here; for they buy cotton-wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and at home work the same, and perfect it into fustians, vermillions, dimities, and other such stuffs, and then return it to London, where the same is vented and sold, and not seldom sent into foreign parts, who have means at far easier terms to provide themselves of the said first materials." This account implies that the cotton manufacture had already reached a point of considerable advancement, so that it must have been established for some years at the time when the "Treasure of Traffic" was written. Various old acts of parliament and other authorities, it may be observed, make mention of Manchester cottons and cotton-velvets before the seventeenth century; but it is certain that the fabrics so denominated were all really composed of sheep's wool. The manufacture of cottons, properly so called, in England, cannot be traced farther back, than to the period with which we are now engaged, the early part of the reign of Charles I.—(*Craik's British Commerce.*)

The ancient company of the Merchant Adventurers is the third in Roberts' list. They are described as furnishing the cities of Hamburgh, Rotterdam, and others in the Netherlands, with English cloth of sundry shires, and some other commodities, monthly, and as bringing back thence to England tapestries, diaper, cambrics, Hollands, lawns, hops, mather, (madder,) steel, Rhenish wines, and many other manufactures, as blades, stuffs, soap, latten, wire, plates, &c.

The Eastland and Muscovy (or Russian) Companies are stated to "export principally cloth, as the best commodity, as also tin, lead, with some spices of India, and other southern commodities, and to bring home ashes, clapboard, copper, deals, firs, rich furs, masts, pipe-staves, rye, timber, wainscot, wheat, fustians, iron, latten, linen, mathers, quicksilver, flax, hemp, steel, caviare, cordage, hides, honey, tar, ropes, tallow, pitch, wax, rosin, and sundry others."

The exports of the French Company were cloths, kerseys, and bays of English manufacture, with galls, silks, and cottons from Turkey; their imports, buckrams, canvas, cards, glass, grain, linens, salt, claret, and white wines, wood, oils, almonds, pepper, with some silk stuffs and some other petty manufactures. England and France, however, were at this time, as they have continued to be, with little interruption, down almost to the present day, jealous rivals, when they were not open enemies, in trade as in everything else, and the commer-

cial intercourse between them was extremely insignificant. Although Roberts here speaks of the French Company, it does not appear that the English merchants trading to France were really incorporated. The merchants trading to Spain, he proceeds to inform us, carried to that country bays, says, serges, perpetuanos, lead, tin, herring, pilchards, salmon, Newland (Newfoundland) fish, calf-skins, with many other commodities; and brought back wines of Xeres, Malaga, Bastard, Candado, and Alicant, rosins, (or resins,) olives, oils, sugars, soaps, anise-seeds, licorice, soda barillia, pate, (?) and sundry West India commodities. This account embraces also the trade with Portugal, for the present united under the same sovereignty with Spain; although in 1640, two years after the publication of Roberts' book, the great revolution which placed the Duke of Braganza on the Portuguese throne again separated the two countries for ever—an event which, by depriving Spain of the Portuguese possessions in the East Indies, compelled her to depend upon the English and Dutch for her supplies of the produce of that part of the world, and thereby opened a new and valuable field to the trade of both these nations.

“The merchants of England trading into Naples, Sicilia, Genoa, Leghorn, and Venice, &c., which I term Italy, are not,” says our author, “observed to have any joint society or company;” but, trading separately, they export to Italy, he tells us, “bays, says, serges, perpetuanos, kerseys, lead, tin, cloth, and many other native commodities, besides pepper, indigo, cloves, and other Indian commodities, in great abundance; and for returns thence have cloths of gold and silver, satins, velvets, taffetas, plushes, tabins, (?) damasks, alum, oils, glass, anise-seeds, rice, Venice gold and silver, great quantity of raw silks of sundry sorts, and divers other commodities.” “And here likewise,” he adds, repeating nearly the same formula with which he has wound up every preceding paragraph, “all other foreign nations give willingly place to the English, as the prime and principal merchants, that either abide amongst them or negociate with them.” Of some other branches of our commerce he gives merely a naked enumeration; thinking it unnecessary “to insist upon the reliques of that famous Barbary trade,” or to mention “the petty adventures of the English to Guinea and Beny,” (or Benin;) “neither,” says he, in conclusion, “need I nominate the homeland commerce of this kingdom to Scotland and Ireland; neither go about to particularize the large traffic of this island to their late plantations of Newfoundland, Somers Islands, Virginia, Barbadoes, and New England, and

to other places which rightly challenge an interest in the present trade and traffic of this kingdom.”

SECT. XXXVI.—THOMAS MUNN, MERCHANT OF LONDON.

This commercial writer is chiefly noticeable now, because he was one of the ablest exponents of what was called the “Mercantile System;” also because he continued to be referred to, up to a recent period, as a mercantile authority. From the omission of commercial men, no matter how eminent, from biographical literature, it is impossible now to do justice to the memories of some of these old merchants. The following remarks on Munn we quote from Mr Maculloch:—

“Munn may be considered as the earliest expositor of what has been called the *Mercantile System* of commercial policy. It was found to be indispensable to the profitable carrying on of the trade to India and the East generally, that the exportation of gold and silver, which had hitherto been prohibited, should be permitted. But though Munn, in accordance with the prejudices of his time, admitted that the precious metals were the only real wealth a country could possess, he contended that their exportation might be safely allowed, provided the *balance of payments* were in our favour; that is, provided the total value of the exports exceeded the total value of the imports; for in that case, said Munn, the balance must be paid in bullion, and our riches will annually increase by its amount. It would be useless to take up the reader's time by entering into any lengthened statements illustrative of the hollowness of this theory. Everybody is now aware that the circumstances which determine the importation and exportation of bullion are the same with those which determine the importation and exportation of other things; and that, though the balance of payments were 10 to 20 millions in our favour, or against us, not a single ounce of bullion would be imported or exported, if there were any other article whatever that might be imported or exported with greater advantage. Everybody is also aware that but little bullion can be exported from one country and imported into another, without so raising its value in the exporting, and lowering it in the importing country, as to put an end to its transfer. And everybody further knows that, in all ordinary cases, the value of the imports *must* considerably exceed the value of the exports; and that the excess of the former, (and not its defect,) is the measure of the profit realized in the trade with the foreigner. But, such as it was, this theory

kept its ground for a lengthened period, and was all but universally assented to by the merchants and legislature. Hence the bounties and premiums so frequently given on the exportation of domestic produce, and the formidable difficulties thrown, by means of prohibitions and heavy duties, in the way of importing foreign produce; and hence also the fact that, though its principles have been completely overthrown, it still continues to exercise a powerful practical influence.”—*(Literature of Political Economy.)*

SECT. XXXVII.—SIR JOSIAH CHILD.

This eminent merchant published a defence of the East India Company about the year 1609; but he is better known for his “New Discourse on Trade,” published in 1668, and written in 1665, “in the sickness year at his country house,” as he states. His views on many subjects were in advance of his age; but there is certainly no soundness in the leading doctrine of the present work, which is, that the principal cause of national wealth is a low rate of interest established by law, the fact being, that the natural rate of interest, being merely another name for the price of credit, is always dependent upon the state of the market of credit, that is to say, upon the supply of disposable capital, and the demand for it by borrowers; and that all that the establishment of a legal rate of interest can do is in some degree to impede and disturb the course of the influences which regulate the natural rate, and which, if they were left to themselves, would determine the actual rate. In other words, a low rate of interest, instead of being, as Child imagined, a cause of national wealth, by which he meant the accumulation of capital, might more truly be said to be a consequence of such accumulation; for if the rate of profit, and consequently the demands of borrowers, should continue the same, the rate of interest would be brought down by the mere growth of disposable capital. But, notwithstanding this fundamental mistake of the book on a theoretical point, it may, from the position and opportunities of the author, be safely taken as a trustworthy authority in regard to most of the statements as to matters of fact contained in it.

The branches of English commerce which Child speaks of as having been most extended in his time are the trade with Spain and Portugal, and with the East Indies. In his preface he asserts that, since the year 1640, our exports of native commodities to the Peninsula had been more than trebled. He was

himself a director of the East India Company, and he strenuously insists upon the great national profits and advantages of the trade with that region, in opposition to the outcry raised against it, principally on the ground of its carrying a large balance of specie out of the country—the simple test by which the common prejudice of the time at once decided whether any trade was profitable or the reverse. Child, without having very clear notions on the subject, is much inclined to qualify the vulgar doctrine on the balance of trade generally; but in this particular case his chief argument is, that, although the imports of the company were in great part paid for in money, the same money, or rather a larger sum, would otherwise have had to be paid to the Dutch for the same commodities. We should have had to buy from them the saltpetre necessary for the making of gunpowder, as well as our pepper and calicoes, for which they would have made us pay as dear as they did for nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, and mace, of which they then had the monopoly; or, if we did not use calicoes, we should have been obliged to resort to foreign linens. The company, he states, then employed from thirty-five to forty sail of the most warlike mercantile ships of the kingdom, with from sixty to a hundred men in each; and, besides supplying the country with saltpetre, pepper, indigo, calicoes, and several useful drugs, to the value of between L.150,000 and L.180,000 yearly, for home consumption, procured us calicoes, printed stuffs, and other merchandise for our trades to Turkey, France, Spain, Italy, and Guinea; most of which trades, according to this author, could not then be carried on with any considerable advantage but for those supplies; “and those goods exported,” he adds, “do produce in foreign parts, to be returned to England, six times the treasure in specie which the company exports from England to India.” In other branches of trade he represents the Dutch as going far a-head of us. The Turkey, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese trades, by means partly of our Indian commodities, partly of our native wool, were more active and prosperous than at any former period. The trade with our American plantations was a new branch of commerce, of great and rapidly growing importance, which was wholly in our own hands. Accordingly, in proof of the general fact of the vast increase of the wealth of the country within the preceding twenty years, Child adduces the following particulars:—

“First,” he says, “we give generally now one-third more money with apprentices than we did twenty years before. Secondly, notwithstanding the decay of some, and the loss of other trades, yet, in the gross, we ship off now one-third more

of our manufactures, and of our tin and lead, than we did twenty years ago. Thirdly, new-built houses in London yield twice the rent which they did before the conflagration in the year 1666; and houses immediately before that fire generally yielded one-fourth more rent than they did twenty years ago. Fourthly, the speedy and costly rebuilding, after that great fire, in London, is a convincing, and to a stranger an amazing, argument of the plenty and late increase of money in England. Fifthly, we have now more than double the number of merchants and shipping that we had twenty years ago. Sixthly, the course of our trade, from the increase of our money, is strangely altered within these twenty years; most payments from merchants and shop-keepers being now made with ready money, whereas formerly the course of our general trade ran at three, six, nine, and eighteen months' time." He admits that people complained, notwithstanding, very greatly of the scarcity of money; but "this humour of complaining," he replies with much truth, "proceeds from the frailty of our natures; it being natural for men to complain of the present, and to commend the times past." "And I can say, with truth," he adds, "upon my own memory, that men did complain as much of the scarcity of money ever since I knew the world as they do now:—nay, the very same persons who now complain of this and commend that time."

SECT. XXXVIII.—SIR DUDLEY NORTH.

In respect of time, Sir Dudley North, a Turkey merchant at Smyrna and Constantinople, sheriff of London, and commissioner of the customs, comes next after Sir William Petty, as an enlightened writer on the philosophy of trade; but he ranks before Sir William Petty and every other writer up to Adam Smith, as a political economist. He died more than eighty years before *The Wealth of Nations* was published, yet he developed the principles of Adam Smith's first work at that early period, not so fully as Smith himself, though in language and illustration not less clear and forcible. He had the misfortune in the later periods of his life to be involved in violent party politics, not seemingly of his own choosing, but beyond his power to control, and hardly within his power to avoid; his elder brother, Lord Guildford, being keeper of the Great Seal to Charles II. Like his brother, he was too conscientious to be the minion of the licentious court party of Charles II., or of the Catholic party which ruled the court of James II.; he, his brother, and all their families

being Protestant churchmen, consequently they were never in favour with the courts of Charles and James, though employed in high offices. The legal ability of the one brother, and the financial and commercial knowledge of the other, rendered their services indispensable to governments, which had so little of business talents as those of Charles and James. Upon the other hand, their adherence to the Stuarts and the kingly prerogatives so vehemently opposed by the populace, the whig statesmen, and the religious dissenters of those days, covered them with popular disrepute. Roger North, the younger brother of Sir Dudley, writing of him several years after his death, intimates a belief that his work in which was developed the true principles of trade, was destroyed as soon as he was dead. There is too much reason to fear that this was done from personal or party malice. It could not be from enmity to the principles of the work alone; for it had no sooner disappeared, so that even a brother could not obtain or trace a copy of it, than an adherent of the popular party in politics, the famous John Locke, produced a work embodying similar principles, which was at once admitted to be worthy of a cherished existence.

But the work of Sir Dudley North being that of a practical merchant and financier, was more practical than the essays of the scholastic Locke, while it seems to have been not less philosophic. Who can tell how different the fate of the Stuarts might have been, had they taken the counsel, and been guided by the able service, of such conscientious adherents as the Norths? Who can tell how much the trade of Britain might have gained, had the trade discourses of Dudley North been preserved, studied, and reduced to national practice?

It seems that the same virulence of parties led to the Lord Keeper Guildford being omitted from the historical records of contemporary writers, a proof, as the younger brother shrewdly remarks, that those writers had nothing to say to the disparagement of the Lord Keeper. To rectify their omission, Roger North, at a late period of his life, wrote biographies of his "best brother," the lord keeper, and of "the merchant," Sir Dudley, also of the Rev. John North, another brother. To these biographies, little known to the public, we are indebted for what we know of this historically ill-used family. The life of Sir Dudley North has not yet appeared in any collection of memoirs previous to the preparation of this *Biographic History of Free Trade and the League*.

It seems that one or two copies of this work were discovered many years after the death of the author, and that some were privately printed and circulated in Edinburgh.

(For a farther account of which the reader is referred to Appendix A, at the end of this work.) The following is the preface to the work—“*Discourses upon Trade, principally directed to the cases of the Interest, Coynage, Clipping, and Increase of Money.*”

“That the whole world as to trade is but as one nation or people, and therein nations are as persons.

“That the loss of trade with one nation is not that only separately considered, but so much of the trade of the world rescinded and lost; for all is combined together.

“That there can be no trade unprofitable to the public; for if any prove so, men leave it off, and whenever the traders thrive, the public, of which they are a part, thrive also.

“That to force men to deal in any prescribed manner may profit such as happen to serve them, but the public gains not, because it is taking from one subject to give to another.

“That no laws can set prices in trade, the rates of which must and will make themselves. But when such laws do happen to lay any hold, it is so much impediment to trade, and, therefore, prejudicial.

“That money is a merchandise, whereof there may be a glut as well as a scarcity, and that even to an inconvenience

“That a people cannot want money to serve the ordinary dealing, and more than enough they will not have.

“That no man will be the richer for making much money, nor have any part of it, but as he buys it for an equivalent price.

“That the free coynage is a perpetual motion found out, whereby to melt and coyn without ceasing, and so to feed goldsmiths and coyners at the public charge.

“That debasing the coin is defrauding one another, and to the public there is no sort of advantage from it, for that admits no character, or value, but intrinsic.

“That the sinking by alloy or weight is all one.

“That exchange and ready money are the same, nothing but carriage and re-carriage being saved.

“That money exported in trade is an increase to the wealth of the nation; but spent in war, and payments abroad, is so much impoverishment.

“In short, that all favour to one trade or interest is an abuse, and cuts so much of profit from the public.”

Mr M'Culloch, in his *Literature of Political Economy*, remarks of this work that “it contains a more comprehensive statement of the true principles of commerce than any that had previously appeared, either in the English or any other language.”

After this the Student of Free Trade biographies will be prepared to peruse the memoir here presented to him with more than ordinary interest.

SEC. XXXIX.—MEMOIR OF SIR DUDLEY NORTH.

The Hon. Sir Dudley North, Knight, was the third surviving son of the second Lord North, Baron of Kirtling, and was born the 16th May 1641. "He was a very forward, lively, and beautiful child, and thereby entitled to be, as he really was," says his brother, "his mother's favourite." Living in London, to attend the parliament, and devoting money, which he could not afford to support the ill-advised and worse fated Charles I., Lord North reduced himself and family to straitened circumstances.

His London house was in King Street, Westminster, and, though a sorry one, was remarkable for being the only brick house in that street for many years. The chief airing which the child Dudley had was with his attendant at the door, where, by his forward familiarities, he had made himself known to most people who had to do thereabouts; and nothing so common as his being at his post with an audience in the street to share his conversation.

This over-forwardness had like to have cost him dear; and it is at least a curious coincidence that he who lived to be the first exponent of a comprehensive system of free trade, was, like Adam Smith, at the same age of childhood, (eighty years afterwards,) stolen by a beggar or gipsy. Adam Smith was recovered after a pursuit of the gipsies by his uncle, in Leslie Wood in Fife. Dudley North, says his brother, was swept away by a beggar woman when there was some bustle at the door about a coach, and, after the coach was away, the child was wanted. The servants ran out several ways to look for him, and one, by chance, found him in an alley leading towards Channel Row, in the hands of the beggar, who was taking off his clothes. So the child was recovered; but the woman ran away and escaped punishment.

It fell out, says Roger North, in the great plague, that his father's house was shut up; for he and a little sister, named Mary had the plague together. His father removed, because of his promiscuous converse; but his excellent mother stayed, and with her own hands nursed her two tender children. I have heard her say, that once feeling a swelling upon the little boy's head, the plague-sore (as it proved to be) broke in her hand. This incomparable piety and courage in her was providentially rewarded, first by the recovery of both her

children, and next by her own and her family's wonderful escape; for neither she nor any one else in her house had the plague. I well know, by ocular inspection, that the gross scar of this sore was very manifest to be seen upon this gentleman's head all the days of his life.

But now to bring the young man to a grammar-school: He was placed at Bury, under Dr Stephens, but made an indifferent scholar. He had too much spirit, which would not be suppressed by conning his book, but must be rather employed in perpetual action. With all that, his parts were so quick, that a little application went a great way with him; and, in the end, he came out a moderate school-scholar. But no thanks to his master; for, had he been treated with discretion, the goodness of his nature was such, that he might have been brought down to such assiduity as would have made him an incomparable scholar. But though from what stars it proceeded I know not, it is certain that the master took a great aversion to him, and most brutally abused him; correcting him at all turns, with or without a fault, till he was driven within an ace of despair, and (as I have often heard him declare) making away with himself.

This gentleman was designed by his parents to be a merchant, but how early I know not, and rather think they had no positive determination, but according as natural tendency and seasonable opportunity invited. And this backwardness at school, and a sorry account that the master gave of him, might turn the scales towards an employment that needed less learning. But the young man himself had a strange bent to traffic, and, while he was at school, drove a subtle trade among the boys, by buying and selling. In short, it was considered that he had learning enough for a merchant, but not phlegm enough for any sedentary profession. Which judgment of him was made good by the event.

According to this scheme, the next step was the being placed in London at a writing-school, to learn good hands and accounts; where, being once settled in that way, he ran a great risk of being utterly ruined for ever. And if, together with his restless spirit, he had not conjoined a manly reflection reserved within himself, and also a resolution of sometimes checking his own extravagances, (which not only in his youth, but also in many important emergencies in his life, he executed by making short and sudden turns,) he had been lost. The writing-school was a place of entire liberty; he might come and go as he would; he might learn if he pleased; and as freely let it alone. But he minded his business, at times, well enough, and acquired amply what he came there for, which was fair writing and accounts.

Another of his darling sports was swimming in the Thames. He used that so much, that he became quite a master of it. He could live in the water an afternoon with as much ease as others could walk upon land. He shot the bridge divers times at low water, which shewed him not only active but intrepid; for courage is required to bear the very sight of that tremendous cascade, which few can endure to pass in a boat.

He and his comrades usually hired a known porter to keep their clothes; and when they were all naked, as I have often heard him say, he was not at all ashamed of his company; but when their clothes were on, he cared not to be seen with them. He hath told me that, having lodged his clothes not far from the bridge at early ebb, he hath run naked upon the ooze up almost as high as Chelsea, for the pleasure of swimming down to his clothes before tide of flood.

The next step our youth made towards an advancement of his fortunes was into a serious and steady course of employment, by being bound to a Turkey merchant, upon the ordinary terms, to be sent abroad. His master was one Davis, a single man; he had L.350 with him, and no more. They boarded with one Mr Andrews, a packer in Threadneedle Street, a very substantial and just man. This merchant's business was not enough to keep a man employed; and, having left off rambling, much of young Dudley's time lay upon his hands. He could not endure to be out of action or idle; therefore, to fill up his intervals, he fell to work at the packing-press, and other business of that trade, by which he made himself a complete master of the mystery of that trade. This was not any loss of time; for that is one of the chief trades which the Levant merchants are concerned with, for the skilful packing their cloths sent into Turkey. The young gentleman took also a fancy to the binding of books; and, having procured a stitching-board, press, and cutter, fell to work, and bound up books of account for himself, and divers for his friends, in a very decent manner. He had a distinguished genius towards all sorts of mechanic exercises.

I do not remember anything farther remarkable of this young gentleman during his serving as a merchant's man in London, until his master thought fit to send him out; and that he did upon a voyage, than which there could not have been contrived one more desperate and discouraging. It was first as supercargo, with an adventure to Archangel, and there to negotiate the cargo, and to ship another; and then to sail with that by the back of Shetland and Ireland, round about through the Straits, and so to Italy and Smyrna, where he was to reside, as factor in the Turkey trade. It was a hard case for a raw youth to embark in such a voyage with-

out company, or so much as a face in the ship that he ever saw before, and bound almost as far northward as Zembla, and to reside amongst, and traffic with, barbarous people, and then to return through all the bad weather the skies can afford. But he went, not only willingly, but ambitiously, and formalized upon nothing that led towards the end he most earnestly desired, which was to be settled as a factor in Turkey. His resolution was inexpugnable; and, not only in this, but in many other instances of his life, he considered well what was best for him to do; and, after that point once determined, he had no thought of difficulties; he was not master of his fortunes, and resolved, at all adventures, to advance them, and therein to use the utmost of his industry and understanding, leaving the rest to Providence.

He kept a careful diary, and sent it home from time to time to his brother Francis, (afterwards Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor.) He described the islands of the White Sea, the manner of trading with the Russian, the housing and law at Archangel, the social customs and superstitions, religion, tar-making, baths, (or *bastoes*,) and the severe voyage which ensued from Archangel to Italy. His ship being detained some months at Leghorn, he visited Pisa, Lucca, and Florence, and wrote lively descriptions of the cities, country, social customs, and trade. Of the Tuscan people at Leghorn, he intimates that they had then become partial to English manufactures.

“The women of this place are, for the most part, black-haired; some of them fair and well-featured, and for the better sort go after the English or French fashion. I remember I have heard you say that fashions and manners generally travel from south to north, which opinion I would have you recant, for here she counts herself not fine that hath not something English about her. And to say this or that comes from England, gives a greater esteem than we conceive when, at home, we call anything French or Italian. And this, not for some particulars, but for all manner of things; the men also are habited in the same way.”

When Mr North wrote these remarks he was inexperienced in that active life of commerce, twenty years of which, at Smyrna and Constantinople, and many years subsequently in the city of London, taught him the value to the wealth of all nations of a free interchange of commodities; yet here he affords us evidence of the fact. Tuscany was the first state in Europe to establish a system of free trade, and the first to carry the attempt partially into operation before the system was established. It was about the year 1658 that Mr North saw the Tuscan women clothed in English fabrics formed in

the English fashion, each "counting herself not fine that had not something English about her." How many of the women of Britain have, since then, accounted themselves fine by wearing elegant bonnets of Tuscan straw? The interchange has served the people of both countries to a profitable advantage.

Mr Dudley North was the first free trader from England who visited Tuscany and wrote of it. Mr Richard Cobden visited that country in 1847, about 190 years after Mr North, when free trade had been long tried there, proved, and cherished. It is now the distinctive characteristic of Tuscan nationality. Perhaps the system was at no time more severely tested than in 1847, when the scarcity of corn all over Europe was more general than in any year of recent times. There was scarcity also in Tuscany. Some of the citizens of Florence and Leghorn had proposed a temporary prohibition, or restriction, on the free exportation of wheat. This proposition was no sooner mooted than the population, from the government down to the peasantry, exclaimed against it, as an unnecessary, impolitic, and un-Tuscan act, which would be alike hurtful and discreditable to their interests and reputation.

Mr Cobden being then in Tuscany, and having so recently inculcated the doctrine of a free trade in corn in England, and having just seen that doctrine established in the houses of the British Legislature, was a willing listener to the free traders of Leghorn, who expounded to him the operation of their system of exporting corn in a time of scarcity. A practical agriculturist took him to his rural estate one day, and shewed his barns, in which were Tuscan wheat of his own growth, which he would export, part of which he had exported; and Odessa wheat, which he had imported to be consumed by his family, and sold to his neighbours for consumption, at a lower price than that at which they could purchase Tuscan wheat.

Mr Dudley North thus described the country between Leghorn and Florence, in the month of March:—

"The road to Florence is all along very pleasant corn-fields, green on all sides, and planted with willow or sallow trees, pretty thick, but orderly, which serve only for stakes to the vines which are planted at their roots. The country in the plains is very fruitful and pleasant, and very well watered with rivulets, which spring from the rocky mountains not far off. On all my way to this city I have not seen any fallow ground at all; but they use dunging the ground so much that it is a very ordinary calling for young fellows to travel the

roads with a basket at their necks to pick up horse dung, &c., which they sell to countrymen at a price according to the quality. The manner of landlords dealing with tenants is quite different from the common use in England; for they bargain with a country fellow as well as they can, for what share of the crop the man will allow, he being at the charge and pains to till the ground, and the landlord usually finding half the seed, and hath commonly the same part of the crop; but they regulate their bargains according to the fruitfulness of the land. So also with wine and oil.”*

The lengthened detention of Mr North and his ship at Leghorn, while voyaging to Smyrna, was caused by waiting for an armed Dutch convoy. To a mind like his this mercantile delay and loss would naturally suggest the loss which all nations sustain from war, as he has pointed out in his *Discourse on Trade*. He arrived at last at his destination. His brother Roger thus writes of him:—

“After these troublesome voyages were over, our young factor found himself, what he infinitely desired to be, an agent and factor for his master, settled at Smyrna. His chief dependence was upon the benefit of his commissions, for his own capital was inconsiderable; he had from his parents but one single hundred pounds, advanced for him to trade with. But his mother, out of a hoard she had made of small legacies given her, and some old gold of her own, and other matters she had scraped together, made up about sixty pounds more, and his ‘best brother’ sent him what money he had, which was about two hundred pounds, his whole inventory scarce amounted to four hundred pounds—and this was all the beginning this famous merchant had. It doth not appear that he was entertained as partner in any house, or *ragion*, as they call it, where young men are as apprentices a while, to observe and learn before they take the post of acting in the part of buying and selling; but he was independent, and stood upon his own legs. But it is probable that, as usual in such cases, he was recommended to some merchants upon the spot for advice and direction in difficult matters at first.”

He did not, as most young factors, set up himself in an expensive way of living, after the example of those that he found upon the place; for he wore plain and cheap clothes, and kept no horse, and put himself to diet as cheap as he

* For a more detailed account of the progress and posture of free trade in Tuscany, and its prospects in other European states, together with some account of the principal exponents of political economy in these countries, see the Notes on the Tour of Mr Cobden among the Friends of Free Trade in Europe, in the *ninth* and *tenth* divisions of this work.

could ; and, in all this reasonable conduct, he was forced to muster up his spirits in opposition to those who slighted him for it, whom he as much slighted by a steady perseverance in his own way. There wanted not those who expected more gaiety from him, as well on account of his quality, as of the ordinary example or mode of the factors there, although some had occasion for as much thrift as himself.

He was a gentleman, ever brisk and witty, a great observer of all incidents, and withal, very friendly and communicative ; which made him be generally beloved, and his company desired by the top merchants of the factory. He was not a good fellow, as it is called, and, on the other side, not morose ; but went along with his company, and not seldom beyond the measure he desired. He was ever a thorn in the sides of the foolish and malicious, and wanted not inventions to divert himself and others by exposing them. This made all choose to stand fair with him, for he was a creature that had sharp claws and scaly sides. A young man, among his equals, had need be at least as well armed as the rest, for they are not given to moderation in making sport with each other, but rather on the other side, according as a companion shews an unguarded part, with tricks and stratagems always aiming to attack him in that quarter. This makes the breeding of youth to be always best among equals, and not with either superiors or inferiors. The former makes them abject, and the other insolent, and both unfit for common conversation, which, abroad in the world, is ordinarily among equals. He said that he never was caught in any of their novice-traps, of which one, alluding to horses in a stable, is called "tying up" the head ; and this they practise upon young or shallow traders who deal by themselves. If they happen to have a large import, and all their warehouses are full, the old factors, fearing the young men should be too quick and get the custom, conspire to discourse of not selling but at a price ; the young men, with good reason, as they think, resolve the same, and then the others undersell and leave them without opportunity, for their heads were "tied up" from their meat.

We shall not go into the details of the Turkey trade with which he was connected. For several years he advanced little beyond the condition of an agent for the house which sent him to Smyrna. He returned to England and made new arrangements ; went to Constantinople, carried on an extensive and lucrative traffic, and finally returned to England a rich merchant, after an absence of twenty years.

He took a large house in Basinghall Street, and entered extensively into trade. In discoursing to his brothers, he

caused them to wonder, particularly the Lord Chief Justice North, at his new ideas about trade and money, whereof they had never heard the like before. "One of his doctrines," says Roger, "was, that you could never permanently drain the country of money by any system of foreign trade, by paying away the money for foreign merchandise; because those who had got the money would, when they discovered that it was scarce in this country, come with it and sell it again. They would take as the price of the money whatever we could afford to give most of, and which might be suitable to them." Thus Mr North contended money would always equalize its own circulation, if nations traded freely with one another.

The Lord Chief Justice, finding his brother falling thus pell-mell into the affairs of trade, and perceiving in his conversation that he had an uncommon penetration and capacity, both in general and particular direction of matters to be transacted by the application of many heads and hands, thought sincerely that he should do his majesty a signal piece of service in recommending him to some post, of which, in the revenue business, there were not a few that needed such an one as he was; and if withal he did good to his brother, his integrity and service to the king his master was never the less. Accordingly he took an opportunity to speak of him to my Lord Rochester, (then at the head of the Treasury,) and told him that he had a brother lately arrived from Turkey, who understood trade and the marine perfectly well; and he believed it would be for his majesty's service if his Lordship thought fit to recommend him to any employment in the customs, or where such a person might be useful; and that really he believed that no man in England was so well qualified to serve the King as his brother was. But his Lordship so little thought that there could be an impartial man in the world, that, for answer, he only smiled; which was as much as to say that he thought my Lord Chief Justice came to palm his brother upon him. By this it appeared that the Lord Rochester did not understand men; but his mind altered afterwards.

Mr North's marriage is worthy of a brief notice, from circumstances connected with his father-in-law and his own political connexions. He was set up as one of the candidates for the sheriffwick of London and Middlesex by the court party. The religious Protestant Non-conformists, and other opponents of the court, among whom the Catholics were perhaps the most powerful, opposed the appointment of Mr North as sheriff. The most of their opposition consisted for a time in

ridicule, writing anonymous letters to his friends, caricaturing him as an ass, "which," says Roger, "made matter of discourse, and sometimes merriment among ourselves, but altered not the state of his case one jot."

But one thing the party did which was really malicious, and might have had an unfortunate turn upon him. They found out that at this time he was in full courtship of a widow lady, very beautiful, and rich, the daughter of Sir Robert Cann, a morose old merchant of Bristol. They caused letters to be sent to this old gentleman from some one in London whom he valued, intimating that his daughter was going to throw herself away upon a new comer that all people believed was not worth a groat, else he would not act so desperately as he did to be sheriff; for if he went on he would certainly be hanged. And the lady herself was plied with gossips, but her penetration was not so shallow as their tittle-tattle. She lodged in the house of an understanding merchant, one Mr George Sitwell, and it is likely that the gentleman gave a good account of his proceedings, and, as it fell out, all this wind shook no corn in that quarter.

Meanwhile he was elected sheriff amid great disturbance; but during all these turbulences in the public, Mr North did not neglect his main, which was to accomplish his match with the lady Gunning. Concerning which I must remember that, as soon as it was seriously thought of, I took upon me to write to Sir Robert Cann, her father, with whom I was well acquainted, and proposed the match to him, setting forth Mr North with all the advantage I could. The old knight returned an answer, and in it an immense demand, viz.—that when Mr North had purchased an estate in land of three or four thousand pounds a-year, (I know not which,) whereby he might make settlements suitable to his daughter's fortune, he would hearken to my proposition, but none of less estate in land must pretend to her. This was cold water, and I desisted. But when a good advance was made in the lady's favour, she adhering resolutely to have her father's consent, without which she would never marry, Mr North himself wrote to Sir Robert, in general terms, for his consent upon making such settlements as should be approved. His answer was to the same effect, viz.—that when he had produced his particulars, &c. Then Mr North wrote again a proposition to settle twenty thousand pounds to purchase an estate, &c. The old man answered thus:—"Sir, My answer to your first letter is an answer to your second.—Your humble servant, R. C." Mr North returned—"Sir, I perceive you like neither me nor my business.—Your humble servant, D. N." And there

ended the correspondence with the father at that time. But, in the mean time, he had wrote to his daughter, to shew her the precipice she was upon—going to marry a desperado, not worth a groat, and one that would certainly be hanged.

But the old man, at length, finding this would be a match, when the dust raised by party-work was well cleaned off, fell in; and, since he could not have his will in the person, he resolved to have it in the settlements. So, besides what Mr North settled, he must turn over all his wife's fortune, of all kinds, for her separate disposal. This done, he consented, and the match, with a very honourable attendance, was solemnized. But the lady, whose judgment and penetration were superior to most of her sex, took care, before she went to church, to commit her separate maintenance to the flames, as being, for the most part, a make-bait, and never of use but in the cases of young folks, whose characters are not known. Any one that hath lived in the view of the world, as she had done, might easily discern a good man from a bad one. The marks of family, company, reputation, successes, &c., seldom fail to indicate a man's moral character. It was almost impossible but this match must prove happy, for here were two persons joined that were wise and sincere, and who meant the same thing, that is, to make each other happy. I have heard Mr North say, that he never feared an ill wife if the woman was wise; for then she would go to her interest, and he could make that so plain to her as she could not mistake it.

But to shew how this lady condescended to oblige her husband after she was married, I must observe that, contrary to her nature and humours, which was to be retired, she kept him company in public at his feasting, sitting at the upper end of the table at those noisy and fastidious dinners. And it did not a little illustrate his happiness in the midst of these shrieval troubles when the citizens came, that a lady so beautiful and rich, with her *belles airs*, advanced, receiving and saluting so much company. But it was to continue only for one year, so she endured it. The old knight, her father, came at last to be proud of his son, for when the first visit was paid at Bristol, Mr North, to humour the vanity of that city and people, put himself in a splendid equipage; and the old man, in his own house, often said to him, "Come, son, let us go out and shine," that is, walk about the streets with six footmen, in rich liveries, attending. But when he found the separate deed given up, and the furniture she had there packing away, he was enraged, and told her she was cheated, &c. He made her so afraid of him, that she durst not stay in his house without her husband, but chose to accompany him over

sea to St Brevill's, where her jointure lay. But all was well at last.

After the invasion of James II., Judge Jefferies proceeded on the western circuit, with a military commission in addition to that of Chief Justice. At Bristol, he discovered, or pretended to discover, that the mayor and aldermen had been engaged in kidnapping young people and selling them to the American and Indian plantations as slaves. The allegation against them seemed to be grounded on the fact of their extra-judicially threatening offenders with extreme punishment, who, voluntarily going into banishment to the plantations, escaped the threatened extremity. Sir Robert Cann was one of the aldermen implicated, and was greatly alarmed for the consequences, as Jefferies had ordered the military guards into the court-house at Bristol, to take the mayor and aldermen into custody.

The Norths in London were at undisguised enmity with the Chief Justice ; but from the terror which the old merchant was suffering under, and the actual danger, they proceeded with him to the chambers of Judge Jefferies in London, and, after much trouble and entreaty, the Judge, addressing Sir Robert Cann, said, "Go thy way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee !"

Whereupon the Bristol merchant retired greatly relieved, greatly rejoicing that his daughter had married into a family whose members had rendered him such a service ; yet so shaken with the alarm, that he never again recovered his wonted cheerfulness. He died soon after.

Mr North was appointed one of the commissioners of the customs, and afterwards of the treasury. His business habits and commercial knowledge set in order the indolence and irregularity of his colleagues. His integrity seems to have been more offensive to them. The necessity for new taxes to carry on a war against the French and Dutch became too strong to be resisted. The national jealousy of the commercial superiority of the Dutch rendered such expenditure popular. Mr North, now knighted as Sir Dudley, was applied to on this question of finance. His brother Roger relates the subject thus :—

Divers proposals were made, some for a land-tax, on purpose that the duty might be unpopular ; some for a tax upon new buildings ; and others had their projects, which they had little reason for, but only in reserve that they were like to come to nothing. Sir Dudley North took a strict account of all the commodities in trade, from the custom-house books, and considered which would best bear a farther imposition ;

for if commodities are over-rated, it amounts to a prohibition. At last he thought fit to propose a tax of one farthing upon sugars, and one halfpenny upon tobacco imported, to lie upon English consumption only, and not upon the exports, and this, as he estimated, would yield the sum expected; and would scarce be any burthen sensible to the people. In short, this tax was approved and voted at the committee, and a bill directed, which was drawn up and brought in.

It came not thus far without much opposition and contention; and Sir Dudley North was forced to stand the attacks of a numerous and valuable party in the house; some suspecting his integrity, and others his understanding; but he stemmed them all. After the bill was brought in and read, and copies went abroad, whereby the invention was known, there was a general muster of noises and clamour from all parts of the town, not only of merchants importers, but of consumptioners, retailers, &c., raised up against it, as if the utter ruin of all the plantations was to follow; and all trading from thence, and all dealing whatever in those commodities, were all to be confounded at one single stroke. One that lived in that and in this age, must wonder that, in the matter of taxing, the one should strain at a gnat and the other swallow camels. The pretence of the tradesmen was, that in the end it would be found to fall upon the plantations trade, and to tax the exports as well as the home consumption. For, although it was pretended that all goods exported, being unaltered, should take back the custom of so much, the practice would be so puzzling and troublesome at the custom-house, that men would rather quit than lose their time about it; and then, a rise of the commodity at home would lessen the trade, so as it would not be worth their while to deal in it, whereby the plantations must sink. And a parcel of grocers, sugar-bakers, and tobaccoists, also came to my lord treasurer, and declared to him positively, that if that bill passed, they would trade in those goods no longer. This startled his Lordship, and he ordered them to attend the next day, intending that Sir Dudley North should be present; and he was sent for accordingly.

At the time there came a great muster of the tradesmen, and divers of them talked one after another, and all concluded it to be their common resolution, if that bill passed, to trade in sugars and tobacco no more. Sir Dudley North stared at them, and admired their impudence in lying so brazenly. At last, my lord treasurer said, "Sir Dudley North, what say you to this?" "My lord," said he, "I desire only to ask them a question;" then, turning to the chief of them, "Sir," said he,

“if one comes to your shop to buy sugar, will you sell any?” The grocers, on a sudden, answered “Yes.” “Then,” said Sir Dudley North, “*if you will sell, I am sure you’ll buy;*” and fell a laughing. Then again he asked them whether, if they could get money by trading, they would not trade? To which they could not tell what to say. These stabs made them look woodenly upon one another, and the ferment seemed to be laid. They did not expect the questions, and could not on the sudden qualify their answers, and so were caught. My lord treasurer was satisfied they were a parcel of party knaves that came to hinder the king’s business; so the bill, which had like to have been given up, was determined to go on.

In the passing of this bill, the work lay wholly upon Sir Dudley North to satisfy the House, as he did, by unfolding the nature of the tax, declaring his estimates, and making the consequent practice at the custom-house understood. And at the committee, when the bill was gone over, paragraph by paragraph, he sat by the table, with the draught and a pen in his hand, dictating amendments in numerous instances, and divers of the old members were diverted by seeing a fresh man, and half foreigner, act his part in parliament so well. And his schemes being well judged, and built upon truths well known to him, he, maintaining his character as to candour and sincerity to a scruple, he had confidence, and stood buff against all the reflections made at him, and at times repelled them.

There was a law passed, or rather was continued, this parliament, called the coinage. This was a certain tax laid to pay for coining money, whereby any man who brought bullion into the mint took out coined money reduced to sterling weight for weight. Sir Dudley North was infinitely scandalized at the folly of this law, which made bullion and coined money pass, so that any man might gain by melting, as when the price of bullion riseth, a crown shall melt into five shillings and sixpence; but on the other side, nothing could ever be lost by coining, for, upon a glut of bullion he might get that way too, and upon a scarcity melt again, and no kind of advantage, by increase of money, as was pretended, like to come out. The lord treasurer gave some of the banker goldsmiths, and Sir Dudley North, a meeting. Charles Duncomb, a great advancer, had whispered somewhat in his lordship’s ear that made him inclinable to the bill. Sir Dudley North reasoned with them against it beyond reply; and then the argument was, “Let there be money, my lord, by G—d, let there be money.” The reasons why this scheme prevailed were, first, that the crown

got duty by the coinage; next, that the goldsmiths who gained by the melting trade were advancers to the treasury and favourites. The country gentlemen are commonly full of one profound mistake, which is, if a great deal of money be made, they must, of course, have a share of it, such being the supposed consequence of what they call plenty of money. So little do assemblies of men follow the truth of things in their deliberations; but shallow, unthought prejudices carry them away by shoals. In short, the bill passed; and the effects of it have been enough seen and felt; however, the evil hath been since, in some sort, but not wholly, remedied.

Another thing which gave him great offence was the currency of clipped money. He looked upon coined money as merchandise, only (for better proof and convenience) used as a scale, having its supposed weight signed upon it, to weigh all other things by, or, as a denomination apt for accounts. But if the weight of it differed from its stamp, it was not a scale but a cheat, like a piece of goods with a content stamp, and divers yards cut off. And as to the fancy that common currency might reconcile the matter, he thought that, when a man takes a thing called a shilling, putting it off, it is also called a shilling nominally true; but as to the deficiency it is no other than a token, or leather money, of no intrinsic, by what name soever it be called; and that all markets will be regulated accordingly; for as money is debased prices rise, and so it all comes to one reckoning. This was seen by guineas, which, in the currency of clipped money rose to be worth thirty (clipped) shillings. Sir Dudley North was resolved; that if ever he sat in another session of parliament, he would bid battle to this public illusion. And, being full of the subject, he eased his mind by laying down his reasons upon paper, and the fancy took him to do it in the form of a speech in the House of Commons; though if he had had twenty speeches beforehand he could not have rehearsed one of them as they were penned, but must, as his use was, fall directly upon the point, *ex se nata*, and as the reason of things and the quality of the debate prompted. He could improve his notions, but he could not confine himself to any premeditated composure.

He knew, indeed, that he stood alone; and except some, and not many, of his fellow merchants, scarce any person appeared to join with him. Corruption, self-interest, and authority, he knew were winds that would blow in his face; but yet he believed his reasons were no less impetuous, and that he should be able to impress them; and that, being once understood, the business would make its own way. But the

parliament in which he served was dissolved, and he came no more within that pale. But afterwards, finding that the grievance of clipped money became insupportable, and with design, that, since he could not, some other persons might push for a regulation, as well of this as of some other grievances relating to trade in general, and to incite them to it, he put his sense in the form of a pamphlet, and, sitting the convention (or some time after it was turned into a parliament) in 1691, published it, printed for J. Basset, and entitled "*Discourses upon trade, principally directed to the cases of Interest, Coinage, Clipping, and Encrease of Money.*"

Discourses upon such subjects used to be frequent in the conversation between these brothers, where the general good of England was as seriously and sincerely deliberated as in the parliament house itself. Whatever may be thought, I am sure I do not hyperbolize in this, since it was my good stars to be an eye and ear witness of what I affirm.

It was a great misfortune to Sir Dudley North to be sheriff of London and Middlesex in 1683. In that year (guilty or not guilty may never now be known) the Lord William Russell was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields for his share in the alleged Rye House plot; and Walcot, Bone, and Rouse, were executed at Tyburn, for a similar offence, which two of them confessed. In the same year Algernon Sidney was beheaded on Tower Hill, "glorying that he died for the good old cause in which he had been engaged from his youth." It was the unpleasant duty of Sir Dudley North to officiate at those executions. He had been forced somewhat injudiciously into office by the party which rejoiced in prosecuting Sidney and Russell with rigour, and could not escape sharing in that odium which properly should have fallen only on them.

It was a question frequently mooted though not raised in a court of law, whether he was legally sheriff or not. He was elected by the citizens with Mr Box his colleague; but the aldermen opposed to him kept the poll open after the Lord Mayor had officially closed it; whereby two other gentlemen were placed in a majority over North and Box. A proclamation was then issued by the crown, ordering a new election, at which North and Box were elected, and so sworn in. Lord Grey of Werk, Alderman Cornish, and others, were tried and heavily fined for the share they had in keeping the election open after it was closed by the Lord Mayor.

When William III. was king, and the friends of Lord Grey, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney, were in possession of political power, they made an attempt to raise a prosecution against Sir Dudley North, to establish the illegality of

his election as sheriff, which, had they done, they hoped to follow it with the farther declaration by law, that the executions for treason were *murder*, and so obtain the restitution of their confiscated estates. King William, however, felt himself too infirmly seated on the throne as a revolutionary king, to favour any such attempts at opening up the old question of the Rye House Conspiracy, in which he had possibly had a deeper hand than Lord William Russell.

Sir Dudley North having no farther connection with politics, betook himself once more to trade as a merchant. He joined with others in building three ships of warlike strength to trade to Turkey, and, by their defensive strength, be able to cope with the pirates of the Mediterranean. One of them was taken by the French, who were now at war with England; the others were lost.

Sir Dudley North's discourse upon trade, embodying the results of his practical experience and strong reasoning powers, was intended, his brother states, for the information of the "Convention, afterwards called a parliament, summoned by the Prince of Orange at the revolution." This shews him to have had higher principles than party politics. It was published in 1691; but it soon became so scarce, or, says Roger, was "utterly sunk," that no "copy could be obtained for money."

Mr John Locke, a political adherent of William III., and the whigs, produced, about the same time, a work on the coining, clipping, and money-interest subjects expounded by North, and was rewarded with a pension of L.1000 for the performance.

Sir Dudley North died on the 31st of December 1691, aged 50 years. He was interred in the Church of St Paul, Covent Garden, in London; but, twenty years afterwards, on the death of his widow, his dust was removed, in accordance with her will, and interred beside her body at Glensham in Suffolk, where he had purchased an estate, and provided amply for her and his two sons.

The first penny-post for the town delivery of letters in London was established at the time that Sir Dudley North was elected as sheriff. It was established by one Murray, and some of its earliest work was the conveyance of numerous letters, most of them anonymous, warning North against being sheriff; threatening him, and conveying to the lady whom he was then courting, and who became his wife, insinuations against his character. This penny-post soon after merged in the general post of the government, complaints having been made that it interfered with the government interests.

SECT. XL.—MISCELLANEOUS WRITERS ON THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM.

Charles Davenant, LL D., was inspector of the customs in the reign of Charles II., and furnished many interesting statistics. He was an adherent of the "mercantile system" in theory, and laboured to prove it sound; but his statistics proved it unsound. In one year he stated that several millions sterling had been paid by Britain for foreign commodities, chiefly French, more than had been paid by any foreign country for British commodities. He says that the balance being so greatly against Britain, there must have been a loss, yet, as every person knew, there had been a prosperous trade, and the country *seemed* to be thriving. He could not account for it; the country was thriving, not seemingly so, but in reality. Dr Davenant's commercial works were collected and published under the editorship of Lord Whitworth in 1771.

In the latter half of the 17th century, the delusion that the English trade with France was a continued loss to England increased every year. The alleged partiality of the Stuarts, Charles II. and his brother, for the French, and the unpopularity of these sovereigns among the religious non-conformists in England, afforded means for the latter to strengthen their political opposition, by alarming the people about the balance of trade with France being against England. And when William III. came to the throne, on the expulsion of the Stuarts in 1688, he found it popular with the nation and safe for himself to extend and confirm the delusion.

In 1677 an anonymous work was issued, entitled "*England's Great Happiness.*" It was directed against the mercantile theory, and the absurd belief which then alarmed the nation, that it was annually losing a million sterling in payments to France. No subsequent writer seems to have hazarded an opinion as to who the writer was. Comparing it with the circumstance of Sir Dudley North being then in a situation which would not admit of his publishing a work with his name, being connected with the court, or of hoping to have the privilege of seeing his work escape popular destruction if he gave it with his name; looking at the style, graphic in illustration and pointed in argument; referring also to the fact mentioned by his brothers in their notes upon him, that he did occasionally write pamphlets, it seems so far within probability that "*England's Great Happiness*" was his production, that we run little risk in doing injustice to any other author by so setting it down.

It is written in the form of dialogues; the speakers are *Complaint* and *Content*. The following is an extract:—

Complaint.—"You speak plain; but what think you of the French trade, which draws away our money by wholesale? Mr Fortrey, whom I have heard you speak well of, gives an account that they get L.1,600,000 a-year from us, as the balance of trade which was against England according to the mercantile system."

Content.—" 'Tis a great sum; but, perhaps, were it put to a vote in a wise council, whether for that reason the trade should be left off, 't would go in the negative. For paper, wine, linen, Castile soap, brandy, olives, capers, prunes, kid-skins, taffaties, and such like, we cannot be without; and for the rest, which you are pleased to style *apes* and *peacocks*, (although wise Solomon rankt them with gold and ivory,) they set us all agog, and have increased among us many considerable trades. * * * I must confess I had rather the French would use our goods than money; but if not, *I would not lose the getting of ten pound because I can't get an hundred*; and I don't question but when the French get more foreign trade, they'll give more liberty to the bringing in foreign goods. I'll suppose John a-Nokes to be a butcher, Dick a-Styles an exchange man, yourself a buyer; will you buy no meat or ribbons, or your wife a fine Indian gown or fan, because they will not truck with you for indentures which they have need of? I suppose no; but if you get money enough of others, you care not though you give it away *in specie* for these things. I think 'tis the same case with the French trade."

Of this work Mr Maculloch remarks:—

"The author is, in fact, a decided and intelligent opponent of all commercial restraints, and of all laws for restraining, or in anywise limiting, private expenditure; and is favourable to the immigration of the foreigners, and the practice of enclosing, &c. Perhaps, however, the spirit of this remarkable tract may be best inferred from the titles of some of the dialogues. Among others, we have 'To export money, our great advantage;' 'The French trade, a profitable trade;' 'Variety of wares for all markets, a great advantage;' 'High-living, a great improvement to arts;' 'Invitation of foreign arts, a great advantage;' 'Multitude of traders, a great advantage;' 'The word Impossible, a great discourager of arts,' &c. But how conclusive soever, its influence was too feeble to arrest the current of popular prejudice. In the year after its publication (1678) the importation of French commodities was prohibited for three years. This prohibition was made perpetual in the reign of William III., when the French trade was declared to be a *nuisance*—a principle,

if we may so call it, which has been acted upon down to our own times.”

For a list of the writers on political economy and commerce, with notices of their works, reference should be had to Lord Lauderdale's collection of scarce tracts, or, failing that, to the more comprehensive and serviceable work of Mr Maculloch, the *Literature of Political Economy*.

SECT. XII.—POSTS, POST OFFICE, BANKS.

Brief and guilty as the reign of Richard III. was, the merit of establishing the first posts for the conveyance of intelligence is due to him. The post office, next to the printing office, has done so much for the promotion of free trade in recent times that we cannot omit a glance at its origin.

James I. established an office for the reception and conveyance of foreign letters; and in 1632, his son Charles I., “for the convenience of English merchants,” continued the patent of it, which had been granted to William Frizell and Thomas Witherings.

In 1635, a home post office was established for the conveyance of inland letters. A royal proclamation concerning it states that, up to that time, there had been no intercourse between the kingdoms of England and Scotland; wherefore the postmaster of England for foreign parts is commanded to settle a running post or two, to run night and day between London and Edinburgh, to go thither and come again in six days; and to take with them all such letters as shall be directed to any post town in or near that road. Byposts are, at the same time, ordered to be connected with several places on the main line, to bring in and carry out the letters from and to Lincoln, Hull, and other towns. A similar post to Chester and Holyhead, and another to Exeter and Plymouth, are at the same time ordered to be established; and it is promised that, as soon as possible, the like conveyances should be settled for the Oxford and Bristol road, and also for that leading through Colchester and Norwich.

The rates of postage are fixed at twopence a single letter for any distance under eighty miles; fourpence up to a hundred and forty miles; sixpence for any longer distance; eightpence to any place in Scotland. It is ordered that no other messengers nor footposts shall carry any letters but those alone which shall be employed by the king's postmaster-general, unless to places where the king's posts do not go, with the exception of common known carriers, or messengers

particularly sent on purpose, or persons carrying a letter for a friend.

The mode of conveyance contemplated by this scheme was by persons riding on horseback, which indeed continued to be the general system of our post office down to near the end of the 18th century. Witherings, who was now inland as well as foreign postmaster, was superseded in 1640 for abuses in both his offices; and they were sequestered into the hands of Phillip Barlamachy, to be exercised henceforth under the care and oversight of the king's principal secretary of state. From that date, therefore, the post office may be considered as a public establishment.*

A penny post in London was established about 1682, by a private individual, but it merged within two years in the general post.

Banks for the deposit of money seem to have arisen out of these two circumstances, that Charles I. despotically seized upon the money of the merchants of London, which, according to custom, was deposited for safe keeping in the Mint. He took it as a loan; but the merchants not choosing to be parties to such loans, took to themselves indentured servants, called apprentices, as cashiers, (not apprenticed lads, as has been erroneously recorded,) to whom they gave the custody of their cash.

Second. The civil wars which arose out of the despotism of Charles I. gave scope and encouragement to runaways. The indentured servants of the merchants did not all prove honest; some decamped to the wars with their master's money, which set the merchants to try other expedients. They fell next upon the plan of committing the money to the custody of the goldsmiths. This occurred first about 1645. When Mr Dudley North returned from Turkey, more than thirty years after this period, he was solicited on 'Change every day, his brother Roger writes, by the goldsmiths, who came with low obeisances to him to place his money in their hands, for that custom had grown up while he was resident in Turkey. He did not like it; and when asked by other merchants where he kept his money, he replied, "At home, to be sure; where should I keep it!" But he found the inconvenience of keeping it at home at last, and placed it in the shop (bank) of Sir Francis Child, at Temple Bar. From this time, banks for the deposit of money became common, and the dealings with the goldsmiths gradually ceased. Several of them betook themselves to the business of banking.

* For a farther account of the post office, and its services rendered to free trade, see the Memoirs of Mr Robert Wallace of Kelly and Mr Rowland Hill.

SECTION XLII.—WILLIAM PATERSON, FOUNDER OF THE BANKS OF ENGLAND AND OF SCOTLAND, PROJECTOR OF A GRAND SCHEME OF FREE TRADE.

It is questionable if this gentleman was more remarkable for the great Darien project of free trade which failed, or for his project of the banks of England and of Scotland, which have succeeded.

William Paterson was born, it is supposed, in the year 1660 at Skipmyre, in the parish of Tinwald, Dumfriesshire. It is deeply to be regretted that no satisfactory memorials have been preserved of this remarkable man. Of his education nothing is known; but it is stated in one memoir that he was bred to the church. He is also said to have represented the burgh of Dumfries more than once in the Scottish Parliament; to have gone out to the West Indies in the character of a Christian missionary, for the purpose of converting the negroes; and to have, while in that quarter, joined the buccaneers, a gang of desperadoes who infested the shores of America and the West Indian islands, making prizes indiscriminately of the ships of all nations; and it is in this character he is said to have acquired that intimate knowledge of the seas and coasts of America which led him to form the splendid idea of a settlement at Darien, by which he meant to connect the seas on the opposite sides of the globe, and to form a grand emporium of the productions of all the quarters of the earth. That Mr Paterson, however, was either a churchman or a buccaneer at any period of his life appears a gratuitous assumption, unsupported by any direct evidence, and at variance with the known course of his after life. It is certain, however, that he was in the West Indies; but it is much more likely that his pursuits there were commercial than either clerical or piratical. In whatever capacity he may have acquired his commercial and geographical knowledge, he returned to Europe with a scheme of trade wholly different from the methods and principles of any of the then trading companies of England, and which he was desirous of establishing under the protection and patronage of some European power, which might give greater privileges and immunities than were consistent with the laws of England then in force. This scheme he seems to have laid first before the merchants of Hamburg, afterwards before the Dutch, and then before the Elector of Brandenburg, who all, however, received his proposals coldly. Paterson next applied to the merchants of London, and with them concerted the plan of

the Bank of England, of which there seems no reason to doubt that he gave the first hint. As it has very frequently happened, however, in similar cases, though he was admitted one of the original directors, his richer associates no sooner became fully possessed of his ideas, than they found out pretexts for quarrelling with him, and finally expelled him from all share in conducting that business of which he had been the author. Under these circumstances he became acquainted in London with some of his countrymen, particularly with Fletcher of Salton, who had penetration enough to see and to appreciate the simple splendour of his project with regard to Darien, and patriotism enough to desire to secure the benefits of it to his own country. Paterson had all the patriotism of Fletcher, without any of that national partiality which, in the former, somewhat dimmed its lustre and lessened its effect; but he was yet, from the manner in which he had already been treated by all to whom he had communicated his plans, easily persuaded to give the benefit of his conceptions to the country to which he owed his birth, and where he had as yet suffered none of that painful mortification, of which he had experienced less or more in all the places he had yet visited. He accordingly came to Scotland along with Fletcher, who introduced him to the Scottish administration, at the time greatly embarrassed by the affair of Glencoe, and who easily persuaded King William that a little more freedom, and some new facilities of trade, would have a happy effect in diverting the public attention from the investigation of that unfortunate affair, in which his Majesty's credit was almost as deeply implicated as their own. The Earl of Stair, in particular, gave the project of Mr Paterson the support of his powerful eloquence.

The result of all this was, that an act was passed by the Scottish Parliament on the 26th of June 1695, "constituting John Lord Belhaven; Adam Cockburn of Ormiston; Lord Justice Clerk; Francis Montgomery of Gippen; Sir John Maxwell of Pollock; Sir Robert Chiesly, present Provost of Edinburgh; John Swinton of that Ilk; George Clark, late bailie of Edinburgh; Robert Blackwood, and James Balfour, merchants in Edinburgh; John Carse, merchant in Glasgow; WILLIAM PATERSON, Esq., James Fowlis, David Nairn, Esqs., Thomas Deans, Esq., James Chiesly, John Smith, Thomas Coutes, Hugh Frazer, Joseph Calhaine, David Ovedo, and Walter Stuart, merchants in London, with such others as shall join with them within the space of — after the 1st day of August next, and all others whom the aforesaid persons, and those joined, or major part of them, being assembled, shall admit, and join into their joint-stock and trade, who sha! all be

repute, as if herein originally insert, to be one body incorporate, and a free incorporation, with perpetual succession, by the name of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies : Providing always, like as it is hereby in the first place provided, that of the fund or capital stock that shall be agreed to be advanced, and employed by the said undertakers and their copartners, the half at least shall be appointed and allotted for Scottishmen within this kingdom, who shall enter and subscribe to the said company before the 1st day of August 1696. And if it shall happen that Scotsmen living within the kingdom shall not, betwixt the foresaid term, subscribe for, and make up the equal half of the said fund or capital stock, then, and in that case allenary, it shall be, and is hereby allowed to Scotsmen residing abroad, or to foreigners, to come in, subscribe, and be assumed for the superplus of the said half, and no otherwise." By the same act, the lowest subscription was fixed at L.100 sterling, and the highest at £3000. The shares of Scotsmen, too, it was provided, could be sold and alienated only to Scotsmen. The company was also vested with full powers to hold parliaments, make laws, and administer justice, &c. in any colonies they might plant ; enter into treaties of peace and commerce with sovereigns, princes, estates, rulers, governors, or proprietors of land, in Asia, Africa and America, all their ships being bound, under penalty of confiscation, to return with their cargoes, in the first instance, to this country, without breaking bulk by the way. They had also the exclusive privilege of trading to Asia, Africa, and America for the period of thirty-one years ; together with the free and absolute right of property to all lands, islands, colonies, cities, towns, ports, and plantations they might come to establish or possess ; paying yearly to his majesty, and his successors in sovereignty, one hogshead of tobacco, in name of blench duty, if required. They had also the power of purchasing, for the enlargement of their trade and navigation, from foreign potentates, such exceptions, liberties, privileges, &c., as they might find convenient. Their ships were also exempted from all customs, cesses, and supplies, and their stock in trade from all taxes for the space of twenty-one years. All persons concerned in the company were declared denizens of the kingdom, and all persons settling in any of their colonies, cities, &c., were to be reputed natives of the kingdom, and enjoy privileges accordingly. This act, of which the above are some of the outlines, was drawn up under the eye of Mr Paterson, and was certainly highly favourable for his purpose. The Isthmus of Darien, where there was a large tract of land bordering on both seas,

the Indian and the Atlantic, which had never been in possession of any European nation, was the spot he had fixed upon for the scene of his operations, and the advantages of which he thus graphically pointed out: "The time and expense of navigation to China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and the far greater part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactures will soon be more than doubled. Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus this door of the seas, and key of the universe, with anything of reasonable management, will, of course, enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and Cæsar. In all our inquiries that have been anything universal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek out and court their conquests from afar, but the universal force and influence of this attractive magnet is such as can much more effectually bring empires home to the proprietors' doors. But from what hath been said you may easily perceive that the nature of these discoveries are such as not to be engrossed by any one nation or people with exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted without evident hazard and ruin, as we may see in the case of Spain and Portugal, who, by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or so much as to go to or dwell in the Indies, have not only lost that trade they were not able to maintain, but have depopulated and ruined their countries therewith, so that the Indies have rather conquered Spain and Portugal than they have conquered the Indies; for by their permitting all to go out, and none to come in, they have not only lost the people which are gone to the remote and luxuriant regions, but such as remain are become wholly unprofitable, and good for nothing. Thus, not unlike the dog in the fable, they have lost their own countries, and not gotten the Indies. People and their industry are the true riches of a prince or nation, and, in respect to them, all other things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people at Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalizations, liberty of conscience, and immunities of government, far more effectually and advantageously conquered and kept the world than ever they did or possibly could have done by the sword." Seeing clearly his way, Mr Paterson seems not to have had the smallest suspicion but that others would see it also, and "he makes no doubt but that the affection we owe to our

sister nation will incline the company to be zealous in using all becoming endeavours for bringing our fellow-subjects to be jointly concerned in this great, extensive, and advantageous undertaking. That a proposal of this kind from the company will be other than acceptable ought not to be supposed, since by this means the consumption and demand of English manufactures, and, consequently, the employment of their people, will soon be more than doubled. England will be hereby enabled to become the long-desired seaport, and yet its public revenues, instead of being diminished, will thereby be greatly increased. By this their nation will at once be eased of its laws of restraint and prohibitions, which, instead of being encouragements, always have, and still continue to be, the greatest lets to its trade and happiness." These liberal views seem to have made a greater impression on the public mind than at that time could have been anticipated. In the month of October 1695, Lord Belhaven, Mr Robert Blackwood, and Mr Balfour, went on a deputation to London, accompanied by Mr Paterson, where the subscription books were first opened, and in the course of nine days £300,000 were subscribed; one-fourth of all subscriptions being paid in cash. This promising state of things, however, was, by the jealousy of the English monopolists, suddenly reversed. The East India Company were the first to take the alarm, and they communicated their terrors to the House of Lords. The latter requested a conference with the Commons on the alarming circumstances, and a committee was appointed to inquire by what methods such an Act had been obtained, who were the promoters, and who had become subscribers to the company. This was followed by an address to the king from both Houses of Parliament, stating "that, by reason of the superior advantages granted to the Scottish East India Company, and the duties imposed upon the Indian trade of England, a great part of the stock and shipping of this nation would be carried thither, by which means Scotland would be rendered a free port, and Europe from thence supplied with the products of the east much cheaper than through them, and thus a great article in the balance of foreign commerce would be lost to England, to the prejudice of the national navigation and the royal revenue." The address went on to state that when the Scots should have established themselves in plantations in America, the western branch of traffic would also be lost. The privileges granted their company would render their country the general storehouse for tobacco, sugar, cotton, hides, and timber; the low rates at which they would be enabled to carry on

their manufactures, would render it impossible for the English to compete with them; while, in addition, his Majesty engaged to protect, by the naval strength of England, a company, whose success was incompatible with its existence." This address his majesty received graciously, observing, "that he had been ill served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedy might yet be found to prevent the inconvenience that might arise from the act." To satisfy his English parliament that he was in earnest, William dismissed his Scottish ministers, and among the rest the Earl of Stair.

The English parliament, with a spirit worthy of the darkest ages, and the most barbarous nations, proceeded to declare Lord Belhaven, William Paterson, and other members of the deputation, guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, for administering in that kingdom the oath *de fidei* to a foreign association. Those of their own people who had become partners in the company were threatened with an impeachment, and were by this means compelled to withdraw their subscriptions. Upwards of L.200,000 had been subscribed to the scheme by the merchants of Holland and Hamburg, and the English resident at the latter city, Sir Paul Rycault, was instructed to present a remonstrance on the part of the king, to the magistrates, complaining of the countenance they had given to the commissioners of the Darien Company, who had formed, and were prosecuting, a plan fraught with many evils; a plan which his majesty did not intend to support, and from which, if the Hamburgers did not withdraw their aid, they might be prepared for an interruption of that kindly feeling, and those good offices, that it was the wish of his majesty to cultivate and to exercise towards them. The answer of the city was worthy of itself in its best days. "They considered it strange that the King of England should dictate to them, a free people, how, or with whom they were to engage in the arrangements of commerce; and still more so, that they should be blamed for offering to connect themselves in this way with a body of his own subjects, incorporated under a special act of parliament." From this interference, however, the Hamburgers, aware that the company was to be thwarted in all its proceedings by the superior power of England, lost confidence in the scheme, and finally withdrew their subscriptions. The Dutch, too, equally jealous of commercial rivalry with England, and influenced perhaps by the same motives with the Hamburgers, withdrew their subscriptions also, and the company was left to the unassisted resources of their own poor and depressed country. The eagerness with which the scheme had been patronized abroad by the wealthy individuals, and the

bitterness of the opposition directed against it by the government of England, equally tended to give it importance in the eyes of Scotsmen, and they determined to go on with such means as they could command, secure of abundant support when the practicability of the plan should be demonstrated. The books for subscription were not opened in Glasgow and Edinburgh till the month of February 1696, and they were not filled up till the month of August, when, owing to the interference of the English, and the consequent withdrawal of the foreign partners, another L.100,000 sterling was shared in Scotland fourteen months after the passing of the act. Nothing could exceed the eagerness with which all classes of the Scottish people hastened to enroll themselves in the magnificent copartnery now forming. Every burgh, every city, and almost every family of any consequence, became shareholders. L.400,000 were subscribed, an astonishing sum, when it is known that, at that time, the circulating capital of the kingdom did not exceed L.800,000 sterling. To this enthusiasm a variety of causes contributed. The scheme of Paterson was politically good. It was drawn up with great ability, and promised important results in a moral and religious, as well as in a commercial point of view. Many of the subscribers, indeed, were influenced solely by religious motives, as they considered the setting up of a church, regularly constituted, on the continent, the most likely means for spreading the gospel among the natives, and as affording facilities for that purpose which could not in any other way be obtained. But it must be admitted that the scheme, having become a national mania, was not left to work its way by its own intrinsic merits. The scene of the intended operations became the subject of numberless pamphlets, wherein fancy was much more largely employed than fact. The soil was represented as rich, and teeming with the most luxuriant fertility; the rivers as full of fish, and their sands sparkling with gold; the woods smiling in perpetual verdure, at all times ringing with the melody of spring, and loading every breeze that swept over them with the most delightful odours.

Having completed their preparations, and the public authorities having assured them of protection and encouragement, the colony, in presence of the whole city of Edinburgh, which poured out its inhabitants to witness the scene, embarked, Mr Paterson going first on board at Leith, from the roads of which they sailed on the 26th of July 1698. The fleet consisted of five ships, purchased at Hamburgh or Holland, (for they were refused even the trifling accommodation of a ship of war which was laid up at Burntisland,) and were named the *Caledonia*, *St Andrew*, *Unicorn*, *Dolphin*, and *Endeavour*, the

two last being yachts laden with provisions and military stores. The colony consisted of twelve hundred men, three hundred of them being young men of the best Scottish families. Among them were also sixty officers who had been thrown out of employment by the peace which had just been concluded, and who carried along with them the troops they had commanded; all of whom were men who had been raised on their own estates, or on those of their relations. Many soldiers and sailors, whose services had been refused—for many more than could be employed had offered themselves—were found hid in the ships, and, when ordered ashore, clung to the ropes, imploring to be allowed to go with their countrymen without fee or reward. The whole sailed amidst the praises and prayers, and the tears of relations, friends, and countrymen; and “neighbouring nations,” says Dalrymple, “saw, with a mixture of surprise and respect, the poorest nation of Europe sending forth the most gallant colony which had ever gone from the old to the new world. The parliament of Scotland met in the same week that the expedition for Darien sailed, and on the 5th of August they presented a unanimous address to the king, requesting that he would be pleased to support the company. The Lord President, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, and Sir James Stuart, Lord Advocate, also drew out memorials to the king in behalf of the company, in which they proved their rights to be irrefragable, on the principles both of constitutional and public law. All this, however, did not prevent orders being sent out by the English ministry to all the English governors in America and the West Indies, to withhold all supplies from the Scottish colony at Darien, and to have no manner of communication with it either in one shape or another. Meanwhile the colony proceeded on its voyage without anything remarkable occurring, and, on the 3d of November, landed between Portobello and Carthagea, at a place called Acta, where there was an excellent harbour, about four miles from Golden Island. Having obtained the sanction of the natives to settle among them, they proceeded to cut through a peninsula, by which they obtained, what they conceived to be, a favourable site for a city, and they accordingly began to build one under the name of New Edinburgh. They also constructed a fort in a commanding situation, for the protection of the town and the harbour, which they named St Andrew; and on the country itself they imposed the name of Caledonia. The first care of the council, which had been appointed by the company, and of which Mr Pater-son was one of the chief, was to establish a friendly correspondence with the native chiefs, which they found no difficulty in doing. To the Spanish authorities of Carthagea and Pana-

ma they also sent friendly deputations, stating their desire to live with them upon terms of amity and reciprocal intercourse. On the 28th of December 1698, the council issued a proclamation, dated at New Edinburgh, to the following effect:—"We do hereby publish and declare, that all manner of persons, of what nation or people soever, are, and shall, from henceforward, be equally free, and alike capable of the said properties, privileges, protections, immunities, and rights of government, granted unto us; and the merchants and merchant-ships of all nations may freely come to and trade with ours, without being liable, in their persons or goods, to any manner of capture, confiscation, seizure, forfeiture, attachment, arrest, restraint, or prohibition for or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of marque, or reprisals, declarations of war with any foreign prince, potentate, or state, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever. And we do hereby not only grant, concede, and declare, a general and equal freedom of government and trade to those of all nations who shall hereafter be of or concerned with us, but also a full and free liberty of conscience in matters of religion, so as the same be not understood to allow, connive at, or indulge, the blaspheming of God's holy name, or any of his attributes, or of the unhallowing or profaning the Sabbath day; and, finally, as the best and surest means to render any government successful, durable, and happy, it shall, by the help of Almighty God, be ever our constant and chiefest care, that all our further constitutions, laws, and ordinances, be consonant and agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, right reason, and the examples of the wisest and justest nations; that from the righteousness thereof we may reasonably hope for and expect the blessings of prosperity and increase." So far all was well, but the want of a leading spirit, of one who could overawe the refractory, and of summary laws for their punishment, soon began to be felt. Mr Paterson was too modest a man himself to assume such a position, and the event shewed that he had trusted too much to the constancy and good sense of others. After all his expense of time and trouble of contrivance, he seems to have reserved nothing for himself above the meanest councillor upon his list. In the original articles of the company, it had been agreed that he should be allowed two per cent. on the stock, and three per cent. on the profits, but he had given up both these claims long before leaving Scotland. "It was not suspicion of the justice or gratitude of the company, nor a consciousness that his services could ever become useless to them, but the ingratitude of some individuals, experienced in life, which made it a

matter of common prudence in him to ask a retribution for six years of his time, and ten thousand pounds spent in promoting the establishment of the company." "But now," he continues, "that I see it standing upon the authority of parliament, and supported by so many great and good men, I release all claim to that retribution, happy in the noble concession made to me, but happier in the return which I now make for it." With the same simplicity and generosity of character which led him to relinquish the pecuniary advantages he had secured for himself, he relinquished all claim to any superiority in the direction of the colony, which was entrusted to men evidently but of ordinary capacity, and under regulations which supposed the persons composing it to be men of better tempers and greater self-command than they really were. The whole management was vested in a council of seven, under regulations, the fifth of which ran thus:—"That, after their landing and settlement as aforesaid, they, the council, shall class and divide the whole freemen inhabitants of the said colony into districts, each district to contain at least fifty, and not exceeding sixty freeman inhabitants, who shall elect yearly any one freeman inhabitant whom they shall think fit to represent them in a parliament, or council general, of the said colony, which parliament shall be called or adjourned by the said council, as they see cause; and, being so constituted, may, with consent of the said council, make and enact such rules, ordinances, and constitutions, and impose such taxes as they think fit and needful for the good of the establishment, improvement, and support of the said colony; providing always, that they lay no further duties or impositions of trade than what is after-stated." This parliament was accordingly called, and held at least two sessions. During the first session, in the month of April 1699, it enacted thirty-four statutes for the regulation of civil and criminal justice in the colony. This is a curious document, and in several items bears strong marks of the liberal spirit and philosophic mind of Paterson. It discovers a marked regard to personal liberty, and great jealousy of its infraction. Violations of women is declared a crime to be punished with death, though the women should belong to an enemy; and to plunder Indians is rated as common theft. No man was to be confined more than three months before being brought to trial; and in all criminal cases no judgment was to pass without the consent and concurrence of a jury of fifteen persons. No freeman could be subjected to any restraint for debt unless there should be fraud, or the design thereof, or wilful or apparent breach of trust, misapplication, or concealment, first

proved upon him. One of the councillors, writing at this time to the directors at home, says—"We found the inconvenience of calling a parliament, and of telling the inhabitants that they were freemen so soon. They had not the true notion of liberty. The thoughts of it made them insolent, and ruined command. You know that it's expressly in the 'Encouragement,' that they are to serve for three years, and at the three years' end to have a division of land." It was the opinion of this director that no parliament should have been called till at least the three years' of servitude had expired. Even then, from the character of the settlers, who had not been selected with that care which an experiment of such vast consequences demanded, there might have existed causes for delaying the escape. Among the better class there were too many young men of birth. These were inexperienced, and wholly unfit for exercising authority, and equally ill adapted for submitting to it. Among the lower class were many who had been opposed to the revolution, and who had resorted to the colony purely from dissatisfaction with the government at home. These, instead of submitting with patience to the privations and labour necessary in that state of society in which they were now placed, would gladly have laid aside the mattock and axe, and have employed themselves in plundering incursions upon the Indians or the Spaniards. The subscribers to the scheme were so numerous, that the idle, the unprincipled, and profligate, had found but too little difficulty in attaching themselves to the infant colony. Those who were nominated to the council, too, had been selected without judgment; and it was not till after a violent struggle that Paterson could prevail on his colleagues to exercise their authority. "There was not," he writes in a letter to Mr Shields, "one of the old council fitted for government, and things were gone too far before the new took place."

Mr Paterson, when he first established his colony, had taken the precaution to land his people at the beginning of winter, the best season for Europeans first encountering the climate of Darien, and the first letter from the council to the directors, thus expresses the satisfaction of the colonists with their new destination:—"As to the country, we find it very healthful; for, though we arrived here in the rainy season, from which we had little or no shelter for several weeks together, and many sick among us, yet we are so far recovered, and in as good a state of health as could hardly anywhere be expected among such a number of men together. In fruitfulness this country seems not to give place to any in the world, for we have seen several of the fruits, as cocoa-nuts, barillas,

sugar canes, maize, oranges, &c. &c., all of them in their kinds, the best anywhere to be found. Nay, there is hardly a foot of ground but may be cultivated, for even upon the very tops and sides of the hills there is commonly three or four feet deep of rich earth, without so much as a stone to be found therein. Here is good hunting and fowling, and excellent fishing in the bays and creeks of the coast; so that, could we improve the season of the year just now begun, we should soon be able to subsist of ourselves; but the building and fortifying will lose us a whole year's planting." This was, however, no more than all of them must have foreseen; and they never doubted of obtaining more provisions than they could want from the West India Islands, or from the American colonies. Orders, however, as has already been noticed, were sent out after them to all the English governors, prohibiting all communication with them. These proclamations were rigidly adhered to, and the unfortunate Scottish colonists were denied those supplies which had seldom been withheld from lawless smugglers, buccaneers, and pirates. In addition to this, which was the principal source of all their misfortunes, those who superintended the equipment of the expedition had, through carelessness or design, furnished them with provisions part of which were uneatable, the consequence of which was, that the colony had to be put on short allowance, when the sickly season was thinning their numbers, and bringing additional duty on those who were in health. In this emergency, their Indian friends exerted themselves on their behalf, putting to shame their Christian brethren, who, from a mean jealousy, were attempting to starve them; and they might still have done better, had not insubordination broken out among themselves and a conspiracy been formed, in which some of the council were implicated, to seize one of the vessels, and to make their escape from the colony. After matters had come this length, Paterson succeeded in assuming new councillors, a measure which had the effect of checking the turbulence of the discontented. The new council also dispatched one of their own number to Britain, with an address to the king, and a pressing request to send them out supplies of provisions, ammunition, and men. On receiving this dispatch, the directors lost no time in sending out the requisite supplies. They had already sent dispatches and provisions by a brig, which sailed from the Clyde in the end of February 1699, but which unhappily never reached her destination. On the arrival in Britain of another of their number, Mr Hamilton, who was accountant-general to the colony, and whose absence was highly detrimental to its interests, the *Olive Branch*,

Captain Jamieson, and another vessel, with three hundred recruits and stores of provisions, arms, and ammunition, were dispatched from Leith Roads on the 12th of May 1699. Matters in the colony were in the meantime getting worse; and on the 22d of June they came to the resolution of abandoning the place within eight months of the time they had taken possession of it. The unfortunate projector himself was at the time on board the *Union*, whither he had been conveyed some days before in a fever, brought on by anxiety and grief for the weakness of his colleagues and the frustration of those hopes which he had so sanguinely cherished, and which he had found so nearly realized. The depression of his spirits continued long after the fever had left him; and while he was at Boston, in the month of September following, one of his friends writes concerning him:—"Grief has broke Mr Paterson's heart and turned his brain, and now he's a child; they may do what they like for him." He, however, recovered the full powers of his mind at New York, whence he returned to Scotland, to make his report to the company, and to give them his best advice regarding the further prosecution of their undertaking. Two of their captains, Samuel Veitch and Thomas Drummond, remained at New York, to be ready to join the colony. Should it be again revived, the *Olive Branch*, the vessel alluded to as having gone out to the colony with recruits and provisions, was followed by a fleet of four ships, the *Rising Sun*, *Hope*, *Duke Hamilton*, and *Hope of Borrowstownness*, with thirteen hundred men. These ships all sailed from the Isle of Bute, on the 24th of September 1699, and reached Caledonia Bay on the 30th of November following. With this fleet went out William Veitch, son of the Rev. William Veitch of Dumfries, and brother to Samuel already mentioned. This person went out in the double capacity of a captain and a councillor. Individuals were also sent out by various conveyances, with bills of credit for the use of the colony. Everything now, however, went against them. The *Olive Branch* and her consort having arrived in the harbour of New Edinburgh, the recruits determined to land and repossess themselves of the place, the huts of which they found burnt down and totally deserted; one of their ships, however, took fire and was burnt in the harbour, on which the others set sail for Jamaica. When the fleet which followed arrived in November, and, instead of a colony ready to receive them, found the huts burned down, the fort dismantled, and the ground which had been cleared overgrown with shrubs and weeds, with all the tools and implements of husbandry taken away, they were at a loss what to do. A

general cry was raised in the ships to be conducted home, which was encouraged by Mr James Byres, one of the new councillors, who seems to have been himself deeply impressed with that dejection of spirit which, as a councillor, it was his duty to suppress. Veitch, however, assisted by Captain Thomas Drummond, who had come out in the *Olive Branch*, and had taken up his residence among the natives till the fleet which he expected should arrive, succeeded in persuading the men to land. As the Spaniards had already shewn their hostility, and having been defeated by a detachment of the colonists in the preceding February, they were preparing for another attack, encouraged, no doubt, by the treatment which the colony had met with from the English government; Drummond proposed an immediate attack on Portobello, which they could easily have reduced, and where they might have been supplied with such things as they were most in want of. In this he was cordially seconded by Veitch, but was prevented by the timidity of his colleagues and the intrigues of Byres, who at length succeeded in ejecting him from the council. Two ministers, Messrs James and Scott, went out with the first expedition, but the one died on the passage, and the other shortly after landing in New Caledonia. The council having written home to the directors, regretting the death of their ministers, and begging that others might be sent to supply their place, the commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at the particular desire of the board of directors, sent out the Reverend Messrs Alexander Shields, (the well-known author of the "Hind let Loose," "Life of Renwick," &c.) Borland, Stabo, and Dagliesh. These persons sailed in the last fleet. They were instructed, on their arrival, with the advice and concurrence of the government, to set apart a day for solemn thanksgiving, to form themselves into presbytery, to ordain elders and deacons, and to divide the colony into parishes, that thus each minister might have a particular charge. After which it was recommended to them, "so soon as they should find the colony in case for it, to assemble the whole Christian inhabitants, and keep a day together for solemn prayer and fasting, and with the greatest solemnity and seriousness to avouch the Lord to be their God, and dedicate themselves and the land to the Lord." The church of Scotland took so deep an interest in the colony of Darien, that the commission sent a particular admonition by the ministers, of which the following may be taken as a specimen:—"We shall, in the next place, particularly address ourselves to you that are in military charge and have command over the soldiery, whether by land

or sea. It is on you, honoured and worthy gentlemen, that a great share of the burden of the public safety lies. You are, in some respects, both the hands and the eyes of this infant colony. Many of you have lately been engaged in a just and glorious war, for retrieving and defending the Protestant religion, the liberties and rights of your country, under the conduct of a matchless prince. And now, when, through the blessing of the Lord of hosts, his and your arms have procured an honourable peace at home, you, and others with you, have, with much bravery, embarked yourselves in a great, generous, and just undertaking, in the remote parts of the earth, for advancing the honour and interest of your native country. If in this you acquit yourselves like men and Christians, your fame will be renowned both abroad and at home." The ministers found the colony in circumstances very different from what the address of the commission naturally supposed; and it was but few of their instructions they were able to carry into effect. Two of them, however, preached on the land, and one on board the *Rising Sun*, every Sabbath day. But, in addition to the unfavourable aspect of their affairs, the irreligion and licentiousness of the colonists, oppressed their spirits and paralyzed their efforts. With a view of forming an acquaintance with the natives, they undertook a journey into the interior, accompanied by a Lieutenant Turnbull, who had some slight knowledge of the Indian language. They spent several nights in the cabins of the natives, by whom they were received with great kindness; and on their return brought back to the colonists the first notice of the approach of the Spaniards. When apprised of all the circumstances, the directors felt highly indignant at the conduct of those who, upon such slight grounds, had left the settlement desolate, and whose glory, they said, it ought to have been to have perished there, rather than to have abandoned it so shamefully. In their letters to their new councillors and officers, they implored them to keep the example of their predecessors before their eyes as a beacon, and to avoid those ruinous dissensions and shameful vices on which they had wrecked so hopeful an enterprise. "It is a lasting disgrace," they add, "to the memories of those officers who went in the first expedition, that even the meanest planters were scandalized at the licentiousness of their lives, many of them living very intemperately and viciously for many months at the public charge, whilst the sober and industrious among them were vigilant in doing their duty. Nor can we, upon serious reflection, wonder if an enterprise of this nature has misgiven in the hands of such as, we have too much reason to believe, neither feared

God nor regarded man." They have also blamed the old council heavily for deserting the place, without ever calling a parliament or general meeting of the colony, or in any way consulting their inclinations, but commanding them to a blind and implicit obedience, which is more than they ever can be answerable for, "wherefore," they continue, "we desire you would constitute a parliament, whose advice you are to take in all important matters. And in the mean time you are to acquaint the officers and planters with the constitutions, and the few additional ones sent with Mr Mackay, that all and every person in the colony may know their duty, advantages, and privileges." Alarmed by the accounts which they soon after received from Darien, the council-general of the company dispatched a proclamation, declaring "that it shall be lawful to any person of whatever degree inhabiting the colony, not only to protest against, but to disobey, and oppose any resolution to desert the colony;" and "that it shall be death, either publicly or privately, to move, deliberate, or reason upon any such desertion or surrender, without special order from the council-general for that effect. And they order and require the council of Caledonia to proclaim this solemnly, as they shall be answerable." Before this act was passed in Edinburgh, however, New Caledonia was once more evacuated. The men had set busily to the rebuilding the huts and repairing the fort; but strenuous efforts were still made in the council to discourage them, by those who wished to evacuate the settlement. Veitch was with difficulty allowed to protest against some of their resolutions; and for opposing them with warmth, Captain Drummond was laid under arrest. Speaking of Drummond, Mr Shields says, "Under God, it is owing to him and the prudence of Captain Veitch that we have stayed here so long, which was no small difficulty to accomplish." And again, "If we had not met with Drummond at our arrival, we had never settled in this place. Byres and Lindsay being averse from it, and designing to discourage it from the very first; Gibson being indifferent, if he got his pipe and dram; only Veitch remained resolved to promote it, who was all along Drummond's friend, and concurred with his proposal to send men against the Spaniards at first, and took the patronizing as long as he could conveniently, but with such caution and prudence as to avoid and prevent animosity and faction, which he saw were unavoidable, threatening the speedier dissolution of this interest, if he should insist on the prosecution of that plea, and in opposition to that spate that was running against Drummond. But now Finab coming, who was Drummond's comrade and fellow-

officer in Lorne's regiment in Flanders, he is set at liberty." This was Colonel Campbell of Finab, who, with three hundred of his own men, had come out and joined this last party about two months after their arrival. The Spanish troops meantime, from Panama and Santa Maria, conducted through the woods by negroes, were approaching them, they had advanced to the number of sixteen hundred men, as far as Tubusantee, in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony, when Finab marched against them with two hundred men, and defeated them in a slight skirmish, in which he was wounded. The victory, which at one time would have been of signal service to the colony, was now unavailing; a fleet of eleven ships, under the command of the governor of Carthagena, Don Juan Pinienta, having blocked up the harbour, and landed a number of troops, who, advancing along with the party which had found their way through the woods, invested the fort. Cut off from water, reduced by sickness, and otherwise dispirited, the garrison was loud in its demands for a capitulation, and the council had no other alternative but to comply with it. Finab being laid up at the time with a fever, Veitch conducted the treaty, and was allowed honourable terms. The inhabitants of the colony having gone on ship-board, with all that belonged to them, they weighed anchor on the 11th of April 1700, and sailed for Jamaica, after having occupied New Caledonia somewhat more than four months. The *Hope*, on board of which was Captain Veitch and the greater part of the property, was wrecked on the rocks of Colonades, on the western coast of Cuba. Veitch, however, was dead before this accident happened. The *Rising Sun* was wrecked on the bar of Carolina, and the captain and crew, with the exception of sixteen persons who had previously landed, were lost. Of the few survivors, some remained in the English settlements, some died in Spanish prisons, and of the three thousand men that at different periods went out to the settlement, perhaps not above twenty ever gained their native land.

In this melancholy manner terminated the only attempt at colonization ever made by Scotland. That it was an attempt far beyond the means of the nation must be admitted. The conception, however, was splendid, the promise great, and every way worthy of the experiment, and but for the jealousy of the English and the Dutch, more particularly the former, might possibly have succeeded. The settlers, indeed, were not well selected; the principles attempted to be acted on were theoretic, and too refined for the elements upon which they were to operate; and, above all, the council were men of

feeble minds, utterly unqualified to act in a situation of such difficulty as that in which they came to be placed. Had the wants of the Scottish settlers been supplied by the English colonies, which they could very well have been, even with advantage to the colonies, the first and most fatal disunion and abandonment of their station could not have happened; and had they been acknowledged by their sovereign, the attack made upon them by the Spaniards, which put an end to the colony, would never have been made. Time would have smoothed down the asperities among the settlers themselves, experience would have corrected their errors in legislation, and New Caledonia, which remains to this day a wilderness, might have become the emporium of half the commerce of the world.

Mr Paterson, not disheartened by the failure of his Darien project, instead of repining, revived the scheme in a form that he supposed might be less startling, and which might induce England, whose hostility had hitherto thwarted all his measures, to become the principals in the undertaking, reserving only one-fifth part for Scotland. The controversy between the nations, however, was now running too high, and the ill blood of both was too hot to admit of anything of the kind being listened to.

Mr Paterson, though he was pitied, and must have been respected, was almost entirely neglected, and died at an advanced age in poor circumstances. After the union, he claimed upon the equivalent money for the losses he had sustained at Darien, and none of the proprietors certainly had a fairer claim, but he never received one farthing. Had Paterson's scheme succeeded, and it was no fault of his that it did not, his name had unquestionably been enrolled among the most illustrious benefactors of his species; and if we examine his character in the light of true philosophy, we shall find it greatly heightened by his failure. Though defrauded of the honour due to him in the formation of the Bank of England, by persons, as has been well said, "as inferior to him in genius as they were in generosity," we never hear from him a single murmur. When disappointed or defeated, he did not give way to despair, but set himself coolly and calmly to another and a still greater undertaking, for which he had no guarantee for the gratitude of mankind more than for the former. When this too failed, through the injustice of those who ought to have been his protectors, and the imbecility of those whom he ought to have commanded, he never seems for a moment to have thought of abating his mortifications, or of vindicating his fame by recrimination, though he might, with the utmost

truth and justice, have recriminated upon every one with whom he had been connected. So far from this, however, he only sought to improve his plan, and enable them to correct their errors ; and even when this, the last and bitterest insult that can be offered to an ingenious mind, was neglected, he modestly retired to the vale of private life, and seems to have closed his days almost, if not altogether, without a murmur at the ingratitude of mankind. There is one part of his character which, in a man of so much genius, ought not to pass unnoticed. "He was a man void of passion ; and he was one of the very few of his countrymen who never drank wine."— (*Lives of Eminent Scotsmen.*)

SECT. XLIII.—JOHN LOCKE ON LABOUR AND PROPERTY.

This philosophic writer, who thought deeply on all subjects, and threw light upon the deepest and darkest, turned his mind to the contemplation of civil government and the coining of money, as well as the human understanding. He lived contemporary with Sir Dudley North ; espoused a different side in politics, and had patrons who were the virulent enemies of the North family. His essays on the philosophy of trade were extolled, North's were decried and destroyed. Locke received a pension of L.1000 per annum for what he wrote on trade and politics ; North received contumely and nothing more. Yet North's writings, speeches in parliament, and opinions, could not be unknown to Locke, who followed them both in respect of time and manner of treatment.

John Locke was born in the year 1632, at Wrington, in the county of Somerset. He was one of two sons. His father had been a parliamentary captain in the wars of Cromwell. John was educated at Westminster and Oxford, and went to Germany as secretary to Sir Walter Vane, ambassador at Brandenburg. He declined public employment in Spain, and again in Germany, after his first engagement there ; and also church preferment. Mental activity, physical inaction, many friends, and few wants, seem to have formed his personal and social characteristics. He associated with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, and all the eminent men of Oxford, where he lived easy for a number of years. His difficulty in contending with them in argument led to his committing his metaphysical thoughts to paper to be read to them ; and these, it is said, formed the original manuscript of the "Essay on Human Understanding."

On Shaftesbury falling into discredit with the court of

Charles II., and going into exile, Mr Locke followed him ; for so doing he was deprived of his fellowship at Oxford. When, in consequence of the insurrection raised by the Duke of Monmouth, at the death of Charles II., the English government demanded the apprehension of several English fugitives residing in Holland, Locke's name appeared in the list, and he went into hiding during several months.

The successful revolution of 1688, which placed William Prince of Orange on the throne of England, opened more favours of employment, rank, and income, to Mr Locke than he could take advantage of. His health was failing ; and, in reply to some of these offers of favours, he said, "As it would be unpardonable to betray the king's business by undertaking what I should be unable to go through, so it would be the greatest madness to put myself out of the reach of my friends during the small time I am to linger in this world, only to die a little more rich or a little more advanced." He died on the 28th of October 1704, aged 72. He wrote thus, on—

Labour and Property—This is certain, that in the beginning, before the desire of having more than man needed had altered the intrinsic value of things, which depends only on their usefulness to the life of man ; or had agreed that a little piece of yellow metal, which would keep without wasting or decay, should be worth a great piece of flesh or a whole heap of corn ; though men had a right to appropriate, by their labour, each one to himself, as much of the things of nature as he could use, yet this could not be much, nor to the prejudice of others, where the same plenty was still left to those who would use the same industry. To which, let me add, that he who appropriates land to himself by his labour, does not lessen, but increase, the common stock of mankind ; for the provisions serving to the support of human life, produced by one acre of enclosed and cultivated land, are (to speak much within compass) ten times more than those which are yielded by an acre of land of an equal richness lying waste in common. And, therefore, he that encloses land, and has a greater plenty of the conveniences of life from ten acres than he could have from an hundred left to nature, may truly be said to give ninety acres to mankind ; for his labour now supplies him with provisions out of ten acres, which were by the product of an hundred lying in common. I have here rated the improved land very low, in making its product but as ten to one, when it is much nearer an hundred to one ; for, I ask, whether in the wild woods and uncultivated wastes of America, left to nature,

without any improvement, tillage, or husbandry, a thousand acres yield the needy and wretched inhabitants as many conveniences of life as ten acres, equally fertile land, do in Devonshire, where they are well cultivated.

“ Before the appropriation of land, he who gathered as much of the wild fruit; killed, caught, or tamed, as many of the beasts as he could; he that so employed his pains about any of the spontaneous products of nature, as any way to alter them from the state which nature put them in, by placing any of his labour on them, did thereby acquire a property in them; but if they perished in his possession without their due use, if the fruits rotted, or the venison putrefied, before he could spend it, he offended against the common law of nature, and was liable to be punished—he invaded his neighbour’s share, for he had no right farther than his use called for any of them, and they might serve to afford him conveniences of life.

“ The same measures governed the possession of land too: whatsoever he tilled and reaped, laid up and made use of, before it spoiled, that was his peculiar right; whatsoever he enclosed, and could feed, and make use of, the cattle and products, was also his; but, if either the grass of his enclosure rotted on the ground, or the fruit of his planting perished without gathering and laying up, this part of the earth, notwithstanding his enclosure, was still to be looked on as waste, and might be the possession of any other.

“ Nor is it so strange as, perhaps, before consideration it may appear, that the property of labour should be able to overbalance community of land; for it is labour indeed that puts the difference of value on everything; and let any one consider what the difference is between one acre of land planted with tobacco or sugar, sown with wheat or barley, and an acre of the same land lying in common, without any husbandry upon it, and he will find that the improvement of labour makes the far greater part of the value. I think it will be but a very modest computation to say that, of the products of the earth useful to the life of man, *nine-tenths* are the effects of labour; nay, if we will rightly consider things as they come to our use, and cast up the several expenses about them, what in them is purely owing to nature and what to labour, we shall find that, in the most of them, ninety-nine hundredths are wholly to be put on the account of labour.

“ There cannot be a clearer demonstration of anything than several nations of the Americans are of this, who are rich in land and poor in all the comforts of life, whom nature having furnished as liberally as any other people with the materials of plenty, *i. e.*, a fruitful soil, apt to produce an abundance of

what might serve for food, raiment, and delight; yet, for want of improving it by labour, have not one hundredth part of the conveniences we enjoy; and a king of a large and fruitful territory there feeds, lodges, and is clad worse than a day-labourer in England.

“To make this a little clear, let us but trace some of the ordinary provisions of life through their several progresses, before they come to our use, and see how much of their value they receive from human industry. Bread, wine, and cloth, are things of daily use and great plenty; yet, notwithstanding, acorns, water, and leaves, or skins, must be our bread, drink, and clothing, did not labour furnish us with these more useful commodities; for, whatever bread is more worth than acorns, wine than water, and cloth or silk than leaves, or skins, or moss, that is wholly owing to labour and industry; the one of these being the food and raiment which unassisted nature furnishes us with, the other, provisions which our industry and pains prepare for us, which, how much they exceed the other in value, when any one hath computed, he will then see how much labour makes the far greatest part of the value of things we enjoy in this world; and the ground which produces the materials is scarce to be reckoned on, as any, or at most but a very small part of it; so little, that even amongst us, land that is wholly left to nature, that hath no improvement of pasturage, tillage, or planting, is called, as indeed it is, *waste*; and we shall find the benefit of it amount to little more than nothing.

“An acre of land that bears here twenty bushels of wheat, and another in America which, with the same husbandry, would do the like, are, without doubt, of the same natural intrinsic value, (utility;) but yet the benefit mankind receives from the one in a year is worth L.5, and from the other, possibly, not worth *one penny*, if all the profit an Indian received from it were to be valued and sold here; at least, I may truly say, not $\frac{1}{1000}$. 'Tis labour then which puts the greatest part of the value upon land, *without which it would scarcely be worth anything*. 'Tis to that we owe the greatest part of all its useful products; for all that the straw, bran, bread, of that acre of wheat is more worth than the product of an acre of as good land which lies waste, is all the effect of labour. For, 'tis not merely the ploughman's pains, the reaper's and thrasher's toil, and the baker's sweat, is to be counted into the bread we eat: the labour of those who broke the oxen, who digged and wrought the iron and stones, who felled and framed the timber employed about the plough, mill, oven, or any other utensils, which are a vast number, requisite to this

corn, from its being seed to be sown to its being made bread, must all be charged on the account of *labour*, and received as an effect of that; nature and the earth furnished only the almost worthless materials as in themselves. 'Twould be a strange catalogue of things that industry provided and made use of about every loaf of bread before it came to our use, if we could trace them. Iron, wood, leather, bark, timber, stone, bricks, coals, lime, cloth, dyeing, drugs, pitch, tar, masts, ropes, and all the materials made use of in the ship that brought away the commodities used by any of the workmen to any part of the work, all which 'twould be almost impossible, at least too long, to reckon up.

"From all which it is evident that, though the things of nature are given in common, yet man, by being master of himself, and 'proprietor of his own person, and the actions or labour of it, had still in himself the great foundation of property;' and that which made up the greater part of what he applied to the support or comfort of his being, when invention and arts had improved the conveniences of life, was perfectly his own, and did not belong in common to others. Thus labour, in the beginning, gave a right of property."

SECT. XLIV.—DANIEL DEFOE AND THE PROGRESS OF TRADE.

It was a prevalent opinion of politicians in Defoe's time that the nation was decaying, and that trade did not progressively improve, but retrograde. Others, who did not go quite so far as to assert that Britain was retrograding, maintained that all trade was a loss of time, human strength, and of national resources. The best of Defoe's commercial works were directed against these errors. We select a few passages:—

"*Land and Trade.*—It is evident where the difference lies. An estate's a pond, but trade's a spring: the first, if it keeps full, and the water wholesome, by the ordinary supplies and drains from the neighbouring grounds, it is well, and it is all that is expected; but the other is an inexhausted current, which not only fills the pond and keeps it full, but is continually running over, and fills all the lower ponds and places about it.

"*Wealth of the Nation.*—As to the wealth of the nation, that undoubtedly lies chiefly among the trading part of the people; and though there are a great many families raised within a few years, in the late war, by great employments, and by great actions abroad, to the honour of the English gentry, yet how many more families among the tradesmen have been

raised to immense estates, even during the same time, by the attending circumstances of the war, such as the clothing, the paying, the victualling, and furnishing, &c., both army and navy! And by whom have the prodigious taxes been paid, the loans supplied, and money advanced upon all occasions? By whom are the banks and companies carried on?—and on whom are the customs and excises levied? Have not the trades and tradesmen borne the burden of the war?—and do they not still pay L.4,000,000 a-year interest for the public debts? On whom are the funds levied, and by whom the public credit supported? Is not trade the inexhausted fund of all funds, and upon which all the rest depend?

“*War has not Enriched the Nation.*—War has not done it; no, nor so much as helped or assisted to it; it is not by any martial exploits; we have made no conquests abroad, added no new kingdoms to the British empire, reduced no neighbouring nations, or extended the possession of our monarchs into the properties of others; we have gained nothing by war and encroachment; we are butted and bounded just where we were in Queen Elizabeth’s time; the Dutch, the Flemings, the French, are in view of us just as they were then. We have subjected no new provinces or people to our government; and, with few or no exceptions, we are almost, for dominion, where King Edward I. left us; nay, we have lost all the dominions which our ancient kings for some hundreds of years held in France—such as the rich and powerful provinces of Normandy, Poitou, Gascoigne, Bretagne, and Aquitaine; and instead of being enriched by war and victory, on the contrary, we have been torn in pieces by civil wars and rebellions, as well in Ireland as in England, and that several times, to the ruin of our richest families and the slaughter of our nobility and gentry, nay, to the destruction even of monarchy itself, and this many years at a time, as in the long bloody wars between the houses of Lancaster and York, the many rebellions of the Irish, as well in Queen Elizabeth’s time as in King Charles I.’s time, and the fatal massacre and almost extirpation of the English name in that kingdom; and, at last, the late rebellion in England, in which the monarch fell a sacrifice to the fury of the people, and monarchy itself gave way to tyranny and usurpation for almost twenty years.

“These things prove abundantly that the rising greatness of the British nation is not owing to war and conquests, to enlarging its dominion by the sword, or subjecting the people of other countries to our power, but it is all owing to trade, to the increase of our commerce at home, and the extending it abroad.

“ It is owing to trade that new discoveries have been made in lands unknown, and new settlements and plantations made, new colonies placed, and new governments formed in the uninhabited islands and the uncultivated continent of America ; and those plantings and settlements have again enlarged and increased the trade, and thereby the wealth and power of the nation by whom they were discovered and planted. We have not increased our power, or the number of our subjects, by subduing the nations which possessed those countries, and incorporating them into our own, but have entirely planted our colonies, and peopled the countries with our own subjects, natives of this island.

“ As trade has thus extended our colonies abroad, so it has, except those colonies, kept our people at home, where they are multiplied to that prodigious degree, and do still continue to multiply in such a manner, that if it goes on so, the time may come that all the lands in England will do little more than serve for gardens for them, and to feed their cows ; and their eorn and their cattle be supplied from Scotland and Ireland.

“ *Trade is Self-productive.*—Again, all our manufacturers are so useful to, and depend on one another so much in trade, that the sale of one necessarily causes the demand of the other in all parts. For example, suppose the poorest countryman wants to be clothed, or suppose it be a gentleman wants to clothe one of his servants, whether a footman in a livery, or suppose it be any servant in ordinary apparel, yet he shall in some part employ almost every one of the manufacturing counties of England for making up one ordinary suit of clothes. For example :—

“ If his coat be of woollen cloth, he has that from Yorkshire ; the lining is shalloon from Berkshire ; the waistcoat is of cal-lamanco from Norwich ; the breeches of a strong drugget from Devizes, Wiltshire ; the stockings being of yarn from Westmoreland ; the hat is a felt from Leicester ; the gloves of leather from Somersetshire ; the shoes from Northampton ; the buttons from Macclesfield in Cheshire, or, if they are of metal, they come from Birmingham or Warwickshire ; his garters from Manchester ; his shirt of home-made linen of Lancashire or Scotland.

“ If it be thus of every poor man’s clothing, or of a servant, what must it be of the master and of the rest of the family ? And in this particular the ease is the same, let the family live where they will, so that all these manufacturers must be found in all the remotest towns and counties in England, be it where you will.

“Again, take the furnishing of our houses, it is the same in proportion, and according to the figure and quality of the person. Suppose, then, it be a middling tradesman that is going to live in some market-town, and to open his shop there; suppose him not to deal in the manufacture, but in groceries, and such sort of wares as the country grocers sell.

“This man, however, must clothe himself and his wife, and must furnish his house; let us see, then, to how many counties and towns, among our manufacturers, must he send for his needful supply. Nor is the quantity concerned in it; let him furnish himself as frugally as he pleases, yet he must have something of every necessary thing; and we will suppose for the present purpose the man lived in Sussex, where very few, if any, manufactures are carried on; suppose he lived at Horsham, which is a market-town in or near the middle of the county.

“For his clothing of himself—for we must allow him to have a new suit of clothes when he begins the world—take them to be just as above; for as to the quality or quantity, it is much the same; only, that instead of buying the cloth from Yorkshire, perhaps he has it a little finer than the poor man above, and so his comes out of Wiltshire, and his stockings are, it may be, of worsted, not of yarn, and so they come from Nottingham, not Westmoreland; but this does not at all alter the case.

“Come we next to his wife; and she being a good honest townsman’s daughter, is not dressed over fine, yet she must have something decent, being newly married too, and especially as times go, when the burghers’ wives of Horsham, or any other town, go as fine as they do in other places: allow her, then, to have a silk gown, with all the necessaries belonging to a middling tolerable appearance, yet you shall find all the nation more or less concerned in clothing this country grocer’s wife, and furnishing his house, and yet nothing at all extravagant. For example:—

“Her gown, a plain mantua-silk, manufactured in Spitalfields; her petticoat the same; her binding, a piece of chequered-stuff, made at Bristol and Norwich; her under-petticoat, a piece of black callamanco, made at Norwich—quilted at home, if she be a good housewife, but the quilting of cotton from Manchester, or cotton-wool from abroad; her inner petticoats, flannel and swanskin, from Salisbury and Wales; her stockings from Tewksbury if ordinary, from Leicester if woven; her lace and edgings, from Stony Stratford the first, and Great Marlow the last; her muslin from foreign trade, as likewise

her linen, being something finer than the man's, may perhaps be a guilick-Holland; her wrapper, or morning-gown, a piece of Irish linen, printed at London; her black hood, a tun English lustring; her gloves, lamb's-skin, from Berwick and Northumberland, or Scotland; her ribands, being but very few, from Coventry or London; her riding-hood, of English worsted-camblot, made at Norwich.

"Come next to the furniture of the house. It is scarce credible to how many counties of England, and how remote, the furniture of but a mean house must send them, and how many people are everywhere employed about it; nay, and the meaner the furniture the more the people and places employed. For example:—

"The hangings, suppose them to be ordinary linsey-woolsey, are made at Kidderminster, dyed in the country, and painted or watered at London; the chairs, if of cane, are made at London; the ordinary matted chairs, perhaps in the place where they live; tables, chests of drawers, &c., made at London; as also looking-glass, bedding, &c.: the curtains, suppose of serge from Taunton and Exeter, or of camblots, from Norwich, or the same with the hangings, as above; the ticking comes from the west country, Somerset and Dorsetshire; the feathers also from the same country; the blankets from Whitney in Oxfordshire; the rugs from Westmoreland and Yorkshire; the sheets, of good linen, from Ireland; kitchen utensils and chimney-furniture, almost all the brass and iron from Birmingham and Sheffield; earthenware from Stafford, Nottingham, and Kent; glass ware from Sturbridge in Worcestershire, and London.

"I give this list to explain what I said before, namely, that there is no particular place in England where all the manufactures are made, but every county or place has its peculiar sort, or particular manufacture, in which the people are wholly employed; and for all the rest that is wanted they fetch them from other parts."

Since Defoe's time manufactures in the localities named by him have in some cases decayed, as the making of broad cloth in the west of England, of buttons at Macclesfield; and in other cases have prodigiously increased, as the making of cottons at Manchester, and the working of metal at Birmingham; yet, taking a general view of England, they remain and are characteristic of the same localities now as in his day. The greatest change has taken place in Scotland, where, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, new manufactures of great value and some manufacturing towns of great extent

have arisen. It was a glory to the trade then established in England, of which Defoe boasted, that the young men of England refused to be soldiers, they were so well employed, paid, and fed through trade; while the young men of Scotland and of Ireland, for the want of means to live otherwise, sought and took military service in every country of Europe.

“Foreign and home trade equally the causes of national greatness.—We are the greatest trading country in the world, because we have the greatest exportation of the growth and product of our land, and of the manufacture and labour of our people, and the greatest importation and consumption of the growth, product, and manufactures of other countries from abroad, of any nation in the world.”

MEMOIR OF DEFOE.

Daniel Defoe was the author of at least two hundred and ten separate publications, probably more—some of them works of magnitude; one of them, *Robinson Crusoe*, the most popular story, from the day it first appeared to this day, ever written in the English language. He was born in the city of London in the year 1661. His parents were in religion dissenters, in trade hosiers. He was educated at the dissenting academy of the Reverend Charles Morton, at Newington Green, and afterwards put to the trade of his father. This did not occupy his mind as it sought to be occupied, so he took up the profession of author. He published first in 1683, but in 1685 he was a soldier and a rebel under the Duke of Monmouth. Once more he became an author, his subjects being chiefly religious controversy, mingled with the politics of the day. But all politics were at that time mixed with religious controversy.

In 1692 he was a bankrupt, but the writ was superseded, and he paid his creditors a composition by unwearied industry and good faith. At a future time, when some of those creditors who had accepted his composition and given him an acquittance, became embarrassed, Defoe voluntarily came forward, being then in a condition to do so, and paid his former debts in full.

After the Revolution of 1688, when the Prince of Orange became King William III., he enjoyed considerable court patronage; but it has been said that “he never allowed the sunshine of royal favour to blind him to the great cause of civil and religious liberty.” About this time he published a remarkable work, entitled “*The original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England examined and asserted.*”

Of this work his admirers have said that it vies with Locke's famous tract in powers of reasoning, and is superior to it in the graces of style. His "Reasons against a War with France" is also an able work; it is useful for the people of England and of France, to study, understand, and act upon now, as it was a hundred and forty years ago.

The death of William III. and the accession of Anne placed Defoe, and the dissenters generally, in peril. Anne and her immediate advisers inherited the hostility of the Stuart family, of which she was a daughter, to everything like non-conformity in church or state. Defoe had fought for Monmouth; had opposed King James her father; had vindicated the revolution which dethroned him; had panegyricized King William; had defended the rights of the collective body of the people; and had offended the Queen's favourites, some by argument and some by ridicule; and now the accumulated vengeance for all these deeds hung around him like a thunder cloud ready to burst.

It soon burst. In January 1703 a proclamation appeared offering a reward of L.50 for Defoe's apprehension. He was described in the Gazette as a "middle sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown hair, though he wears a wig, having a hook-nose, sharp chin, gray eyes, and a large mole near his mouth." He gave himself up, and maintained that the tract which was the immediate cause of the proclamation was written in jest. It was entitled "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," and recommended the government to slay them. Neither the dissenters nor government would look on it as a jest. He was tried at the Old Bailey in the month of July 1703, sentenced to pay a fine of 200 merks, to stand three times in the pillory, and be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. He was taken to the pillory, accompanied by the populace, who expressed their sympathy for him aloud; and when taken down, loud bursts of applause broke forth from the surrounding multitude. He treated the whole affair with the contempt it deserved, and published a "Hymn to the Pillory," full of pointed satire against his prosecutors.

In August 1704 he was released from prison through the influence of Mr Secretary Harley, who recommended him to the Queen as a person of talent who might be useful to government. Accordingly, in 1706, he was employed by government, and sent to Scotland to assist in the momentous work of the union between England and Scotland. When this was effected he published a "History of the Union." He died on the 24th of April 1731.

In summing up the public services and traits of character of this remarkable man, a writer in *Fullarton's Lives* says, "Such was the man who by his writings exercised a greater influence over the public mind in the beginning of the last century than any of his gifted contemporaries. He was framed for the period in which his lot was cast: the times were troublous, and the politics of the day too often of a suspicious and shifting cast. But Defoe's principles were of the sternest kind, and his own character was one of adamantine firmness. Unawed by threats; undeterred by suffering; uninfluenced by personal interest, he held on the upright tenor of his way, amidst difficulties which would have crushed a less intrepid soul than his; and it is for a grateful posterity, now rejoicing in the possession of these civil and religious liberties, to a full sense of the importance of which Defoe first awoke his countrymen, to award him a place among the purest, most intrepid, and, on the whole, most successful of England's patriots."

This has been said without reference to his clear-sighted and useful writings on the dignity and advantages of trade from which we have quoted. It is for his services as a commercial philosopher that he is placed in this volume among free-traders.

Defoe's Review, a periodical which he conducted nine years, gave to Steele and Addison, it is said, the first idea of their celebrated *Guardian* and *Spectator*. It may also be possible that his writings on trade as already quoted suggested to Addison the well-written essay on that subject in the 69th number of the *Spectator*. But whether it be an original composition or a borrowed idea, we must rank the eminent writer of that essay as one of those who also understood the utility and dignity of trade.

SECT. XLV.—JOSEPH ADDISON AND THE BENEVOLENCE OF TRADE.

At Milston, in Wiltshire, Joseph Addison was born on the 1st of May 1672, his father was rector of that parish. He was educated at Amesbury, near Stonehenge; at Salisbury; at the Charter House, London; and at Oxford. His father was dean of Litchfield as well as rector of Milston; and his mother's father was bishop of Bristol. He had Dryden for a literary friend; the Lord Chancellor Somers and Lord Halifax, chancellor of the Exchequer, for patrons, while still young; but what was of greater advantage to him than any of those favours, he possessed talents of a high order, and

the disposition to make use of them. According to the custom of political patronage and literary dependance in those days, Addison seems to have hired himself out, first to King William III., who granted him a pension, and next to Godolphin, minister to Queen Anne, in 1704, when the Battle of Blenheim was fought. The ministry wanted a poet to put the campaign and battle in an array of poetry and beauty, and Lord Halifax introduced Addison, who, in due time, delivered himself of "The Campaign," a poem long since dead and forgotten, never to be resuscitated; not so the fragment of Southey entitled the *Battle of Blenheim*, written a century afterwards.

"What was it they fell out about?
Asked little Wilhelmine."

Addison's controversial pamphlets were numerous, some of them not creditable to his reputation. His literary sketches on the contrary are exquisite; some of those in the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, will endure with the English language; we quote a passage from the 69th number of the *Spectator*. He filled several political offices; married the widowed countess of Warwick; was unhappy; was appointed one of the secretaries of state; could not make a speech in parliament; had official letters to write, and could not do so without study; resigned; wrote ill-natured remarks on his old friend Sir Richard Steele; and died at the age of 48 years.

Commerce, its Benevolence and Dignity.—"Nature seems to have taken a particular care to disseminate her blessings among the different regions of the world, with an eye to this mutual intercourse and traffic among mankind, that the natives of the several parts of the globe might have a kind of dependance upon one another, and be united together by their common interest. Almost every degree produces something peculiar to it. The food often grows in one country and the sauce in another; the fruits of Portugal are corrected by the products of Barbadoes; and the infusion of a China plant is sweetened by the pith of an Indian cane. The Philippi Islands give a flavour to our European bowels. The single dress of a woman of quality is often the product of an hundred climates. The muff and the fan come together from the different ends of the earth. The scarf is sent from the torrid zone, and the tippet from beneath the pole. The brocade petticoat rises out of the mines of Peru, and the diamond necklace out of the bowels of Hindostan.

“ If we consider our own country in its natural prospects, without any of the benefits and advantages of commerce, what an uncomfortable spot of earth falls to our share! Natural historians tell us that no fruit grows originally among us besides hips and haws, acorns and pignuts, with other delicacies of the like nature; that our climate of itself, and without the assistance of art, can make no further advances towards a plum than to a sloe, and carries an apple to no greater a perfection than a crab; that our melons, our peaches, our figs, our apricots, and cherries, are strangers among us, imported in different ages, and naturalized in our English gardens; and that they would all degenerate and fall away into the trash of our own country if they were wholly neglected by the planter, and left to the mercy of our sun and soil. Nor has traffic more enriched our vegetable world than it has improved the whole face of nature among us: our ships are laden with the harvest of every climate, our tables are stored with spices, and oils, and wines; our rooms are filled with pyramids of China, and adorned with the workmanship of Japan; our morning’s draught comes to us from the remotest corners of the earth; we repair our bodies by the drugs of America, and repose ourselves under Indian canopies. My friend, Sir Andrew, calls the vineyards of France our gardens; the Spice Islands our hot-beds; the Persians our silk weavers; and the Chinese our potters. Nature indeed furnishes us with the bare necessaries of life, but traffic gives us a great variety of what is useful, and, at the same time, supplies us with everything that is convenient and ornamental. Nor is it the least part of this our happiness, that whilst we enjoy the remotest products of the north and south, we are free from those extremities of weather which give them birth; that our eyes are refreshed with the green fields of Britain at the same time that our palates are feasted with fruits that rise between the tropics. For these reasons, there are not more useful members in a commonwealth than merchants; they knit mankind together in a mutual intercourse of good offices, distribute the gifts of nature, find work for the poor, add wealth to the rich, and magnificence to the great. Our English merchant converts the tin of his own country into gold, and exchanges his wool for rubies. The Mahometans are clothed in our British manufacture, and the inhabitants of the frozen zone warmed with the fleeces of our sheep.

“ When I have been upon the ’Change, I have often fancied one of our old kings standing in person where he is represented in effigy, and looking down upon the wealthy concourse of people with which that place is every day filled. In this case

how would he be surprised to hear all the languages of Europe spoken in this little spot of his former dominions, and to see so many private men who, in his time, would have been the vassals of some powerful baron, negotiating like princes for greater sums of money than were formerly to be met with in the royal treasury ; trade, without enlarging the British territories, has given us a kind of additional empire ; it has multiplied the number of the rich, made our landed estates infinitely more valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an accession of other estates as valuable as the lands themselves."

SECT. XLVI.—WILLIAM PENN.

William Penn was born in London on 14th of October 1644. He was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, an able naval commander. He was sent to school at Chigwell, in Essex, near Wanstead, where his father resided. When about eleven years of age, he was surprised one evening at twilight, as he sat alone in his chamber to study, by what seemed to him to be an external glory, and as it were an internal lifting up of the soul, which suddenly came upon him. This, the result probably of an excited imagination, impressed him with the belief that he was specially called to a holy life. At twelve years of age he was sent to a school at London, and at fifteen to Christ Church, Oxford. At the university he formed friendships with youths afterwards distinguished for talent and high station ; with John Locke the philosopher, and Robert Spencer, afterwards Earl of Sunderland.

At this time Thomas Loe, who had belonged to the university, but had become a quaker, was in the habit of preaching to the students, and with such effect, that several of them withdrew from the established worship and held meetings of their own. Penn was the leader of those dissenters ; his boldness led him into a violent opposition, and he was expelled from the university.

He found no comfort on his return home. His father was ashamed of him. After a vain trial of argument against his opinions, he applied personal chastisement, but that was powerless. He turned the young man out of doors, but soon after re-admitted him to his affections. William Penn betook himself to preaching, and underwent many hardships and persecutions for the sake of his opinions.

His father died in 1670, leaving him an ample fortune. In 1672, having returned from a tour through Holland and Germany, undertaken to propagate the doctrines of the Society of

Friends, of which he was now an eminent member, he married and settled at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire. For several years his time was spent chiefly in preaching and in writing. In 1677 he again preached through Holland and Germany. In 1680 the enterprise which has made his reputation all enduring was entered upon. For a number of years a debt had been due to his father from the court of Charles II. no part of which had been repaid. He offered in lieu of the debt to accept of a tract of land in the North American colonies, bounded on the east by the Delaware river, on the south by Maryland, and extending northward as far as it could be occupied. After a delay, arising chiefly from a dislike to Penn's religious opinions, the grant of this great tract of land was made by a charter, dated 4th March 1681. He was constituted absolute proprietor of the whole province; and by special royal command it was called Pennsylvania, in perpetuation of the owner's name.

The enlightened policy, moral and political, of that owner, in laying down laws and giving examples for the government of the province, has been the best preserver of his name. In his preface to the frame of government which he drew up for the province, he said, "I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, and are the three common ideas of government which men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, *when the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws*, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion."

The purpose of the government promulgated by him is thus expressed in a summary: "We have, with reverence to God, and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government, to the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrate honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

The government or constitution consisted of twenty four articles, by which the power was lodged in the governor and freemen of the province. These were to form two bodies, a provincial council consisting of seventy two members elected by the freemen; a third of these went out every year. To this assembly was entrusted the entire management of the province,

and with them all legislative measures originated, the second body, named the general assembly, was to consist, for the first year, of all the freemen, and subsequently of two hundred annually elected. The only power possessed by this lower house was that of rejecting bills sent to them by the upper. The governor was perpetual president of the provincial council, but without any other distinction than that of possessing a treble vote. All elections were by ballot.

An additional grant of land of large extent was obtained, called the Territories, chiefly, if not entirely, inhabited by the native Indians. When this grant was ratified, William Penn set sail from England, and, in October 1682, landed at Newcastle, and was received with every mark of respect by the old possessors of the soil. His first step was to summon the general assembly, by which an act of union annexing the territories of the province; an act of settlement relative to the form of the constitution; a bill of naturalization and a number of laws, in addition to those already enacted by the governor, were passed. Perfect liberty of conscience was enacted for all who acknowledged a Governor of the Universe, and an obligation to observe peace and justice in society. All who professed faith in Jesus Christ, who were of unstained character, and above twenty one years of age, were to be electors. The pleadings in the courts of law were to be as short as possible. There were to be only two capital crimes, treason and murder. And "all prisons were to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed."

The next act of this illustrious apostle of peace and good will to all men is that which more especially brings him within this biographic history of the early pioneers of free commercial intercourse.

The assembly having broken up, he proceeded to a solemn treaty with the Indians, at which he confirmed the promises of peace and amity which he had before made to them, and received their pledges of friendship in return. All the intercourse between them was to be conducted on the principles of the strictest justice; and they lived for many years afterwards in the most perfect concord. Voltaire said of it, "This was the only treaty between those people (the Indians) and the Christians which was not ratified by an oath and which was never broken."

The next employment of William Penn was to found a city, to which he gave the name of Philadelphia, in token of the spirit of peace on earth and good will to all men which attended him in his undertaking. Many of his own sect,

persecuted in England, and other dissenters, sought an asylum in those distant lands. Next year trial by jury was established, and the political and social foundations of a great nation were laid.

William Penn returned to England in 1684, was again engaged in preaching, and again visited his colony in 1699. He lived in those troublous times in England preceding and following the Revolution of 1688, when probably all religious sects, and certainly all political parties seeking toleration or promotion for themselves, pursued no other road to either than by being intolerant and hostile to one another. William Penn, as a religious preacher at home, shared in the troubles and the troubling of the times. In 1701, while actively engaged in his great mission of peace in America, where his enlarged views and original projects of philanthropy did not jar with old creeds and customs as in England, he obtained information that the cunning King, (William III.) who had never been inclined to consider any property or dignity safe which the Stuarts, and not himself, had conferred, was designing to take all the land granted to private parties in America from them, and particularly that from William Penn, under pretence of mismanagement. Penn returned to oppose the measure, which had originated in the House of Lords, but it was abandoned. It was certainly a bold allegation for a king who had come to England as William did, who had at once plunged the nation into war, imposed new taxes to carry on the war, and accumulated an enormous debt for future generations to groan under; whose entire policy was to excite hatred between England and her nearest neighbour, France, and whose practice was the daily destruction of human life wherever he shewed his face, leaving officers of injustice behind, where he turned his back; as in Ireland, to destroy life, to break faith with his subjects, to strip the ancient possessors of the soil of their inheritance, to give their inheritance to venal flatterers; and to put down freedom of conscience by the fiercest persecution known in history; it was certainly a bold allegation for such a king to make against the administration of William Penn, the peaceable, the humane, the just, that in Pennsylvania he had mismanaged his great trust to the detriment of the people living under him. But King William was stopped by the hand of God. He was dead by the time that Penn returned to defend his province from rapacity; and Queen Anne, probably from a knowledge of the kindly sentiments which her father James II. bore towards William Penn, received him at court with distinction and respect.

A lawsuit, in which he was engaged soon after this, having

been decided against him, Penn was obliged to take up his residence within the rules of the Fleet Prison; to release himself from which he mortgaged his province for L.6600. The intelligence from the province embittered his reflections at this time, as the inhabitants of the province of the territory fell into disputes, which led to differences between the governor and the assembly. But he soon ceased to hear of them. Sinking into a mental lethargy, he lingered several years in a feeble existence, and died on 30th July 1718, in the 74th year of his age. The only defect in his government of Pennsylvania seems to have been his occasional absence. Had he resided there, it is probable that his original mind and high moral example would have controlled the settlers better than his laws could do when he was not present, excellent though the code was.

SECT. XLVII.—CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER.

This eminent navigator is entitled to a place in this work, from his just conception of the principles which should have guided the Dutch (and also the English) in the East Indies in their transactions with the native inhabitants. We annex in this memoir an extract from one of his works as an example.

William Dampier was born in 1652, his father, a gentleman of the county of Somerset, died when he was young, and, leaving him little to inherit, he was bound an apprentice to the master of a trading vessel at Weymouth.

After seeing a variety of service, and being wounded in the war with the Dutch, he sailed for Campeachy, with a captain Hudsel, on a mercantile speculation. This was profitable, and was repeated. During his second voyage he conceived the idea of exploring the Musquito shore in company with a Mr Hobby. They had proceeded no farther than the western shore of Jamaica, when some of the officers and crew proposed to go upon a buccaneering expedition to the Spanish Main, whence Dampier, though not at first a leader, accompanied them. After an attack on Porto-Bello, they set forth, on the 5th of April 1680, across the Isthmus of Darien, and when they reached the South Seas, embarked in such canoes and vessels as the Indians furnished them with. During the next six years, Dampier and those of his companions in adventure and crime who survived, and numerous others with whom they joined, continued on the South American and African coasts incessantly engaged in plundering Spanish ships at sea

and Spanish settlements on shore, an employment highly applauded in England by those who shared in the spoils which the buccaneers carried home, and by those who were delighted to hear of injuries inflicted on any people connected with Spain, or upon any people whose religion was not English protestantism.

Dampier became either alarmed at the incessant danger of a buccaneer's life on the Spanish Main or ashamed of its crimes. With a crew of 150 men he parted company with other associates and sailed for the East Indies from California and the coast of Mexico. The disreputable lives of his crew, their indisposition to all employment except plunder, caused him and two other persons to abandon them. He was put ashore on the island of St Nicholas. After escaping many dangers, he arrived at Bencoolen, where he was well received, and was appointed master gunner of the Dutch fort there. Yet he continued uneasy, anxiously looking for an opportunity to return to England. He effected his object by creeping through one of the port holes of the fort and getting on board an English East Indiaman.

Eight years seem to have elapsed before he was again on a foreign voyage. This occurred in 1698, when raised to the rank of a captain in the Royal Navy, and appointed to the command of the *Roebuck*, a small frigate, ordered for a voyage of discovery. He proceeded by the Cape of Good Hope to New Holland; and after much time and fatigue in exploring the coasts, was wrecked, and the ship lost, on the Island of Ascension.

In 1704 he set out upon another voyage. Having put into the Island of Batavia he was imprisoned by the Dutch, who seized all his effects. On his release he returned to England, and was not, so far as is known, again employed in the Royal Navy. He afterwards accompanied Captain Wood Rogers in his voyage round the world, in the capacity of master, and returned with him to England in 1711. Nothing is known of him afterwards.

The history of his first voyage was published in 1697, and was translated into several European languages. The following passage shews that he was advanced in intelligence on commercial politics beyond his age, and held views regarding civilisation more in accordance with the free-trade philanthropists of the middle of the nineteenth, than with the buccaneers of the latter end of the seventeenth century.

“The people of Barcalis, though they are Malaysians as the rest of the country, yet they are civil enough engaged thereto by trade; *for the more trade, the more civility*; and on the

contrary, the less trade the more barbarity and inhumanity. For trade has a strong influence upon all people who have found the secret of its bringing with it so many of the conveniences of life as it does."

But of the Spanish Americans who had no trade, he said:—"With trade they will be in danger of meeting with oppression—*men not being content with a free traffic*, and a just and reasonable gain, especially in those remote countries; but they must have the current to run altogether in their own channel, though to the depriving of the poor natives they deal with of their natural liberty, as if all mankind were to be ruled by their laws.

"The Islands of Sumatra and Java can sufficiently witness this: the Dutch having in a manner engrossed all the trade of these, and several of the neighbouring islands to themselves; not that they are able to supply them with a quarter of what they want; but because they would have all the produce of them at their own disposal. The natives (of Sumatra) would gladly comply with any who would come to trade with them, notwithstanding the great endeavours the Dutch make against it; for this island is so large, populous, and productive of pepper, that the Dutch are not able to draw all to themselves. I find the Malayans are in general implacable enemies to the Dutch; and all seems to arise from an earnest desire they have for a free trade, which is restrained by them (the Dutch) not only here, but in the Spice Islands, and all other places where they have any power.

"But it is freedom only which must be the means to encourage any of these remote people to trade, especially such of them as are industrious, and whose inclinations are bent this way, as most of the Malayans are, and the major part of the people of the East Indies, even from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to Japan, both continent and islands. For though in many places they are limited by the Dutch, English, Danes, &c., and restrained from a free trade with other nations, yet have they continually shewn what uneasiness that is to them. And how dear has this restraint cost the Dutch when yet neither can they with all their forts and guardships secure the trade wholly to themselves, any more than the Barlaventa fleet can secure the trade of the West Indies to the Spaniards."

Captain Dampier, as an Englishman, writing at a time when it would have been like treason to say that the English committed any outrage on the rights of other nations as the Dutch, the French, or the Spaniards did, is cautious to say little of the erroneous policy of his own countrymen.

SECT. XLVIII.—JACOB VANDERLINT.

This gentleman was a merchant of London, and published in 1734 a remarkable work entitled, "*Money Answers All Things; or, an Essay to make money sufficiently plentiful amongst all ranks of people; and increase our foreign and domestic trade.*" This work has always been so scarce since public attention was systematically directed to its subject, that it is not now found in the principal national libraries. Nor is Jacob Vanderlint known in biography. Professor Dugald Stewart, who probably found a copy of the work in some of the old libraries of Edinburgh, introduces in his appendix to the life of Adam Smith some extracts which shew Vanderlint to have been a thinker out of the usual range of the mercantile and political men of his time. The professor introduces him by the following remarks on political economy.

"The system of political economy which professes to regulate the commercial intercourse of different nations, and which Mr Smith has distinguished by the title of the Commercial or Mercantile System, had its root in prejudices still more inveterate than those which restrained the freedom of commerce and industry among the members of the same community. It was supported not only by the prejudices with which all innovations have to contend, and by the talents of very powerful bodies of men interested to defend it, but by the mistaken and clamorous patriotism of many good citizens, and their blind hostility to supposed enemies or rivals abroad. The absurd and delusive principles too, formerly so prevalent, with respect to the nature of national wealth, and the essential importance of a favourable balance of trade, (principles which, though now so clearly and demonstrably exploded by the arguments of Mr Smith, must be acknowledged to fall in naturally and almost inevitably with the first apprehensions of the mind when it begins to speculate concerning the theory of commerce,) communicated to the mercantile system a degree of plausibility, against which the most acute reasoners of our own times are not always sufficiently on their guard. It was accordingly at a considerably later period that the wisdom of its maxims came to be the subject of general discussion; and even at this day (1810) the controversy to which the discussion gave rise cannot be said to be completely settled to the satisfaction of all parties. A few enlightened individuals, however, in different parts of Europe, very early got a glimpse of the truth, and it is but justice that the scattered hints which they threw out should be treasured up as materials for literary history. I have thought of attempt-

ing a slight sketch on that subject myself; but am not without hopes that this suggestion may have the effect of recommending the task to some abler hands. At present I shall only quote one or two paragraphs from a pamphlet published in 1734, by Jacob Vanderlint, an author whose name has been frequently referred to of late years, but whose book never seems to have attracted much notice till long after the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*. He describes himself, in his preface, as an *ordinary* tradesman, *from whom the conciseness and accuracy of a scholar* is not to be expected; and yet the following passages will bear a comparison, both in point of good sense and of liberality, with what was so ably urged by Mr Hume twenty years afterwards, in his essay on the *Jealousy of Trade*.

“All nations have some commodities peculiar to them, which, therefore, are undoubtedly designed to be the foundation of commerce between the several nations, and produce a great deal of maritime employment for mankind, which, probably, without such peculiarities could not be; and in this respect, I suppose, we are distinguished, as well as other nations; and I have before taken notice, that if one nation be by nature more distinguished in this respect than another, as they will by that means gain more money than such other nations, so the prices of all their commodities and labour will be higher in such proportion, and consequently they will be richer or more powerful for having more money than their neighbours.

“But if we import any kind of goods cheaper than we can now raise them, which otherwise might be as well raised at home; in this case, undoubtedly, we ought to attempt to raise such commodities, and thereby furnish so many new branches of employment and trade for our own people, and remove the inconvenience of receiving any goods from abroad which we can anywise raise on as good terms ourselves: and, as this should be done to prevent every nation from finding their account with us by any such commodities whatsoever, so this would more effectually shut out all such foreign goods than any law can do.

“And as this is all the prohibition and restraint whereby any foreign trade should be obstructed, so, if this method were observed, our gentry would find themselves the richer, notwithstanding their consumption of such other foreign goods as, being the peculiarities of other nations, we may be obliged to import. For if, when we have thus raised all we can at home, the goods we import after this is done be cheaper than we can raise ourselves, (which they must be, otherwise we

shall not import them,) it is plain the consumption of any such goods cannot occasion so great an expense as they would if we could shut them out by an act of parliament, in order to raise them ourselves.

“From hence, therefore, it must appear that it is impossible any body should be poorer for using any foreign goods at cheaper rates than we can raise them ourselves, after we have done all we possibly can to raise such goods as cheap as we import them, and find we cannot do it; nay, this very circumstance makes all such goods come under the character of the *peculiarities* of those countries which are able to raise any such goods cheaper than we can do, for they will necessarily operate as such.”

The same author, in another part of his work, quotes from Erasmus Philips, a maxim which he calls *a glorious one*. “That a trading nation should be an open warehouse, where the merchant may buy what he pleases, and sell what he can. Whatever is brought to you, if you don’t want it, you won’t purchase it; if you do want it, the largeness of the import don’t keep it from you.”

“All nations of the world, therefore,” (says Vanderlint,) “should be regarded as one body of tradesmen, exercising their various occupations for the mutual benefit and advantage of each other. I will not contend,” (he adds, evidently in compliance with national prejudices,) “I will not contend for a free and unrestrained trade with respect to France, *though I can’t see it could do us any harm even in that case.*”

Professor Stewart refers in the same edition, that of 1810, of his life of Adam Smith, to the danger which existed in 1793, when the life was first published, of saying anything in political economy or of any other system than the old commercial one of restriction. The revolution in France was the cause of that. The same danger of discussing any new opinion or theory existed, and for the same reason, (that it involved the safety of the crown and reigning sovereign,) long before. To enable the public to discuss new theories, Sir Robert Walpole, at whose period we have now arrived, did great service; whatever his motives may have been, he took the task of government and responsibility from the crown, and invested the power in the cabinet ministry to carry great measures. Public opinion led by agitation has forced changes of ministry and threatened farther changes when it would have been treason to change or threaten the dynasty.

SECT. XLIX.—SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

At the beginning of the 18th century, that popular sentiment which was the most widely diffused and the most deeply implanted in the national mind, was hatred and jealousy of our nearest national neighbour, France. The "No Popery" sentiment was more fervently expressed by some sects and classes of people, but it was not so generally diffused. At the end of the 18th century this bitter enmity towards our neighbour had not abated. We shall glance at some of the causes of that jealousy and hatred.

First, there were the prejudices and evil dispositions arising from unneighbourly habits in the two nations, in like manner as these arise between unneighbourly families. Taking the families as an illustration, the parents had been through all recorded generations quarrelling with one another; they had been deceitful and cruel; their children were taught by precept as well as example to be deceitful and cruel also. They had no dealings at each other's shops, they did each other's shops all the injury they could devise and inflict. When they were at peace, it was only a peace consequent on their powerlessness to fight, kick, break legs, break heads, break windows, and destroy each other's goods. Each family suspected that the other would, at the earliest opportunity, break the peace, for each knew such a design to be its own: thus duplicity and enmity had become an inheritance transmitted from one generation to another. As in the two families, so was it in the two nations of England and France.

A second cause which operated at the beginning of the 18th century, was the dread which a large proportion of the English and Scottish people had of the political ascendancy of Roman Catholicism, and of the restoration of the banished Stuarts.

The Stuarts had favoured a generous commercial intercourse with France. James II. completed the design, and opened a free trade between England and France. During the two years, 1686 and 1687, which this free trade lasted, both countries derived an immediate benefit; and had not the mercantile theory on the one hand, and the No Popery policy on the other, united to restore the enmity and hostility of the two nations, free commerce, peace, and prosperity might have continued from that time forward. The No Popery cry led the English into the belief that James II. was giving them and their interests to the King of France. The mercantile theory led them to believe that if England purchased com-

modities from France to a higher amount in money than that country purchased from England, there would be a balance of trade against them. In the two years of free trade with the French under James II., the balance was against England. But this last only shews that in this country our forefathers required a large quantity of those commodities which France could supply, and that they were able to pay for them.

Another cause operating in the promotion of hostilities with France at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century was one closely allied with those just named. The Protestant gentry of mean condition, who had been raised to dignities and wealth by having the confiscated property of Catholics conferred upon them, whether caring for the principles of the reformed church or not, were all vehement declaimers against the Catholics; they dreaded any change in King James' policy which would restore their wealth to the rightful owners, and they invented and propagated all manner of pretences for dethroning the king, and of placing another in his stead, who would be more especially their king.

Thus it was that the fear of the restoration of the political power of the Roman pontiff in England, a power so dangerous to popular liberty; and that the ill-founded belief that a free intercourse in buying and selling between England and France was a loss to England if she did not sell more than she bought, and in any case a discouragement of her manufactures; thus it was, those two sentiments being allied in the public mind, that the holders of ill gotten wealth and dignities inflamed the people and changed the king. And thus it was, when they got a king of their own making, William III. whose leading policy was to fight with France, they used all the political power derived from their ill-gotten property, from the act of having made him king, and from the public whom they had artfully excited, and voted supplies of money to carry on the war against France. He, in return for their compliance, conferred on them farther grants of land, confiscating the great estates of the Irish landowners for the purpose. In farther gratitude for Irish estates, they voted English taxes to enable him to "humble the king of France," as he called his destruction of commerce and of human life. New taxes were laid upon English manufactures, a tonnage tax upon all vessels, a tax upon leather, soap, candles, paper, and other things, to raise money to injure French commerce; and in addition to those taxes, which continued for one hundred and forty years to cripple our own trade, some of which, as that on paper, continued to derange important domestic manufac-

tures to this year, (1848,) money was borrowed by millions and the national debt began, the interest of which we have still to pay.

The madness of England at the beginning of the 18th century in imposing taxes on her own trade, and hanging a debt upon the necks of all future generations, for the one sole purpose of "humbling the King of France," by injuring the commerce of nations and destroying the trade of the French in particular, was only equalled by the madness of England at the end of a hundred years in doing all that and more to destroy a certain set of opinions in France.

William III. began his reign in England in 1688; and after thirteen years of sovereignty, ten of which were years of war, died, sixteen millions of debt surviving him.

It is a lesson which should not be lost upon those who would regulate or promote commerce by legislation, that in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. two kings who, whether viewed as kings or men, had hardly one good quality, our domestic trade and foreign commerce flourished and advanced farther, merely by being let alone, than they advanced before or since in the same space of time. One of these kings was too much engaged in the indulgence of sensuality to have time or inclination to interfere with the practice of trade, and the other was too intent upon other designs. Both were too weak in sovereign power and personal ability to do trade injury by giving it laws. Neither of them did good from a design to promote it. They engaged themselves otherwise than in attending to the greatest interests of the nation; and the greatest interests of the nation, left to those who can best promote them, (the merchants and the industrious people,) flourished. Their successor, William III., morally superior to either of them, had the ability to interfere with trade, did interfere, and left the nation a legacy of mischief.

In the three years of peace that followed the treaty of Ryswick, and with which the reign of William concluded, commerce and national prosperity took new life, new strength, and advanced. In the nine years of war (the wars of Anne and the whigs, and the women of the bedchamber) conducted by the Duke of Marlborough, domestic trade advanced little, foreign trade retrograded. New taxes were imposed. Advertisements were taxed, a grievous impost still existing to the great detriment of business. The stamp duty on newspapers and the window duty, taxes on the light of intelligence and the light of the sun, both the light of heaven, were imposed, that the darkest errors committed in the government of nations might be perpetrated.

When, on the 5th of May 1713, peace was proclaimed, consequent on the treaty of Utrecht, signed on the 30th of March, the whole nation was filled with joy; so we read in the records of that time. But when, on the 29th of the same month, copies of the commercial treaty with France included in that of Utrecht were laid before parliament, we are told that "mercantile prejudice and political artifice combined to oppose the equalization of the duties on French and Portuguese wines; and the Commons refused to give effect to the treaty of commerce by a majority of 194 to 185 voices." The Methuen treaty (so called from the name of the English ambassador) which had been entered into in 1703 with Portugal, binding England to that poor country and to its bad wine in preference to France, the richer country with the better wine, was one of the obstacles in the way of the tory statesmen who now proposed a more liberal treaty with France. The greatest obstacles, however, were the whigs, now out of office, who had promoted the wars of William and Anne against France, to preserve office to themselves. They once more inflamed the public mind on the danger of holding intercourse with our nearest national neighbours, and defeated the liberal measures of the tories.

The prohibition upon commerce, and the enmity excited by that party towards France, continued during the long period intervening between the years 1713 and 1786. In the latter year William Pitt the second, who was at the head of a tory ministry, carried into effect a treaty of reciprocity between England and France. Adam Smith had by that time published the "Wealth of Nations." William Pitt believed in what the great apostle had written; and, in respect of Ireland at home and France abroad, attempted to carry Adam Smith's doctrines into practice. The whigs, led by Charles James Fox, once more took their stand upon the ground of hostility to France; and the manufacturers took their stand upon monopoly and the fear of competition with Ireland. We shall see how they opposed William Pitt and the principles of free trade when we arrive at that minister and have passed Adam Smith.

In defence of the commercial treaty of Utrecht, Daniel Defoe contended like a giant, as he was, in the *Mercator* newspaper which had the secondary title of *Commerce Retrieved*; and against him there were ranged a staff of formidable writers, Mr Charles King at their head, in the *British Merchant*, which had the secondary title of *Commerce Preserved*. The popular opinion, or rather the popular ignorance, accorded with the prohibitory and anti-French principles of the *British Merchant*.

Queen Anne died on the 1st of August 1714, amid the wrangling of her statesmen, leaving the national debt (incurred to

carry on war against France,) at L.53,681,076, bearing annual interest payable out of the taxes to the amount of L.2,811,904.

George I. whom the whigs made king, and through whom they had a firm hold of office, died on the 10th of June 1727, the debt somewhat reduced in amount, and the national prosperity greatly augmented, there having been no French wars in his reign.

George II. who succeeded him, died on the 25th of October 1760, leaving the nation involved in wars with France, which, on being concluded two years afterwards, had more than doubled the debt. That down-draught on the national energies then amounted to L.146,682,843, leaving interest (the interest paid from taxes imposed in time of war and continued in time of peace) to the amount of L.4,840,821.

In glancing at the life and policy of Sir Robert Walpole, at the policy of his political opponents, and of his political successors, who held the power of government up to the accession of the second William Pitt, we shall see why the nation went to war with its commercial neighbours to augment its debt and hinder its prosperity.

Sir Robert Walpole was born at Houghton in Norfolk, on the 26th of August 1676, and died on the 18th of March 1745, in the 69th year of his age. With slight intermission he was prime minister of England from October 1715 to February 1742; and he was employed in the government for several years before 1715. One of his biographers quotes Hume, who says, "His ministry has been more advantageous for his family than the public, better for this age than for posterity, and more pernicious for bad precedents than real grievances." But though the biographer says he cannot more fitly sum up Walpole's character as prime minister than in those words, he elsewhere says that Sir Robert Walpole is "the first British statesman whose practical system of government still affects the government of this country, and the man under whom Britain acquired the characteristics of her present mercantile power." This is the truth. Hume's estimate of Walpole was given to the world when experience had not proved whether his system of government would benefit posterity or not. Posterity must regret that Walpole, to maintain peace and control the royal ignorance of English interests and the court intrigues; keep the factious opponents of peace and social order in subjection; and restrain the popular delusion which ran in favour of war; posterity must regret that Walpole for those good ends had recourse to corrupt purchases of public men and parliamentary majorities. But posterity,

deriving the benefits of a system of ministerial and legislative government, which was substituted by Walpole for the royal authority, inquires and questions if political society could have been acted upon, corrupt as it was at that time, by other than corrupt means. Experience has taught the generations which were the posterity of that time, that governments take their character from those who are governed, and not the governed from the governors. This fact becomes broader and more marked as the people become enfranchised and intelligent. It is to Sir Robert Walpole that we owe the origin of that wholesome system of government. Those who affect to be shocked at his expenditure of a few hundred thousand pounds of public money, in bribing adherents to support him in his new system of limiting the power of monarchy, should be mute when the expenditure of millions of public money, and of hundreds of thousands of human lives, is justified by them to change a king, or some abstract principle of religion or politics.

In politics and morals, England was radically depraved in those days. It was told in Walpole's family as a good joke, that his father, who was a member of parliament, owning a good landed estate and two parliamentary boroughs, (Castle Rising and King's Lynn,) and who employed himself, as a country gentleman of such possessions was expected to do, in returning members, voting, and sitting over the jolly bottle, it is told that, to prevent Robert his son from deriving a bad example by seeing a father intoxicated, he used to bid his son take two glasses for his one, that the son might be carried to bed first. Robert lived more wisely than this precept of his father might lead us to expect. An anecdote worth repeating is told of the village schoolmaster who first taught him his letters. During his long and high career as minister, the humble teacher never obtruded upon him; but when he was driven from power and humbled by the resolute opposition, the schoolmaster visited him in retirement. Being asked why he had never been seen as a visitor during the many years of political prosperity, the reply was, "I did not trouble you, for I knew that you were surrounded by so many petitioners craving preferment; and you had done so much for Norfolk people, that I did not like to intrude. But," he added, "I always inquired how Robin went on, and was satisfied with your proceedings."

Had Sir Robert Walpole retired in 1738, when caused by the united opposition of the Tories and a few disappointed Whigs to declare war against Spain, the act of resignation would have done him honour. The complaint against Spain was, that the British merchant ships were impeded in

the American seas by the *Guarda Costas* of Spain, and sometimes robbed by them. But little was said of the notorious fact that those seas were always infested with buccaneers or pirates from England; and that English ships of war, often in the absence of declared hostilities, lay in wait for and captured the Spanish galleons returning from Peru to Old Spain with treasure.

The elder William Pitt, impetuous, ambitious, eloquent, and unscrupulous, was now the most formidable of Walpole's opponents. In March 1738, merchants, ship captains, and others, were examined at the House of Commons, to give evidence of the cruelties of the Spaniards. One of them, Jenkins, captain of a Scottish merchant ship, stated that he was boarded by a *Guarda Costa*, who, after ransacking his ship and ill-treating his crew, tore off one of his ears, and, throwing it in his face, told him to "take that to his king." Upon being asked what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians, he replied, (evidently tutored by the war party,) "I recommended my soul to God and my cause to my country." These words, and the display of his ear, which, wrapped up in cotton, he always carried about with him, filled the house with indignation. It is observable, however, of the "fable of Jenkins' ear," as Burke calls it, that it had happened seven years ago, (Coxe's *Memoirs*,) and was one of the many relations got up and aggravated for the purpose of forcing the peaceful minister into a war, and thereby displacing him.

Walpole was dexterous at giving an opponent any difficult work to do which that opponent tried to force upon him. Lord Cartaret, a whig out of place, was exceedingly troublesome. He joined with Dean Swift in exciting the Irish against the new coinage of half-pence, in which they alleged there was corrupt jobbing. The agitation against the alleged job (a patent to Mr Wood) became so dangerous to the peace of Ireland, that Walpole deemed an alteration of the patent necessary, and yet he would not withdraw it entirely. He appointed Cartaret Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; by which he got rid of an opponent, and punished him by a plunge into political hot water at the same time.

And with the fiery member for Ipswich, Admiral Vernon, who was one of the most violent about the "fable of Jenkins' ear," he dealt similarly. Vernon declared in the house that certain fortified places in the West Indies, belonging to Spain, could be taken, and the Spaniards humbled and punished in a few hours; and so sure was he of the fact, that he was ready to risk his life and honour in the attempt. It was not believ-

ed that he really meant what he said ; but the minister took him at his word. That minister would have done himself more credit had he given up office rather than have given Vernon such a commission. But he quietly chuckled at getting rid of such a troublesome opponent by giving him such an appointment as the command upon an expedition which was not expected to succeed.

The first act of the expedition, however, did succeed. Porto-Bello was taken in a few hours ; the Spaniards who defended it were "humbled and chastised ;" and the Spaniards who were not in it were of course exasperated and rendered more hostile to English ships of commerce. At home, Vernon became the popular idol. "The mothers of England," says the historians, "taught their babes to lisp the name of Vernon." But though he tried again and again, he had no more successes against Spain.

The war continued with much disaster and no glory ; the debt was augmented, and new taxes were imposed. The opposition of tories, jacobines, and stray whigs united, poured their bitterness upon Walpole for the absence of success in that war which they had forced upon him ; and at last, 9th of February 1742, he had himself created Earl of Orford, and two days after resigned.

It does not fall within our prescribed tract to follow the political history of the 18th century. After the fall of Walpole, all the chicanery and corruption which he had been guilty of was practised by the several prime ministers who succeeded him and one another, without one of them evincing a regard for, or seeming to have any comprehension of, those principles of commercial and industrial development by which nations became powerful and respected. The whigs retained office, agreeing that the tories (from whom they only differed in liberality on the question of toleration to certain sects of dissenters) should not get in. They agreed in nothing else. Pitts, Pelhams, Rockinghams, Bedfords, Grenvilles, and Graftons, contended for the chieftainship of office, but for that only. Those who were out cried for peace when the minister who was in declared for war. When that minister, to have peace with them, would have given the world peace, they cried for war. When another got in on the principles of peace, and all the rest were crying out war, he would rather let them have war, and see all Europe at war, than come willingly out to let them in.

But, it was the nation from whom the ministers took their policy. When the national voice was for peace, so were the ministers. When all classes and orders of men overlooked or

misunderstood the first principles of national wellbeing, believing in the necessity for commercial restrictions and prohibitions between nations, and believing that if war crippled the commerce of those countries against which England warred, that England would be benefited; we should rather lament that the nation was so ignorant than rail at the cabinet ministers for being so vicious.

SECT. L.—MR SAMUEL RICHARDSON AND SIR MATHEW DECKER.

Amid the errors and wilful wrongs of political rulers and the obstinate blindness of the industrial orders of every rank, from the merchant to the mechanic, there were a few far-seeing men, who now and again gave sparks of coming light to the blinded. Mr Richardson was a bookseller and publisher, a printer, a newspaper writer and proprietor, as well as a distinguished novelist. He was born in 1689 and died 1761. He is now known chiefly as the author of *Pamella*; but he was famous in his day for the printing and publishing office in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London. The "*True Briton*," "*Daily Journal*," and "*Daily Gazetteer*," were published by him. Men of rank, talent, and opulence associated with him. Onslow, speaker of the House of Commons, was one of them, Sir Mathew Decker, an eminent London merchant, was another.

Little more is recorded of Decker than that he was a merchant, and a thinker who thought on the principles of commerce differently from the other merchants of his time. He is known to have written several tracts, but Richardson, having written on the same subject, and having published for Decker—the latter withholding his name—there is some uncertainty as to which of them was the author of certain tracts. For this reason we have placed their names together. The following are brief extracts:—

Trade cannot be forced nor prohibited.—"Trade cannot, will not be forced; let other nations prohibit by what severity they please, interest will prevail; they may embarrass their own trade, but cannot hurt a nation whose trade is free so much as themselves. Spain has prohibited our woollens; but, had a reduction of our taxes brought them to their natural value only, they would be the cheapest in Europe of their goodness, consequently must be more demanded by the Spaniards, be smuggled into their country in spite of their government, and sold at better prices; their people would be dearer clothed with duties and prohibitions than without, consequently must sell their oil, wine, and other commodities dearer; whereby other nations, raising the like growths, would

would gain ground upon them, and their balance of trade grow less and less. But should we, for that reason, prohibit their commodities? By no means; for the dearer they grow, no more than what are just necessary will be used; their prohibition does their own business; some may be necessary for us; what are so we should not make dearer to our own people; some may be proper to assort cargoes for other countries, and why should we prohibit our people that advantage? *Why hurt ourselves to hurt the Spaniards?* If we would retaliate effectually upon them for their ill intent, handsome premiums given to our plantations to raise the same growth as Spain, might enable them to supply us cheaper than the Spaniards could do, and establish a trade they could never return. Premiums may gain trade, *but prohibitions will destroy it.*" But trade cannot be forced even by premiums.

SECT. LI.—SIR JAMES STEWART, FATHER OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
IN SCOTLAND.

Scotland has had its share, perhaps more than its proportion compared with other countries, of political and commercial theorists. Though generally admitted to be sound in their theories, few of them, until very recently, were practically connected or acquainted with trade. Sir James Stewart, David Hume, Dr Adam Smith, Dr James Anderson, and Professor Dugald Stewart, are instances which readily occur to the memory.

Until after the war, which ended in 1762, in the second year of George III., Scotland could hardly be said to have a foreign commerce, or any domestic manufactures sufficiently valuable to entitle the country to the distinction which in the 19th century it has so well earned. Up to the time named it imported a few luxuries for its landed gentry and town bailies, but nothing for its people. The cause was its poverty: except cattle, wool, and skins, the country had little to exchange. It furnished soldiers to the armies of Europe at any time, no matter for what country or for what cause, but though these might reduce the numbers of poor gentlemen, and of peasantry starving, but hardly poorer than the gentlemen, their absence did not enrich their country.

Several of the sovereigns at various times, and aspirants to sovereignty, proclaimed a free trade to all nations that would come and trade with Scotland. Eminent among these was Sir William Wallace; but Scotland was an ill-furnished shop, and had so little to sell, shopkeepers quarrelling and warring so often, that few traders found it to their advantage to go

there, until Scotland was stocked with manufactures; then she made a trade which has grown and is growing every year.

The union with England, effected in 1707, was, up to about the beginning of Scottish prosperity, (the accession of George III.,) a subject of deep grievance in Scotland. As the Irish have continued to do since the union of Ireland to England in 1800, fold their arms, mourn the loss of their legislature, and decline to do any good until it is restored to them, so did Scotland for fifty years. She thought better of the alliance in time, wiped her eyes, rose from her idleness, tucked up her sleeves, and began her work. Witness the results this day.

Fletcher of Saltoun was the leading Scottish opponent of the union. In his nature he was intensely Scottish, in his politics eloquently patriotic; he was not likely to depict the virtues of his country unfavourably. But its inhabitants being only about one million at the time of the union, he has drawn such a picture of poverty and depravity as abounding among them, that if not corroborated by other authors and by tradition, might well be pronounced a calumny on "poor Scotland." Here is the picture (from a *Discourse concerning the Affairs of Scotland*, published 1698.)

"There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the church boxes, with others who, by living on bad food, fall into various diseases) two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. These are not only no way advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country, and though the number of them be, perhaps, double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress," (the period from 1693 to 1700 was long known in Scotland as the "seven ill-years,") "yet in all times there have been about one hundred thousand of those vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land or even those of God or nature." (He goes on to name incestuous and other horrible crimes as common among them.) "No magistrate could ever discover or be informed which way one in a hundred of those wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants, (who, if they give not bread or some kind of provision to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them,) but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other

like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together."

At those times, and sixty years afterwards, the best land in the now celebrated agricultural counties of East and Mid Lothian, Berwickshire, and Roxburghshire, was held by rundale; that is, a number of people rented the land in common, one having a ridge here, another a ridge there, and all the ground lying waste as soon as the summer corn crops were removed. In the management of land, its misculture and waste, and in the social disorder of the poorest of the people, Ireland has nothing worse to allege against her union with England than that which Scotland had to allege and did allege against her union with England for nearly, if not quite, half a century. It was not the union, but an indisposition to take advantage of the benefits which the union conferred on the national resources of the country, which kept Scotland so long poor and disorderly.

In time there arose thinking and persevering practical men to direct the industrial energies of the Scottish peasantry who submitted to be directed by such men. Mr Dawson, a Berwickshire farmer, introduced the turnip husbandry, and for a time was looked upon as an idle experimenter. He borrowed it from Norfolk, where it had been successfully introduced by Lord Townshend, brother-in-law, and for many years colleague, of Sir Robert Walpole. James Small, a Berwickshire cartwright, brought the model of a new plough from Rotherham, in Yorkshire, improved upon it, and introduced it to the use of the border counties. He had prejudice and ignorance to contend against, but the cultivators of land soon saw its advantages. (See section 52, David Hume.)

Lord Kames, an eminent lawyer, and also an agricultural improver, drew out an improved form of lease for tenant farmers, which, like the plough, was opposed by the old rundale tenantry; but it was at last adopted, is used to this day, and Scottish corn and cattle grow and feed to the highest excellence, where thistles, bogs, beggary, and pestilence prevailed before.

Next there arose in Scotland political economists; the first of whom was

SIR JAMES STEWART OF COLTNESS.

This gentleman was born on the 10th of October 1713. He was the son of Sir James Stewart, Baronet, Solicitor-general for Scotland, (under Queen Anne and George I.,) by Anne, daughter of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, president of the Court of

Session. The father of the Solicitor-general was Sir James Stewart, Lord-advocate under William III., whose father was Sir James Stewart, provost of Edinburgh from 1648 to 1660, a descendant of the Banhill branch of the family of Stewarts.

The subject of this memoir spent his earliest years at Goodtrees, now Moredun, a seat of his father, near Edinburgh. At the school of North Berwick he received the elementary part of his education, and it was afterwards completed at the University of Edinburgh, whither he went at the age of fourteen. At that institution, after going through a complete course of languages and sciences, he studied the civil law, with the occasional assistance of Mr Hercules Lindsay, an eminent civilian, and subsequently professor of that department in the University of Glasgow. From his earliest years his abilities appeared rather of a solid and permanent than of a dazzling nature. At the early age just mentioned he succeeded his father in the baronetcy and the estates connected with it, which were of moderate extent and value.

On the completion of his legal studies at the University of Edinburgh, Sir James went to the bar, (1734,) but without any intention of prosecuting the law as a profession. He soon after set out upon a tour of the continent, where he formed an acquaintance with the Duke of Ormond, the Earl Marischal, and other exiled Jacobite chiefs. The family from which he descended had been conspicuous for its attachment to the popular cause for a century; but Sir James appears to have been converted by these nobles from his original Whig principles. Having permitted himself to be introduced by them to Prince Charles Stewart at Rome, he received such civilities from that scion of expatriated royalty, as had a material effect upon the tenor of his future life. He returned to his native country in 1740, with many accomplishments, which added brilliancy to his character, but an unsettled tone of mind, which he afterwards greatly regretted.

Among the intimate friends of Sir James at this period of his life was Mr Alexander Trotter, the father of one of the present land-proprietors of Mid-Lothian. Mr Trotter was cut off in early life; and, during his last illness, made a promise to Sir James, that, if possible, he would come to him after his death, in an enclosure near the house of Coltness, which in summer had been frequently their place of study. It was agreed, in order to prevent mistake or misapprehension, that the hour of meeting should be noon; that Mr Trotter should appear in the dress he usually wore, and that every other circumstance should be exactly conformable to what had commonly happened when they met together. Sir James laid

greater stress on this engagement than sound reason will warrant. Both before and after his exile, he never failed, when it was in his power, to attend at the place of appointment, even when the debility arising from gout rendered him hardly able to walk. Every day at noon, while residing at Coltness, he went to challenge the promise of Mr Trotter, and always returned extremely disappointed that his expectation of his friend's appearance had not been gratified. When rallied on the subject, he always observed seriously, that we do not know enough of "the other world" to entitle us to assume that such an event as the reappearance of Mr Trotter was impossible. We fear, however, that the most of those who peruse this narrative will be inclined to class this anecdote with the "follies of the wise."

In the course of his travels, Sir James had formed an intimacy with Lord Elcho, who, conceiving in the warmth of youthful friendship that the young baronet would be able to gain the affections of his sister, Lady Frances Wemyss, carried him to Cedar Hall, in the north of Scotland, where that young lady was residing with the Countess of Sutherland.

As Elcho expected, Sir James gained the heart of Lady Frances; and, after some scruples on the part of her relations had been overcome, they were married in October 1743, at Dunrobin Castle, the lady bringing her husband what was then considered a very handsome fortune, namely, six thousand pounds. A pair more elegant, more amiable, and more accomplished, is rarely seen. Their union was blessed in August 1744 by the birth of their son, the late Sir James Stewart, who was for many years the principal object of their care.

The subject of our memoir had joined the opposition party, and in the year last named he had an unpleasant collision with the family of Dundas, which was then beginning to take a leading part in Scottish politics. A claim preferred by him to be enrolled amongst the freeholders of Mid-Lothian was refused, and for this he raised an action against Dundas of Arniston, then one of the senators of the College of Justice. In the course of the judicial proceedings, Sir James pleaded his cause in so masterly a manner, that Lord Arniston descended from the bench and defended himself at the bar. The cause was given against the young advocate; and this, no doubt, conspired, with other circumstances, to prepare him for the step he took in the subsequent year.

Sir James was residing in Edinburgh, in attendance upon Lady Frances, who was then in a state of ill health, when Prince Charles, at the head of his Highland army, took pos-

session of the city. Among the principal adherents of the young adventurer was Lord Elcho, the brother-in-law and bosom friend of Sir James Stewart, the latter, with the Earl of Buchan, who had married one of his sisters, formed the wish of being introduced to Prince Charles, but without pledging themselves to join his standard. They, therefore, induced Lord Elcho to seize them at the cross of Edinburgh, and conduct them, apparently as prisoners, into the presence of the Prince. Being brought into an ante-chamber in Holyrood House, their friends proceeded to inform his Royal Highness of their arrival, and of the circumstances under which they approached him, when Charles, with great dignity, refused to see them in any other character than as avowed adherents of his cause; when Elcho returned with this intelligence, the Earl of Buchan took his leave, while Sir James, a man infinitely excelling that nobleman in intellect, proceeded to offer his services to the young Chevalier. He was fortunately saved from the ultimate perils of the campaign by being immediately despatched on a mission to the French court, where he was at the time of the Battle of Culloden. The penalty of his rashness was an exile of nearly twenty years, being, though not attained, among the exceptions from the act of indemnity.

Till the year 1763, when George III. permitted him to return home, Sir James Stewart resided abroad with his family, employing his leisure in those studies which he afterwards embodied in his works. He spent the greater part of the period of his exile in the town of Angouleme, where he became intimately acquainted with the French finance system, through a body of counsellors of the parliament of Paris, who were banished to that town for nearly the space of two years. Sir James also spent some time at Frankfort, at Spa, at Venice, and at Padua. When in Germany, he and his lady were received with extraordinary marks of favour at the court of Wirtemberg, Baden, Durlach, and Hohenzollern. At Venice, in 1758, he and Lady Frances had the good fortune to form a friendship with the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who, till the end of her life, corresponded frequently with both, and gave them and their son many proofs of her affection: a series of her Ladyship's letters to Sir James and Lady Frances were printed at Greenock, under the care of the present Sir James, in 1818. Though exiled from Britain on account of disloyalty to the Hanover dynasty, Sir James Stewart never entertained a disloyal feeling towards his country. On the contrary, the enthusiasm with which he rejoiced in the successes of the British arms during the seven years' war, led to his falling under the suspicion of the

French court ; and, while residing at Spa, in a neutral territory, a large body of troops was sent to apprehend him and convey him to prison, in the duchy of Luxemburg. It was not for many months that he succeeded in convincing the French government of its error or regained his liberty.

The first work published by Sir James was a volume which appeared at Frankfort sur le Main in 1758, under the title of "Apologie du Sentiment de Monsieur le Chevalier Newton, sur l'ancienne Chronologie des Grecs, contenant des reponses a toutes les objections qui y ont ete faites jusqu' a present." In the same year, while settled at Tubingen, in Germany, he produced his "Treatise on German Coin," in the German language. It was followed, in 1761, by 'A Dissertation on the Doctrine and Principles of Money, as applied to the German Coin ;' and, in the same year, he so far made his peace with the British government, as to obtain a cornetcy in the Royal or 1st regiment of Dragoons. At the peace of Paris, 1763, he was tacitly permitted to return home and resume possession of his estates. It was in retirement at Coltness that he probably put the last hand to his "Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy," which was published in 1767, in two volumes quarto. Messrs Miller and Cadell gave five hundred pounds for the copyright of this work, the merits of which were at the time a subject of considerable dispute. It has, at least, the merit of having been the first considerable work on this subject published in Britain, being about nine years antecedent to the work of Dr Smith in 1769. Sir James published, under the assumed name of Robert Frame, "Considerations on the Interests of the County of Lanark." By the interest of his friends he now obtained a full pardon, which passed the great seal in 1771 ; and in the year following he printed "The Principles of Money applied to the present state of the Coin of Bengal." He also wrote "A Plan for introducing an Uniformity of Weights and Measures," which was published after his death. He afterwards published "Observations on Beattie's Essay on Truth ;" "Critical Remarks on the Atheistical Falsehoods of Mirabaud's System of Nature ;" and "A Dissertation concerning the Motives of Obedience to the Law of God." It is supposed that the ardour and assiduity with which he pursued his studies proved detrimental to his health. An inflammation, commencing with a toe-nail too nearly cut, put an end to his valuable life on the 26th of November 1780. His remains were interred in the family vault at Cambusnethan Church, and a monument has been erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Sir James Stewart was a man of extensive and varied powers of mind ; cheerful and animated

in conversation; amiable in all the domestic relations of life; and, unlike several other eminent men of that age, was able to prosecute philosophical inquiries without abandoning the faith of a Christian. His works were published, with a memoir, by his son, in 1806, occupying six volumes.—(*Chambers' Lives of Eminent Scotchmen.*)

SECT. LII.—DAVID HUME.

In the middle of the 19th century we cannot correctly estimate the effect of the political and commercial essays of David Hume, as no change of legislative policy indicates that they took effect. They were published at a time when any act of outrage upon the commerce of countries with which England was at war was popular with the English nation, and when it must have been hazardous for a literary politician to give an opinion in favour of free trade with France. Nevertheless, the ablest of Hume's essays are devoted to the advocacy of free intercourse with France, and to the exposition of our bad bargain with Portugal, which bound us not to trade with our nearest and richest neighbours. Hume's authority as a historian on matters of trade, and as a sound political thinker, was quoted by Adam Smith. He was the first historian who traced the facts and brought them before the public view prominently, that as manufactures and commerce increased in all countries so did the comforts and contentedness of the people, and so also did popular freedom and good government. He was unkind to the Whigs who had so long governed the country, made and unmade its sovereigns, declared wars, taxed the people, and divided enormous public spoil among themselves in the name of upholding civil and religious liberty, and he was by them unkindly treated and evil spoken of in return.

“Our jealousy and hatred of France,” he says, in his “*Essay on the Balance of Trade*,” “are without bounds. These passions have occasioned innumerable barriers and obstructions on commerce where we are commonly accused of being the aggressors. But what have we gained by the bargain? We lost the French market for our woollen manufactures, and transferred the commerce of wine to Spain and Portugal, where we buy much worse liquor at a much higher price. There are few Englishmen who would not think their country absolutely ruined were French wines sold in England so cheap, and in such abundance, as to supplant ale and other home-brewed liquors. But, could we lay aside prejudice, it

would not be difficult to prove that nothing could be more innocent, perhaps more advantageous. Each new acre of vineyard planted in France in order to supply England with wine would make it necessary for the French to take an equivalent in English goods, by the sale of which we should be equally benefited."

David Hume was a younger son of the Humes of Ninewells, in Berwickshire, Scotland, and was born at Edinburgh in 1711. At an early age he was sent to Bristol with some undefined purpose of being connected with commerce. Having a small allowance from the family property, which, with frugality, was enough to keep him in a condition of existence suited to austere philosophy, he proceeded to France with it, ate and drank sparingly and philosophized deeply—too deeply for the limited range of the human understanding it is to be feared. He seems, however, to have rendered his metaphysics agreeable, if not intelligible, to himself, which is probably as much as most other metaphysicians have done. He thought fit to publish, but the world did not think fit to read what he published. This was in 1738. He says in his autobiography, "I immediately went down" (from London) "to my mother and my brother, who lived at his country house, and was employing himself very judiciously and successfully in the improvement of his fortune." In other words, the brother was, to his own benefit, the benefit of Berwickshire, and the honour of agriculture in Scotland, reclaiming the estate of Ninewells from bog, thistles, occupation by rundale, and all the other ills which Scottish land was covered with, and its owners were heirs to, in the first half of the 18th century. In David's day, when he had become famous and rich by his writings and other windfalls, and was writing his autobiography, it was unfashionable, and long after continued so to be, for country gentlemen to devote their time to the business of digging, ditching, fencing, and draining the acres of wilderness bequeathed by their mail-clad forefathers. David seems to have been ashamed to say broadly what he found his brother doing when he went down to see him just after the first attempt at improving his own fortune. David, to make a book that would sell and bring him a profit, took the mysteries of our spiritual nature, turned them upside down, dug, ditched, trenched, fenced, furrowed up, and sowed his seed—the whole work a sterile idealism; and he left the ground as he found it, barren, thistly, mirey—mirey as the lower lands of Ninewells, thistly and stoney and barren as the higher were. David gave the world nothing in his metaphysics which it did not possess before, and it gave him nothing for his metaphysics in return.

But his brother, to make a farm that would bring forth corn, and have fat woolly sheep upon it, and give him a profit in rent, dug into the mire, turned the earth upside down, and gave fertility, greenness, bloom, ripeness, and beauty to the blank cold clay. All the ideal philosophy of all speculating metaphysicians who existed before David's time or since, including his own, never elicited so much truth, developed so many of the divine laws of nature, exalted man so high in being, duty, and destiny, as that single performance of David's brother; covering as it did the waste with growing wheat and bleating sheep, lowing cows, singing maidens, with larks above their heads, clover beneath their feet, and sookisoos on the clover, and gowans on the green, where no green was before; rearing the hedgerows as it did, where bleakness and unpeopled bogs were, high and thick, to keep the flocks within and the storms without in winter, leafy and bloomy for birds' nests and the whispers of shepherds' love in summer; filling the barnyards as it did with large, round, bountiful stacks; giving in the barn as it did the kerne of merry music, dancing feet and happy voices; yielding as it did from the oaten crops, (reaped where hungry herons not long before fished for frogs, and where ague and hunger contended against the lives of men) the generous melder of brose-meal, that hinds and shepherds might be reverent in grace over well-filled bickers and well read Bibles. Such was the work performed on the Ninewells estate by David's brother to "improve his fortune;" while poor David tried to improve mankind and his fortune by treading, and digging, and sinking in metaphysical bogs, bringing forth no element of life, no fertility, greenness, or bloom; no sentiment for human sympathy.

David proceeded from the literature of mystery to the literature of fact and of things familiar. He published "Political Discourses," as he tells us, in Edinburgh, in 1752, and they sold successfully. In time he proceeded to history, treated men and men's actions of the past as his brother did his share of the boggy Merse; and laid the rank weeds, political adventure and chicanery, in their proper places, the bottom of the trench. In 1745 he attended the young Marquis of Annandale as friend and tutor. This added something to his fortune. "I then," he says, "received an invitation from General St Clair to attend him as secretary to his expedition which was at first meant against Canada, but ended in an incursion on the coast of France."

An incursion on the coast of France. As usual, this incursion ended in more debt to England, more exasperation on the part of France for its ships destroyed, houses burned, vine-

yards laid waste ; and in more hatred on the part of England towards France for that exasperation, for the debt incurred, with no other returns. It is probable that it was then, 1746, that Hume began that philosophy of common sense which in his political discourses he laid before the world in 1752, which common sense, as regards the relationship of England and France, we have briefly quoted.

In 1747 he proceeded with General St Clair, as secretary, on a military embassy to the court of Turin, and wore the uniform of an officer. " My appointments, with my frugality, had made me reach a fortune which I called independent, though most of my friends were inclined to smile when I said so." Hume's *History of England* was published at various times, the concluding volume in 1759. The profits of his works now, he says, rendered him not only " independent but opulent." In 1763 he accompanied the Earl of Hertford's embassy to Paris, and received much attention there, not only for his literary fame, but for the generous sentiments which he had expressed for the French people and French interests in his writings. Had his enlightened sentiments been reciprocated in both countries, what treasure, what human life might have been saved, what happiness promoted ! what crimes prevented ! On the departure of the Earl of Hertford to assume the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland in 1766, Mr Hume remained in Paris as *Charge d'Affaires* until the arrival of the Duke of Richmond, the new ambassador. In 1767 he was appointed an under secretary of state. But he retired to Edinburgh in 1769. where he remained, and lived in the society of the learned and the philosophic luminaries of that period until his death, which occurred on the 25th of August 1776. He was attended in his last moments by his constant friend, Dr Adam Smith, whose *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* was published about the same time. Adam Smith must have derived an advantage from his friendly intercourse, long existing, with David Hume.

SECT. LIII.—THE REV. JOSIAH TUCKER OF BRISTOL.

This eminent divine and political essayist wrote both before the publication of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and after. A bold and original thinker, he ventured to declare the theory which in our day we have seen verified in practice, namely, that our trade, our profits, and our friendship, have increased with the American people since they ceased to be our colonists.

Josiah Tucker was born at Laugharn in Carmarthenshire in 1712. His father was a farmer, and having a small estate left him near Aberystwith in Cardiganshire, he removed thither, and perceiving that his son had a turn for learning, he sent him to Ruthin school in Denbighshire, where he made so great progress in the classics that he obtained an exhibition at St John's College, Oxford. At the age of twenty-three he entered into holy orders, and served a curacy for some time in Gloucestershire. About 1737 he became curate of St Stephen's Church, Bristol, and was appointed minor canon in the cathedral of that city. Here he attracted the notice of Dr Joseph Butler, then bishop of Bristol and afterwards of Durham, who appointed Tucker his domestic chaplain. By the interest of this prelate he also obtained a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Bristol; and, on the death of Mr Catcott—well known by his treatise on the deluge—he became rector of St Stephen's. The inhabitants of that parish consist chiefly of merchants and tradesmen—a circumstance which greatly aided his natural inclination for commercial and political studies.

When the famous bill was brought into the House of Commons, for the naturalization of the Jews, Tucker took a decided part in favour of the measure, and was indeed its most able advocate; but for this he was severely attacked in pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines; and the people of Bristol burned his effigy, together with his letters on behalf of naturalization. But Mr Seward says, his being burned in effigy was occasioned by an essay he wrote in support of the Hessians who came to settle in England. In 1753 he published an able pamphlet on the Turkey trade, in which he demonstrates the evils that result to trade in general from chartered companies. At this period Lord Clare, afterwards Earl Nugent, was returned to parliament for Bristol, an honour he obtained chiefly through the strenuous exertions of Mr Tucker, whose influence in his large and wealthy parish was almost decisive on such an occasion. In return for this favour, the Earl procured for him the deanery of Gloucester, in 1758, at which time he took his degree of D.D. So great was the reputation he had now acquired for commercial knowledge, that Dr Thomas Hayter, afterwards bishop of London, who was then tutor to George III., applied to Tucker to draw up a dissertation on this subject for the perusal of his royal pupil. It was accordingly done, and gave great satisfaction. This work, under the title of "The Elements of Commerce," was printed in quarto, but never published. Dr Warburton, however, who, after having been member of the same chapter with the dean at Bristol, became bishop of Gloucester, thought very

differently from the rest of mankind in respect of his talents and favourite pursuits, and said once, in his coarse manner, that "his dean's trade was religion, and religion his trade." The dean once remarked, in allusion to the coolness which subsisted between him and Warburton, "The bishop affects to consider me with contempt; to which I replied nothing. He has said that religion is my trade, and trade is my religion. Commerce and its connections have, it is true, been favourite objects of my attention, and where is the crime? And as for religion, I have attended carefully to the duties of my parish; nor have I neglected my cathedral. The world knows something of me as a writer on religious subjects; and I will add, which the world does not know, that I have written near three hundred sermons, and preached them all, again and again. My heart is at ease on that score, and my conscience, thank God, does not accuse me."

In 1771, when a strong attempt was made to procure an abolition of subscriptions to the thirty-nine articles, Dr Tucker came forward as an advocate for them; he admitted, however, that some reformation of the liturgy was wanted, and instanced particularly the Athanasian creed, which he considered as too scholastic and refined for a popular confession of faith. About this time he published "Directions for Travellers," in which he lays down excellent rules, by which gentlemen who visit foreign countries may not only improve their minds, but turn their observations to the benefit of their own native country. This has become extremely scarce, but there is a part of it reprinted in Berchald's "Essay to Direct the Inquiries of Travellers."

In 1772, the dean printed a small volume of sermons, in which he explains his views of the doctrines of election and justification, in reference to a very violent dispute then carried on between the Calvinistic and the Arminian Methodists, the former headed by Messrs Toplady and Hill, and the latter by the Messrs Wesleys and Fletcher. The year following, he published "Letters to the Rev. Dr Kippis, wherein the claim of the Church of England to an authority in matters of faith, and to a power of decreeing rites and ceremonies, is discussed and ascertained," &c.

When the dispute arose between Great Britain and the American colonies, the dean was an attentive observer of the contest, examining the affair with a very different eye from that of a party man or an interested merchant, and discovered, as he conceived, that both sides would be benefited by an absolute separation. The more he thought on this subject, the more he was persuaded that extensive colonies were an evil

rather than an advantage to any commercial nation. On this principle, therefore, he published his "Thoughts upon the Dispute between the Mother Country and America." He demonstrated that the latter could not be conquered, and that, if it could, the purchase would be dearly bought. He warned this country against commencing a war with the colonies, and advised that they should be left to themselves. This advice startled all parties, and the dean was generally considered as a sort of madman, who had rambled out of his proper line of profession to commence political quack. Our author, however, went on vindicating and enforcing his favourite system, in spite of all the obloquy with which it was treated, both in the senate and from the press. As the war proceeded, some intelligent persons began to see more truth and reason in his sentiments, and time demonstrated that he was right. He printed several essays in the newspapers, under the title of *Cassandra*.

When the terrors of an invasion were very prevalent in 1779, the dean circulated, in a variety of periodical publications, some sensible observations in order to quiet the fears of the people. He states, at length, and with great accuracy, the numerous difficulties that must attend the attempt to invade this country, and the still greater ones that must be encountered by the invaders after their landing. Those observations were reprinted, with good effect, in the course of the late war. In 1781; he published, what he had printed long before, "A Treatise on Civil Government," in which his principal design is to counteract the doctrines of the celebrated Locke and his followers. This book made a considerable noise, and was attacked by several of the best writers on the democratic side of the question. The year following, he closed his political career with a pamphlet entitled "Cui Bono?" in which he balances the profits and loss of each of the belligerent powers, and recapitulates all his former positions on the subject of war and colonial possessions. His publications after this period consist of some tracts on the commercial regulations of Ireland, on the exportation of woollens, and on the iron trade.

In 1777, he published seventeen practical sermons, in one vol. 8vo. After he resigned his rectory in Bristol, he resided mostly in Gloucester. He died of the gradual decays of age, November 4th, 1799, and was interred in the south transept of Gloucester Cathedral, where a monument has been erected to his memory. It should be recorded to his praise, that though enjoying but a very moderate preferment—for, to a man of no paternal estate, or other ecclesiastical dignity, the deanery of Gloucester is no very advantageous situation—he

was, notwithstanding, a liberal benefactor to several public institutions, and a distinguished patron of merit. About 1790 he thought of resigning his rectory in Bristol, and, without communicating his design to any other person, he applied to the chancellor, in whose gift it is, for leave to quit it in favour of his curate, a most deserving man with a large family. His Lordship was willing enough that he should give up the living, but refused him the liberty of nominating his successor. On this the dean resolved to hold the living himself, till he could find a fit opportunity to succeed in his object. After weighing the matter more deliberately, he communicated his wish to his parishioners, and advised them to draw up a petition to the chancellor in favour of the curate. This was accordingly done, and signed by all of them, without any exception either on the part of the dissenters or others. The chancellor, touched with this testimony of love between a clergyman and his people, yielded at last to the application: in consequence of which the dean cheerfully resigned the living to a successor well qualified to tread in his steps.

The following extracts will testify to the quality of Dean Tucker's politics and philosophy. They are from a work published in 1774.

"A war," says he, "whether crowned with victory or branded with defeats, can never prevent another nation from being more industrious than you are; and if they are more industrious, they will sell cheaper, and consequently your former customers will forsake your shop and go to theirs, though you covered the ocean with fleets and the land with armies. In short, the soldier may lay waste, the privateer, whether successful or unsuccessful, will make poor; but it is the eternal law of Providence, that the *hand of the diligent alone can make rich.*

"The greater industry of different nations enables them to be so much the better customers, to improve in a friendly intercourse, and to be a mutual benefit to each other. A private shopkeeper would certainly wish that his customers did improve in their circumstances rather than go behind hand, because every such improvement would probably redound to his advantage. Where then can be the wisdom in the public shopkeeper, or trading people, to endeavour to make the neighbouring states and nations, that are his customers, so very poor as not to be able to trade with him?"

SECT. LIV.—THE ECONOMISTS OF FRANCE AND ITALY BEFORE
ADAM SMITH.

Previous to the time of Adam Smith, the languages of France and Italy had become the language of political economy; but, except in theoretical philosophy, the economical doctrines were not recognised. The economists were not agreed in theory. Statistics which have since solved so many doubtful problems were at that time the most uncertain of all the facts. In proceeding to enumerate the writers on political economy who, out of Britain, preceded Adam Smith, we may cite a definition of the science itself.

“The word economy, applied to domestic concerns, means the art of well administering the private affairs of a family, of regulating its expenditure according to its income, and providing for the wants of the members of the household. By analogy, political or ‘public’ economy has been considered by many as conversant about the principles of administering the wealth of a country with a view to its increase, regulating the expenditure, providing for the wants of the people, and endeavouring to maintain and increase their comforts. But by taking such an extensive view of the subject, most writers, and especially continental writers, have considered it necessary to investigate all the causes of the prosperity of nations, and have involved themselves in multifarious discussions on the various forms of government and of civil institutions which are supposed to affect the economical condition of a people. By so doing they have encroached upon the science of general politics and legislation, and have brought forward their own theories of laws, ethics, and administration, with the view of shewing their influence on the social state. But it is evident that such a vast field of inquiry must exceed the powers of any single writer, and that the attempt to embrace so many difficult and various subjects under one division of knowledge, tends to confuse rather than to elucidate. Modern writers, especially in England, have therefore limited their inquiries to the principles which govern the production and accumulation of wealth, and its distribution and consumption. The ‘Wealth of Nations’ was the title which Adam Smith gave to his work. In this consists the main difference between the modern English and the Italian and French economists. The latter maintain that the political economist is concerned not only with the aggregate production of wealth, but with its most beneficial distribution among individuals, not only with wealth, in short, but with happiness also. The modern English writ-

ers, on the contrary, say that the appropriate subject of the political economist is not happiness, but wealth; that wealth is confined to material objects, the produce of land and of industry; that the political economist who assumes to explain the phenomena of the production of wealth ought to lay down the general principles on which wealth is produced, as they are deducible from actual facts; it is the business of the statesman, the philosopher, or the politician, to say what he thinks best for the general prosperity of society, after he has examined the evidence of the political economist, which is an essential part of the evidence, but not the sole evidence to be attended to in the conduct of a nation's affairs. But here the English economists also seem to be divided among themselves. Some appear to think that the principles of political economy, as the term is understood by them, may be deduced with the certainty of mathematical demonstration, whilst others assert that there are many important propositions in political economy which require limitations and exceptions. 'The desire to simplify and generalize has occasioned an unwillingness to acknowledge the operation of more causes than one in the production of particular effects; and if one cause would account for a considerable portion of a certain class of phenomena, the whole has been ascribed to it without sufficient attention to the facts which would not admit of being so solved.'

"Malthus quotes the controversy on the bullion question as an instance of this kind of error. He afterwards goes on to say, 'Adam Smith has stated that capitals are increased by parsimony, that every frugal man is a public benefactor, (*Wealth of Nations*, b. ii., c. 3,) and that the increase of wealth depends upon the balance of produce above consumption, (b. iv., c. 3.) That these propositions are true to a great extent is perfectly unquestionable. No considerable and continued increase of wealth could possibly take place without that degree of frugality which occasions annually the conversion of some revenue into capital, and creates a balance of produce above consumption; but it is quite obvious that they are not true to an indefinite extent, and that the principle of saving, pushed to excess, would destroy the motive to production. If every person was satisfied with the simplest food, the poorest clothing, and the meanest house, it is certain that no other sort of food, clothing, and lodging would be in existence; and as there would be no adequate motive to the proprietors of land to cultivate well, not only the wealth derived from conveniences and luxuries would be quite at an end, but, if the same division of land continued, the production of food would be prematurely checked, and population would come to a stand long

before the soil had been well cultivated. If consumption exceed production, the capital of the country must be diminished, and its wealth must be gradually destroyed, from its want of power to produce; if production be in a great excess above consumption, the motive to accumulate and produce must cease from a want of will to consume. The two extremes are obvious; and it follows that there must be some intermediate point, though the resources of political economy may not be able to ascertain it, whereby, taking into consideration both the power to produce and the will to consume, the encouragement to the increase of wealth is the greatest. The division of landed property presents another obvious instance of the same kind. No person has ever for a moment doubted that the division of such immense tracts of land as were formerly in possession of the great feudal proprietors must be favourable to industry and production. It is equally difficult to doubt that a division of landed property may be carried to such an extent as to destroy all the benefits to be derived from the accumulation of capital and the division of labour, and to occasion the most extended poverty. There is here then a point, as well as in the other instance, though we may not know how to place it, where the division of property is best suited to the actual circumstances of the society, and calculated to give the best stimulus to production and to the increase of wealth and population.' (Malthus, *Introduction*.)

"We cannot enter into a full examination of the principles of political economy; but we shall state a few general propositions which are universally acknowledged as true:—1. Every man desires to obtain additional wealth with as little trouble to himself as possible. 2. The increase of population is limited either by physical or moral evil, or by prudential motives. 3. The powers of labour, and of the other instruments which produce wealth, may be indefinitely increased by using their products as the means of further production. 4. Agricultural produce is not susceptible of the same unlimited increase as manufactures. The principal topics discussed by political economists are:—1, the definition of wealth; 2, of productive and unproductive labour; 3, on the nature and measures of value; 4, on the rent of land; 5, the wages of labour; 6, the profits of capital; 7, the results of machinery; 8, the circulating medium or currency; 9, the nature and conditions of commerce, or exchange of commodities.

"The earlier Italian writers on commerce treat exclusively of money, its standard, and the evils of tampering with it. Gasparo Scaruffi of Reggio, near Modena, wrote, in 1579, 'Discorso sopra le Monete, e della vera proporzione fra l'oro e l'ar-

gento.' In 1588, Bernardo Davanzati of Florence wrote a short treatise, 'Sulle Monete,' and another 'Sui Cambj,' or 'The Exchanges.' Antonio Serra, a native of Cozensa in Calabria, published, in 1613, 'Breve Trattato delle Cause che possono far abbondare i Regni d'Oro e d'Argento.' Looking upon gold and silver as constituting the wealth of a state, Serra investigates the means of making them flow abundantly into a country. Among these means he reckons manufactures, 'which afford a much greater return than agriculture;' and maritime commerce. But 'these means,' adds Serra, are of no avail without fixed laws, order, and security for persons and property; for there can be no prosperity where there are continual changes of dynasties and laws.' This shews that Serra, considering the age and country in which he lived, had formed some correct and extended notions of political economy. His book, however, remained unnoticed, and the author, being implicated, as it seems, in some conspiracy against the Spanish rulers of Naples, was imprisoned for ten years, and underwent the torture seven times. It is not known when and where he died. Turbolo of Naples wrote several treatises on the coinage and the state of money in the kingdom of Naples: 'Discorsi e Relazione sulle Monete del Regno di Napoli,' 1616, 1618, 1623, and 1629. Geminiano Montanari of Modena, published, in 1680, 'Trattato Mercantile delle Monete,' and afterwards, 'Trattato del Valore delle Monete in tutti gli Stati,' in which he lays down sound principles for regulating the coinage.

"In France, the minister Colbert was a great promoter of the mercantile system in all its exclusiveness, and the principles of that system continued to prevail in France after his death till the time of Quesnay. Pierre le Pesant, Seigneur de Bois Guibert, published, in 1695, his 'Detail sur la France,' in which he treated both of commerce and money, but the author was banished because some of his propositions reflected upon feudal rights and ecclesiastical privileges. Twelve years later Vauban published his 'Dixme Royale,' in which he proposed a new plan of taxation.

"A change of opinion was in the meantime taking place on the continent with respect to the so-called 'mercantile system.' François Quesnay, born in 1694, a medical man by profession, and surgeon to Louis XV., being struck by the distressed condition of the French peasantry, endeavoured to draw the attention of the government towards relieving that numerous and ill-used class of people. He proposed the abolition of custom-houses between province and province, the free circulation of corn throughout the kingdom, the suppression of the

corvées, and other similar reforms, which were effected after his death by Turgot. Quesnay went further: he assumed as a principle, that the earth, or, in other words, agriculture, was the only source of wealth, in opposition to Colbert's mercantile system, which fixed that source exclusively in trade. Quesnay allowed that manufacturers and merchants were highly useful, but he contended that as they realized no net surplus in the shape of rent, they did not add any greater value to the raw material of the commodities which they manufactured or carried from place to place than was just equivalent to the value of the capital or stock consumed by them during the time that they were engaged in those operations. He divided society into three classes:—1, A productive class, consisting of farmers and agricultural labourers, who subsist on a portion of the produce of the land reserved to them as wages of labour and as a reasonable profit on their capital; 2, A proprietary class, namely, those who live on the rent of the land, or the net surplus produce raised by the cultivators, after the necessary expenses have been deducted; 3, An unproductive class, consisting of manufacturers, merchants, servants, and handicraftsmen, 'whose labour, though useful, adds nothing to the national wealth, and who subsist entirely on the wages paid to them by the other two classes.' (Quesnay, *Physiocratie, ou Constitution Naturelle des Gouvernemens*, 1768.) As a corollary to these positions, Quesnay and his disciples concluded that all taxes ought to fall upon the land.

"Quesnay is considered as the head of the school called the school of the 'Economistes,' which reckoned amongst its members the Marquis de Mirabeau, father of the celebrated Mirabeau, Mercier de la Rivière, Dupont de Nèmons, Condorcet, Raynal, Turgot, Necker, and other distinguished men.

"Quesnay's principal work on political economy is the 'Physiocrate' already mentioned; but he published other tracts, especially an article, 'Sur les Grains,' which was inserted in the 'Encyclopédie,' and in which he advocates the same principles. Though Quesnay considered agriculture as the only source of wealth, he did not advocate any exclusive protection for it, but rather a principle of freedom in all branches of trade. The 'Economistes' originated the 'Cadastre,' which was a survey and valuation of all real property, made by order of the government, for the purpose of assessing the 'contribution foncière,' or property tax, which they considered as the only legitimate tax. And this principle has prevailed in France and other continental countries, where even now the tax on land and houses forms the main source of the public revenue, being from 20 to 30 per cent. on the rent.

“ In Italy, Antonio Bandini of Siena had asserted the fundamental principle of the ‘Economistes,’ long before Quesnay, in a work which, however, was not published till 1775. Bandini wrote his ‘Discorso Economico’ in 1737, with a view of drawing the attention of the Tuscan government to the desolate condition of that vast tract of country called the Maremma of Siena. Bandini advocated freedom of trade in agricultural produce, and recommended the removal of all restrictions upon importation and exportation; he urged the expediency of giving to the cultivators of the soil an interest in the land, by the grant of long leases; and lastly he recommended the removal of the numerous vexatious taxes, and the substitution of a single tax upon land, not excepting ecclesiastical and other privileged property. A MS. copy of Bandini’s book was presented to the grand-duke Francis of Lorraine, who, however, being soon after elected Emperor of Germany, and having removed to Vienna, could not attend to the affairs of the Maremma. But his son Leopold, on coming to the government of Tuscany, consulted Bandini’s work, and put into execution the plan therein proposed. The Maremma of Siena assumed a new life, and its population has nearly trebled in the course of half a century.

“ Antonio Broggia of Naples, a merchant by profession, wrote a treatise on taxation, ‘Sul Tributi,’ in which he admits that there are three sources of wealth—agriculture, handicraft or manufactures, and commerce. He does not consider the tax on land as the only legitimate tax, but proposes three sorts of taxation, land-tax, customs, and gabelle or excise. He says that in a great commercial country the customs and excise, or indirect tax, ought to be preferred, but in an agricultural country like Naples the tax on land must be the principal source of revenue. He condemns taxes on capital and persons, licenses and patents, horses and agricultural implements, as detrimental to industry, as well as the government monopolies of salt, tobacco, &c. The author, who belonged to the mercantile school, falls into the error of that school, in wishing to sell as much as possible to foreigners, and buy as little as possible from them.

“ Ferdinand Galiani, also of Naples, ranks among the most distinguished writers on political economy in the last century. While at Paris, he wrote in French a book on the corn-trade, ‘Dialogues sur le Commerce des Bles,’ in which he took a middle course between those who advocated an unrestricted trade in corn and those who wished it to be subject to permanent restrictions. Galiani contends that no universal system can be established on that important subject, and

that the laws concerning the trade in corn must vary according to the situation of individual states, the nature and cultivation of their respective soils, and also their political institutions and relations to other countries. Galiani also wrote, in Italian, a work on money, 'Dela Moneta,' published in 1750, which is reckoned one of the best on this subject. Taking an enlarged view, he investigated the nature of the value of things, which he said was the result of various circumstances, namely, their scarcity, utility, the quantity and quality of the labour required for their production, and also the time. He extends his investigations to the value of men's abilities, which are to be estimated not only according to their rarity, but also according to the time required for their coming to maturity, and the difficulties encountered before they can attain a station favourable to their development. This is a position analogous to that afterwards stated by Adam Smith, (b. i. ch. 10,) 'that the wages of labour vary with the easiness and cheapness or the difficulty and expenso of learning a business.' It requires more time and expense to form a physician, or a statesman, or a divine, than a common labourer, and therefore the latter has less value than the former. Galiani combats the received opinion of his time, that high prices were a sign of distress. He also contended that the precious metals were to be considered as merchandise. Galiani may be considered as a reformer of the old mercantile system.

"Gian Francesco Pagnini, born at Volterra, 1715, published in 1751 a dissertation, 'Sopra il giusto Pregio delle Cose,' or the just value of things, and in 1764 a 'History of the Commerce of Florence,' with a digression on the value of gold and silver, and its proportion to the prices of other things in the 14th and 15th centuries, compared with those in the 18th century. Both works contain sound opinions and interesting facts. Pompeo Neri of Florence wrote, in 1751, 'Osservazioni sopra il Prezzo legale delle Monete,' a work of considerable merit.

"Gian Rinaldo Carli, born at Capo d'Istria in 1720, ranks with Galiani as one of the most distinguished Italian political economists. He wrote an elaborate work on coin and currency, and on the mints of Italy: 'Delle Monete e della Istituzione delli Zecche d'Italia,' 3 vols. 4to, 1754-60, in which he completely exhausted the subject. Carli also wrote 'Ragionamento sopra i Bilanci Economici delle Nazioni,' in which he combated the fallacy prevalent in his time about the balance of trade. He also discussed the subject of the corn-trade in a letter addressed to Pompeo Neri, in 1771, 'Sul Libero Commercio de Grani,' in which he agreed with Galiani in denying

the wisdom of a general principle of unrestricted freedom of trade in corn, which he thought ought to be modified according to local circumstances, because he considered the supply of corn as a subject deeply connected with administrative policy, and not a mere commercial question. Carli had a powerful mind, uninfluenced by popular opinions or prevalent systems. Other particulars concerning this distinguished writer are given under.

“Antonio Genovesi, born in 1712, at Castiglione, near Salerno, became professor of the new chair ‘of commerce and mechanics,’ founded at Naples in 1755, by Bartolommeo Intiesi, a wealthy Florentine merchant of that city. Genovesi published his lectures under the title of ‘Lezioni de Economia Civile’ in 1768. Genovesi took a middle course between the mercantile system and that of the ‘Economistes.’ He reckoned three sources of wealth, agriculture, arts, and commerce. He extols agriculture as an ample and perennial spring of public wealth, but he also appreciates commerce and manufactures as the causes of an increase of production. With regard to commerce, he adopts the restrictive system of the mercantile school as to foreign goods, whilst he agrees with the ‘Economistes’ as to the freedom of trade in corn, and of internal trade in general, as well as with respect to the interest of money. He inculcates the principle that labour constitutes the capital of nations as well as of families. But he did not fall into the vulgar error of considering whole classes of society as unproductive because they are not employed in manual labour, such as men of science, scholars, lawyers, soldiers, magistrates, and others. Genovesi wrote also other treatises on political economy, which he succeeded in rendering popular in his own country.

“The other Italian political economists of the 18th century are:—1, Francesco Algarotti of Venice, born in 1712, who wrote ‘Saggio sul Commercio,’ in which he extols commerce as the source of wealth and power, and he quotes the example of England. He also wrote a few short suggestions on the advantages which might be derived from Africa, in a commercial point of view, by the nations of Europe: ‘Sulla Preferenza dell’ Africa in confronto dell’ Asia e dell’ America, rapporto all’ Industria e dal Commercio degli Europei.’ 2, Antonio Zanon of Udine in the Venetian territory, born in 1696, a merchant by profession, wrote letters on agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, which he encouraged also by his exertions. He was a man of a liberal mind and a true philanthropist. 3, Cesare Beccaria of Milan wrote lectures on political economy, in which he expounded, among other things, the advantages of the division of labour, and he investigated the relations of wages and labour, and the nature of produc-

tive capitals. With regard to the corn trade, he agreed with Carli and Galiani in not advising any general system. He considered large masses of property as more advantageous to a country than small subdivisions. In general, Beccaria may be considered as belonging to the school of the 'Economistes.' 4, Pietro Verri, born at Milan in 1727, the intimate friend of Beccaria, although he differed from him on several points of political economy, wrote 'Memorie sull' Economia Pubblica dello Stato di Milano,' in which he shews the decline of that country during the two centuries of Spanish dominion, and ascribes it to the ignorance of its rulers and the absurdity of the laws. He wrote also 'Riflessioni sulle Leggi Vincolanti, principal mentesul Commercio dei Grani,' in which he advocated the principle of absolute liberty. Lastly, he wrote 'Meditazioni sull' Economia Politica,' which were published in 1771, and have been translated into several languages. It is an elementary but useful book. 5, Ferdinando Paoletti, born in 1717, near Florence, wrote, in 1769, 'Pensieri sopra l'Agricoltura,' and, in 1772, 'Veri Mezzi di rendere felice le Societa,' in which he advocated freedom of trade. 6, Gian Battista Vasco, born at Mondovi in Piedmont, in 1733, wrote 'Saggio Politico sulla Moneta,' 1772, in which he treats of various questions of political economy. He afterwards wrote, in French, 'Memoire sur les Causes de la Mendicite et sur les Moyens de la supprimer,' which he sent to the Academy of Valence in Dauphine, in 1788. His other works were, 'Sulla Felicita Publica considerata nei Coltivatori di Terre proprie;' and 'L'Usura libera.'

"7, Giammaria Orles, born at Venice in 1713, wrote a work entitled 'Dell' Economia Nazionale' libri sei, 1774, which, however, remained unknown except to a few friends of the author, until Custodi inserted it in his great collection of the Italian economists. His views were original, and he belonged to none of the schools already established. He lays it down as a fundamental principle that the capital of a nation is always in proportion to the population, and that the only difference is in its distribution. If a portion of the population becomes richer, it can only be by impoverishing the rest. As a consequence of this principle, he asserts that all endeavours to increase industry with a view to increase the national wealth are futile. But he supports also the principle of freedom of trade between nations, because, he says, every nation has its own capital, which cannot be diminished nor increased by exchange. Ortes wrote also 'Riflessioni sulla Popolazione per rapporto all' Economia Nazionale,' 1790, in which he stated several positions which have been since developed by Malthus, such as, that population increases in proportion to the increase of pro-

duction; that population does not always increase with the increase of marriages, &c.

“8, Filippo Briganti, a native of Naples, published, in 1780, ‘*Esame Economico del Sistema Civile*,’ in which he refutes the theories of Mably, Rousseau, and Linguet, who asserted that the state of society and civilization, commerce and wealth, were the origin of all the evils with which man is afflicted. 9, Gaetano Filangieri, born at Naples in 1752, is known by his work on legislation, the second volume of which treats of political economy. He belonged to the school of the French economists, but he was not a servile follower of that school. He was a supporter of the freedom of trade; he had no prejudices against luxury, but he advocated direct taxation, or the tax on land, and he maintained that large cities were injurious to the prosperity of a country.

“10, The Marquis Caraccioli, while he was viceroy of Sicily, wrote ‘*Riflessioni sull’ Economia e l’Estrazione dei Frumenti della Sicilia fatte ad occasione della Carestia del 1784 ed 1785*.’ The author, being struck with the fact that Sicily, once the granary of Rome, should be so frequently afflicted with scarcity and famine, sought to investigate the causes of this great change. He recommended freedom of internal trade, but with regard to the exportation of corn, he thought it might be suspended at times by an act of government from prudential motives. 11, Saverio Scrofani, on the contrary, in a ‘*Memoria sulla Liberta del Commercio dei Grani della Sicilia*,’ published in 1795, advocated an entire and permanent freedom in the corn-trade, quoting the example of Tuscany, where that system had been in practice since 1767, and had been attended with the best results. 12, Maurizio Solera, a native of Piedmont, wrote in French, ‘*Essai sur les Valeurs*,’ which he presented in 1786 to King Victor. He proposed an agricultural bank in order to make up for the scarcity of bullion. But his project was not carried into effect.

“13, Lodovico Ricci, a native of Modena, was named, by the Duke Ercole III., member of a commission appointed to inquire into the charitable institutions of the town of Modena. Ricci was the reporter of the commission, and his report was published and dedicated to the Duke: ‘*Riforma degl’ Istituti Pii della Citta di Modena*,’ 1787. He was one of the first in Italy (Ortes and Genovesi had already expressed opinions similar to his) who censured indiscriminate charity as encouraging idleness and improvidence, and thus creating pauperism. Italy abounded at that time, more perhaps than any country in Europe, with charitable institutions. In Modena, which had in the time of Ricci a population of 40,000 inhabit-

ants, there were 7000 destitute persons. Ricci demonstrated from historical facts that pauperism increases in proportion to the facility of obtaining relief. He censured legacies for portioning poor girls, and other premiums on marriage, and said that the increase of population should only be the result of labour and frugality, by which the means of subsistence are increased. He proposed that charitable institutions should be supported by private charity, and not by the government, which should not do more than establish workhouses to give employment to paupers and vagrants, instruct the poor classes, and endeavour to raise their moral condition. The advice of Ricci was acted upon by the government of Modena.

"14, Giuseppe Palmieri, born in 1721, in the province of Lecce, in the kingdom of Naples, filled several offices in the administration of his country, and wrote observations on the tariff and on national wealth: 'Osservazioni sulle Tariffe con applicazione al Regno di Napoli,' and 'Sulla Ricchezza Nazionale.' In speaking of commerce, he says that a full and universal liberty would be the best system, but as this liberty is not admitted by any nation, the nation that should alone put it in practice might find it turn to its disadvantage, and its condition would be that of a lamb among wolves. He therefore advises not the prohibitive but the restrictive system, or, in other words, a system of custom-house duties on the principle of reciprocity.

"15, Count Mengotti of Feltra, in the Venetian state, wrote, in 1791, a book against the exclusive mercantile system, which he styled 'Il Colbertismo,' from the name of Colbert, the great patronizer of that system. This work was written in reply to a query proposed by the Economical Society of Florence, which was put in the following words: 'Whether in a state which, by its locality and the nature of its soil, is susceptible of increase of produce and population, it be most adviseable to favour manufactures by certain restrictions on the exportation of the raw materials, or to leave it at entire freedom?' Mengotti recommended perfect freedom of trade, and his book obtained the prize. It is one of the best written works of the Italian political economists. Mengotti, Beccaria, and Galiani, are three writers who, by their style, have succeeded in enlivening an abstruse subject and making their dissertations entertaining as well as instructive. Mengotti wrote also a memoir, 'Sul Commercio dei Romani,' which obtained, in 1787, the prize from the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of Paris. Mengotti maintained that, until the first Punic war, the Romans had no commerce in an extended sense; that from the first Punic war to the Battle of Actium their

commerce consisted in carrying home the spoils of other nations; that from Augustus to Constantine their trade was mainly passive and ruinous; they produced nothing, and bought foreign luxuries and even the necessaries of life with the money they extorted from the subject provinces, and at last they fell gradually again into poverty and barbarism.

The above are the principal Italian political economists of the 18th century. The complete collection of all the Italian writers on political economy was edited by Custodi, in 50 volumes 8vo. Melzi, the vice-president of the Italian republic, supplied the author with the necessary funds for the undertaking. Custodi was afterwards made by Napoleon councillor of state of the kingdom of Italy, baron, knight of the iron crown, and secretary of finance.

SECOND DIVISION.

FROM THE ADVENT OF ADAM SMITH TO THE PASSING OF
THE CORN-LAW IN 1815.

SECT. I.—ADAM SMITH.

Adam Smith, Doctor of Laws and Fellow of the Royal Society, was born at the town of Kirkaldy, in Scotland, on the 5th of June 1723. He was the only child of Adam Smith, comptroller of the customs at Kirkaldy, and Margaret Douglas, daughter of Mr Douglas of Stratheny. His father having died some months before his birth, the duty of superintending his early education devolved upon his mother.

A singular accident happened to him when he was about three years of age. As he was amusing himself one day at the door of his uncle, Mr Douglas' house at Stratheny, he was carried off by a party of gypsies. The vagrants, however, being pursued by Mr Douglas, were overtaken in Leslie Wood, and his uncle, as Mr Stewart remarks, was thus the happy instrument of preserving to the world a genius which was destined not only to extend the boundaries of science, but to enlighten and reform the commercial policy of Europe.

The constitution of Dr Smith, during infancy, was infirm and sickly, and required all the delicate attentions of his surviving parent. Though she treated him with the utmost indulgence, this did not produce any unfavourable effect, either

on his dispositions or temper, and he repaid her affectionate solicitude by every attention that filial gratitude could dictate during the long period of sixty years.

He received the first rudiments of his education at the Grammar School of Kirkaldy, which was then taught by Mr David Miller, a teacher, in his day, of considerable reputation. He soon attracted notice by his passion for books, and the extraordinary powers of his memory. Even at this early period, too, he seems to have contracted those habits of speaking to himself, and of absence in company, for which, through life, he was so remarkable. The weakness of Dr Smith's constitution prevented him from engaging in the sports and pastimes of his school companions, yet he was much beloved by them on account of his friendly and generous disposition.

Having remained at Kirkaldy till he had completed his fourteenth year, he was sent in 1737 to the University of Glasgow, where he prosecuted his studies during three years. Mr Stewart mentions, on the authority of one of Mr Smith's fellow students, Dr Maclaine of the Hague, that his favourite pursuits while attending that university were mathematics and natural philosophy. He attended, however, during his residence in Glasgow, the lectures of the celebrated Dr Hutcheson on moral philosophy; and it is probable that they had a considerable effect in afterwards directing his attention to those branches of science in which he became so distinguished.

Dr Smith's friends having directed his views towards the English Church, he went, in 1740, to Balliol College, Oxford, as an exhibitioner on Snell's foundation, where he remained seven years. At this celebrated seat of classical learning he cultivated, with the greatest assiduity and success, the study both of the ancient and modern languages, and became intimately acquainted with the works of the Roman, Greek, French, and Italian poets, as well as with those of his own country. With the view of improving his style, he used frequently to employ himself in the practice of translation, particularly from the French, as he was of opinion that such exercises were extremely useful to those who wished to cultivate the art of composition. But Dr Smith's obligations to the University of Oxford seem to be confined to his proficiency in classical learning and a critical acquaintance with the niceties and delicacies of the English tongue. Very little could be learned from the public lectures of philosophy, the logic of Aristotle still maintaining its influence in both the English universities; a circumstance, however, which, upon good authority, is related to have occurred during his residence in Oxford, shews that in his private studies Dr Smith did not confine his read-

ing in philosophy to the works of Aristotle and the schoolmen. Something having excited the suspicion of his superiors with regard to the nature of his studies in private, the heads of his college entered his apartment one day without any previous notice, and unluckily found the young philosopher engaged in reading Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*. The offender was of course severely reprimanded, and the objectionable work seized and carried off.

Dr Smith, having found that the ecclesiastical profession was not suitable to his taste, resolved at last to renounce every prospect of rising to eminence by church preferment. He accordingly returned in 1747, against the wishes of his friends, to Kirkaldy, and, without having determined on any fixed plan of life, resided there nearly two years with his mother. In the end of the year 1748, he fixed his residence in Edinburgh, and, under the patronage of Lord Kames, delivered lectures during three years on rhetoric and belles lettres. These lectures were never published, but it appears that the substance of them was communicated to Dr Blair, who began his celebrated course on the same subject in 1755, and that gentleman had a high opinion of their merits. In a note to his eighteenth lecture, Dr Blair thus notices them: "On this head, of the general character of style, particularly the plain and the simple, and the characters of those English authors who are classed under them, in this and the following lectures, several ideas have been taken from a manuscript treatise on Rhetoric, part of which was shewn to me many years ago, by the learned and ingenious author, Dr Adam Smith; and which, it is hoped, will be given by him to the public."

It appears to have been during the residence of Adam Smith at this time in Edinburgh that his acquaintance with David Hume commenced, which lasted, without the slightest interruption, till the death of the latter in 1776. It was a friendship, Mr Stewart remarks, on both sides, founded on the admiration of genius and the love of simplicity; and which forms an interesting circumstance in the history of each of these eminent men, from the ambition which both have shewn to record it to posterity.

The literary reputation of Dr Smith being now well established, he was elected, in 1751, Professor of Logic in the University of Glasgow, and in the year following he was removed to the chair of moral philosophy in the same university, vacant by the death of Mr Thomas Craigie, who was the immediate successor of Dr Hutcheson. In this situation he remained during thirteen years, a period which he used to consider as

the happiest of his life, the studies and inquiries in which his academical duties led him to engage being those which were most agreeable to his taste. It is highly probable that his appointment to the professorship of moral philosophy was the means of inducing him to mature his speculations in ethics and political economy, and to undertake those great works which have immortalized his name in the literature of Scotland.

No part of the lectures which Dr Smith delivered, either as professor of logic or of moral philosophy, has been preserved, except what has been published in the "Theory of Moral Sentiments" and the "Wealth of Nations." The following account of them, however, has been given by Mr Miller, the celebrated author of the "Historical View of the English Government," and professor of law in the University of Glasgow, who had the advantage of being one of Mr Smith's pupils.

"In the professorship of logic, to which Mr Smith was appointed on his first introduction into this university, he soon saw the necessity of departing widely from the plan that had been followed by his predecessors, and of directing the attention of his pupils to studies of a more interesting and useful nature than the logic and metaphysics of the schools. Accordingly, after exhibiting a general view of the powers of the mind, and explaining as much of the ancient logic as was requisite to gratify curiosity with respect to an artificial method of reasoning, which had once occupied the universal attention of the learned, he dedicated all the rest of his time to the delivering of a system of rhetoric and belles lettres. Was elected to the chair of moral philosophy. His course of lectures on this subject was divided into four parts. The first contained natural theology; in which he considered the proofs of the being and attributes of God, and those principles of the human mind upon which religion is founded. The second comprehended ethics, strictly so called, and consisted chiefly of the doctrines which he afterwards published in his 'Theory of Moral Sentiments.' In the third part he treated at more length of that branch of morality which relates to *justice*, and which, being susceptible of precise and accurate rules, is for that reason capable of a full and particular explanation.

"Upon this subject he followed the plan that seems to be suggested by Montesquieu, endeavouring to trace the gradual progress of jurisprudence, both public and private, from the rudest to the most refined ages, and to point out the effects of those arts which contribute to subsistence and to the accumulation of property, in producing correspondent

improvements or alterations in law and government. This important branch of his labours he also intended to give to the public; but this intention, which is mentioned in the conclusion of the 'Theory of Moral Sentiments,' he did not live to fulfil.

"In the last part of his lectures he examined those political regulations which are founded, not upon the principle of *justice*, but that of *expediency*, and which are calculated to increase the riches, the power, and the prosperity of a state. Under this view he considered the political institutions relating to commerce, to finances, to ecclesiastical and military establishments. What he delivered on these subjects contained the substance of the work he afterwards published under the title of 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Sources of the Wealth of Nations.'

"There was no situation in which the abilities of Mr Smith appeared to greater advantage than as a professor. In delivering his lectures, he trusted almost entirely to extemporary elocution. His manner, though not graceful, was plain and unaffected; and, as he seems to be always interested in the subject, he never failed to interest his hearers. Each discourse consisted commonly of several distinct propositions, which he successively endeavoured to prove and illustrate. These propositions, when announced in general terms, had, from their extent, not unfrequently something of the air of a paradox. In his attempts to explain them, he often appeared at first not to be sufficiently possessed of the subject, and spoke with some hesitation. As he advanced, however, the matter seemed to crowd upon him; his manner became warm and animated, and his expression easy and fluent. In points susceptible of controversy, you could easily discern that he secretly conceived an opposition to his opinions, and that he was led upon this account to support them with greater energy and vehemence. By the fulness and variety of his illustrations, the subject gradually swelled in his hands, and acquired a dimension which, without a tedious repetition of the same views, was calculated to seize the attention of his audience, and to afford them pleasure as well as instruction. Following the same subject through all the diversity of shades and aspects in which it was presented, and afterwards in tracing it backwards to that original proposition, or general truth, from which this beautiful train of speculation had proceeded.

"His reputation as a professor was accordingly raised very high; and a multitude of students from a great distance resorted to the university merely upon his account. Those

branches of the science which he taught became fashionable at this place, and his opinions were the chief topics of discussion in clubs and literary societies. Even the small peculiarities in his pronunciation or manner of speaking became frequently the object of imitation."

The first publications of Mr Smith, it is understood, were two articles which he contributed anonymously to a work called the "Edinburgh Review," begun in 1765, by some literary gentlemen, but of which only two numbers ever appeared. The first of these articles was a Review of Dr Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language, which displays considerable acuteness, and the other contained some general observations on the state of literature in the different countries of Europe.

In 1759, his great ethical work, entitled "Theory of Moral Sentiments, or an Essay towards an Analysis of the Principles by which Men naturally Judge concerning the Conduct and Character, first of their Neighbours, and afterwards of Themselves," made its appearance. This work contributed greatly to extend the fame and reputation of the author; and is unquestionably entitled to a place in the very first rank in the science of morals. Dr Brown, in his eighteenth lecture, thus speaks of it:—"Profound in thought, it exhibits, even when it is most profound, an example of the graces with which a sage imagination knows how to adorn the simple and majestic form of science; that it is severe and cold only to those who are themselves cold and severe, as in those very graces it exhibits, in like manner, an example of the reciprocal embellishments which imagination receives from the sober dignity of truth. In its minor details and illustrations, indeed, it may be considered as presenting a model of philosophic beauty, of which all must acknowledge the power who are not disqualified by their very nature for the admiration and enjoyment of intellectual excellence; so dull of understanding as to shrink with a painful consciousness of incapacity at the very appearance of refined analysis, or so dull and cold of heart as to feel no charm in the delightful varieties of an eloquence that, in the illustration and embellishment of the noblest truths, seems itself to live and harmonize with those noble sentiments which it adorns."

Dr Smith's "Dissertation on the Origin of Languages," which is now generally bound up with the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," made its first appearance with the second edition of that work. In this ingenious and beautiful tract, the author gives a theoretical history of the formation of lan-

guages, in which he endeavours to ascertain the different steps by which they would gradually arrive at their present so artificial and complicated state.

As the "Theory of Moral Sentiments" contains the most important part of Dr Smith's ethical doctrines, he was enabled, after the publication of that work, to devote a larger part of his course of lectures than he had previously done to the elucidation of the principles of jurisprudence and political economy. From a statement which he drew up in 1755, in order to vindicate his claim to certain political and literary opinions, it appears that from the time when he obtained a chair in the University of Glasgow, and even while he was delivering private lectures in Edinburgh, he had been in the habit of teaching the same liberal system of policy with respect to the freedom of trade which he afterwards published in the "Wealth of Nations." His residence in one of the largest commercial towns in the island must have been of considerable advantage to him, by enabling him to acquire correct practical information on many points connected with the subject of his favourite studies; and Mr Stewart states, as a circumstance very honourable to the liberality of the merchants of Glasgow, that, notwithstanding the reluctance so common among men of business to listen to the conclusions of mere speculation, and the direct opposition of Dr Smith's leading principles to all the old maxims of trade, he was able, before leaving the university, to rank some of the most eminent merchants of the city among the number of his proselytes.

The publication of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments" served greatly to increase the reputation of its author. In 1762, the *Senatus Academicus* of the University of Glasgow unanimously conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, in testimony, as expressed in the minutes of the meeting, of their respect for his universally acknowledged talents, and of the advantage that had resulted to the university, from the ability with which he had, for many years, expounded the principles of jurisprudence.

Towards the end of 1763, an important event occurred in Dr Smith's life. Having received an invitation from Mr Charles Townsend, husband of the Duchess of Buccleuch, to accompany the young Duke, her grace's son, on his travels, he was induced, from the liberal terms in which the proposal was made, and the strong desire he entertained of visiting the Continent, to resign his chair at Glasgow and accept of the offer. "With the connection which he was led to form in consequence of this change in his situation," Mr Stewart

remarks, "he had reason to be satisfied in an uncommon degree, and he always spoke of it with pleasure and gratitude. To the public, it was not, perhaps, a change equally fortunate, as it interrupted that studious leisure for which nature seems to have destined him, and in which alone he could have hoped to accomplish those literary projects which had flattered the ambition of his youthful genius."

Dr Smith having joined the Duke of Buccleuch at London, in the early part of the year 1764, they set out for the Continent in the month of March. After remaining only ten or twelve days in the capital of France, they proceeded to Toulouse, where they resided during eighteen months. Toulouse was at that time the seat of a parliament; and the intimacy in which he lived with some of its principal members, afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the most correct information in regard to the internal policy of France.

After leaving Toulouse, they proceeded through the southern provinces to Geneva, and, having spent two months in that city, returned to Paris about Christmas 1765, where they remained nearly a year. During their abode in Paris, Dr Smith, through the recommendation of Mr Hume, and his own celebrity, lived on the most intimate terms with the best society in the city. Turgot, (afterwards comptroller-general of finances,) Quesnay, Necker, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Marmontel, the Duc de la Rochefoucault, and Madame Riccaboni, were among the number of his acquaintances; and some of them he continued ever afterwards to reckon among his friends. It is highly probable that he derived considerable advantage from his intercourse with Quesnay, the celebrated founder of the sect of Economists. Of this profound and ingenious man, Dr Smith entertained the highest opinion, and he has pronounced his work upon political economy, with all its imperfections, to be the nearest approximation to the truth that had then been published on the principles of that very important science. Dr Smith intended to have dedicated to Quesnay the "Wealth of Nations," but was prevented by his death.

Although Dr Smith had made some very severe remarks in his "Theory of Moral Sentiments" on the celebrated maxims of the Duke of Rochefoucault, this did not prevent him from receiving the utmost kindness and attention from the author's grandson. A short time before Dr Smith left Paris, he received a flattering letter from the Duke of Rochefoucault, with a copy of a new edition of the Maxims of his grandfather; and informing Dr Smith, at the same time, that he

had been prevented from finishing a translation of his "Theory of Morals" into French, only by the knowledge of having been anticipated in the design.

Dr Smith returned with his pupil to London in October 1766, and soon after took up his residence with his mother at Kirkaldy, where, with the exception of a few occasional visits to London and Edinburgh, he resided constantly during the next ten years, engaged in intense study. Mr Hume, who considered the town as the proper scene for a man of letters, made many ineffectual attempts to prevail upon him to leave his retirement. During this residence of Dr Smith in Kirkaldy, he was engaged chiefly in maturing his speculations upon economical science. At length, in 1776, the "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" made its appearance, a work which holds nearly the same rank in political economy that Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding does in the philosophy of the mind, or the Principia of Newton in astronomy.

Our limits prevent us from giving anything like a particular analysis of this great work, but we shall endeavour to give some brief account of it. We shall notice very shortly the state of the science at the time when Dr Smith wrote the different leading principles which the illustrious author endeavours to establish, and the principal merits and defects of the works.

The object of political economy is to point out the means by which the industry of man may be rendered most productive of the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life, and to ascertain the laws which regulate the distribution of the various products which constitute wealth among the different classes of society. Though these inquiries be in the highest degree interesting and important, the science of political economy is comparatively of recent origin. It was not to be expected that, among the Greeks and Romans, who considered it degrading to be engaged in manufactures or commerce, and among whom such employments were left to slaves, where moralists considered the indulgence of luxury to be an evil of the first magnitude, that the science, which treats of the best methods of acquiring wealth should be much attended to. At the revival of letters, these ancient prejudices still maintained a powerful influence, and, combined with other causes, long prevented philosophers from turning their attention to the subject.

The first inquirers in political economy were led away by a prejudice which is perhaps one of the most deeply rooted in the human mind, namely, that wealth consists solely in gold

and silver. From this mistake grew up that system of commercial policy which has been denominated the mercantile system, according to the principles laid down in which the commerce of Europe was, in a great measure, regulated at the time when Dr Smith's work appeared. The leading doctrine of the commercial system was, that the policy of a country should be directed solely to the multiplication of the precious metals. Hence the internal commerce of a nation came to be entirely overlooked, or viewed only as subsidiary to the foreign; and the advantage derived from foreign trade was estimated by the excess of the value of the goods exported above that of those which were imported, it being supposed that the balance must be brought to the country in specie. To the radical mistake upon which the mercantile system was founded may be traced those restrictions upon the importation, and the encouragement given to the exportation of manufactures, which, till lately, distinguished the commercial policy of all the nations in Europe. It was imagined that, by such regulations, the excess of the value of exports over imports to be paid in gold would be increased.

During the 17th, and the earlier part of the 18th century, various works had appeared, in which some of the principles of political economy were distinctly enough laid down, and which had a tendency to shew the futility of the mercantile theory. For a particular account of these publications, and their various merits, we refer to the First Division of this work and to Mr M'Culloch's able Introductory Discourse to the "Wealth of Nations." We shall here only remark that, though several of these treatises contain the germs of some of the truths to be found in the "Wealth of Nations," yet the principles laid down in them are often stated only in a cursory and incidental manner. Their authors frequently appear not to be aware of the importance of the truths which they have discovered; and in none of them is anything like a connected view of political economy to be found.

The only work that was given to the world before the "Wealth of Nations," in which an attempt was made to expound the principles of political economy in a logical and systematic manner, was the *Economical Table* of the celebrated Quesnay, a French physician, which was published in 1758; but the theory of this distinguished economist is very erroneous. Having been educated in the country, he naturally inclined to regard agriculture with partiality, and he had come to the conclusion that it was the only species of industry which could possibly contribute to increase the wealth of a nation. Everything which ministers to the wants of man

must be originally derived from the earth; and the earth, therefore, Quesnay contended, must be the only source of wealth. As manufacturers and merchants do not realize any surplus in the shape of rent, he conceived that their operations, though highly useful, could not add any greater value to commodities than the value of the capital consumed by them. Into this erroneous theory he seems to have been led from being unable to explain the nature of rent, and from being unacquainted with that fundamental principle in political economy, that labour is the cause of exchangeable value.

But though Quesnay conceived agriculture to be the only source of wealth, the principles of his system fortunately did not lead him to solicit for it any exclusive protection; on the contrary, he contended that the interest of all the different classes of society would be best promoted by the establishment of a system of perfect freedom. It must, he conceived, be advantageous to the cultivators of the soil that the industry of manufacturers and merchants should not be fettered; for the more liberty they enjoyed the greater would be their competition, and, in consequence, the cheaper would their services be rendered to the agriculturists. On the other hand, it was the interest of the manufacturers that the cultivators of the soil should also have perfect freedom, for the greater liberty they enjoyed the more would their industry increase that surplus fund from which, according to his theory, the whole national revenue was ultimately derived.

It was in the work of Dr Smith that the sources of the wealth and prosperity of nations were first fully and correctly explored, and, in a systematic manner, distinctly explained, and that the advantages to be derived from commercial freedom were first satisfactorily established. In opposition to the principles of the commercial system, Dr Smith shewed that wealth does not consist in gold and silver, but in the abundance of the various necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life, and labour is the only source of wealth; and, in opposition to the French economists, that labour is productive when employed in manufactures and commerce as well as in agriculture. He has investigated the various causes by which labour may be rendered most productive; and has shewn how immensely its powers are increased by being divided among different individuals or nations. He has proved, with great power of reasoning, that all restrictions upon either the internal or external commerce of a country are, in the highest degree, absurd and pernicious; and that the progress of real opulence will be most rapidly accelerated when the industry of every individual and nation is employed in the

production of those articles for which, either from natural or artificial causes, they are best adapted, and when the most unlimited freedom of making exchanges is everywhere allowed. "It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family," he remarks, b. iv. c. 2, "never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The tailor does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker; the shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a tailor. The farmer attempts to make neither the one nor the other, but employs those different artificers; all of them find it for their interest to employ their whole industry in a way in which they have some advantage over their neighbours, and to purchase with a part of its produce whatever else they have occasion for."

"What is prudence in the conduct of any private family, can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage." "The natural advantages which one country has over another in producing particular commodities are sometimes so great, that it is acknowledged by all the world to be in vain to struggle with them. By means of glasses, hot-beds, and hot-walls, very good grapes can be raised in Scotland, and very good wine can be made from them, at about thirty times the expense for which at least equally good can be brought from foreign countries. Would it be a reasonable law to prohibit the importation of all foreign wines, merely to encourage the making of claret and burgundy in Scotland? But if there would be a manifest absurdity in turning towards any employment thirty times more of the capital and industry of the country than would be necessary to purchase from foreign countries an equal quantity of the commodities wanted, there must be an absurdity, though not altogether so glaring, yet exactly of the same kind, in turning towards any such employment a thirtieth, or even a three-hundredth part more of either."

But though Dr Smith contended upon correct principles for unlimited freedom of trade and commerce, and conceived that all the different branches of industry must be advantageous to society, he was of opinion that all were not *equally* advantageous. Agriculture he conceived to be the most productive employment in which capital could be engaged; the home trade to be more productive than the foreign; and the foreign than the carrying trade. But these distinctions are evidently erroneous. The self-interest of individuals will al-

ways prevent them from employing their capital in manufactures or commerce, unless they yield as large profits as they would have done if they had been employed in agriculture; and a state being only a collection of individuals, whatever is most beneficial to them must also be most advantageous to the society. Dr Smith has made another mistake in regard to the productiveness of labour. He divides all labourers into two classes, the productive and the unproductive; and he limits the class of productive labourers to those whose labour is immediately fixed and realized in some vendible commodity. But certainly all labour ought to be reckoned productive which either directly or *indirectly* contributes to augment the wealth of a society. It is impossible to hold that the labour of an Arkwright or a Watt was unproductive.

Few chapters in the "Wealth of Nations" are more valuable than that in which the illustrious author explains the causes of the apparent inequality in the wages and profits derived from different employments. He has shewn in the fullest and most satisfactory manner, that when allowance is made for all the advantages and disadvantages attending the different employments of labour and stock, wages and profits must, in the same neighbourhood, be either perfectly equal, or continually tending to equality. The circumstances which he enumerates as making up for a low state of wages in some employments, and counterbalancing a high one in others, are five in number. First, the agreeableness or disagreeableness of the employments themselves; secondly, the easiness and cheapness, or the difficulty and expense of learning them; thirdly, the constancy or inconstancy of employment in them; fourthly, the small or great trust which must be reposed in those who exercise them; and fifthly, the probability or improbability of success in their differences in the rate of profit, seem to be occasioned chiefly from the risk to which capital is exposed being greater in some employments than in others.

"One of the most important inquiries," says Mr Maculloch, "is the investigation of the laws which regulate the exchangeable value of the different productions of industry; and the disquisitions of Dr Smith on this subject are extremely valuable. He has shewn, in opposition to the opinion commonly before entertained on the subject, that the price of commodities, the quantity of which may be indefinitely increased, does not depend upon their scarcity or abundance, but upon the cost of their production; that although variations in the supply of any article, or in the demand for it, may occasion temporary variations in its exchangeable value, the market price is per-

manently regulated by the natural price, and on an average corresponds with it. In estimating the elements, however, which form the necessary price of commodities, he has fallen into some very important errors, particularly with regard to rent, which, from being unacquainted with the causes that produce it, he considered to be one of the component parts of price. It was subsequently suggested by Dr Anderson, and more specifically laid down by Ricardo and others, that rent is the difference between the product of the fruitful soil of a country (in comparison with the amount of labour and capital expended on it) and the product of such less fruitful soil as the pressure of population renders it necessary to bring into cultivation; and that rent being the difference between returns from an equal amount of capital applied to superior soils, and to that which is the most unproductive, is the effect, and not the cause, of the dearness of agricultural products; and cannot, therefore, form an element in their natural price.

“The error which Dr Smith has fallen into with regard to rent is certainly the most important mistake in the ‘Wealth of Nations,’ and has vitiated a considerable part of the work. Among other mistakes it has led him into error in regard to the ultimate incidence of different taxes, and the circumstances which determined the rate of wages and profits. Had the illustrious author, too, been acquainted with the true theory of rent he would not have contended that corn, upon an average, was the most invariable of all commodities in its value.”—(*See the Sections on the Theory of Rent.*)

Many other important subjects, besides those we have briefly noticed, are discussed by Dr Smith; but we cannot farther extend our remarks. Though it has defects, the “Wealth of Nations” will ever remain a great standard work in the science of political economy, and an illustrious monument of the genius and talents of its author. The publication raised him to the highest rank in the literary world; and he enjoyed, during fifteen years, the fame which he had so justly acquired. His work, soon after published, was translated into all the languages of Europe, his opinions were referred to in the House of Commons, and he himself consulted by the minister. Before his death, too, he had the satisfaction of seeing that the principles of commercial freedom which he had so ably advocated were beginning to influence the councils of Great Britain and other European states.

A few months after the publication of the “Wealth of Nations,” Dr Smith lost his highly esteemed friend, Mr Hume, who died upon the 25th of August 1776. Dr Smith was most assiduous in his attentions during the last illness

of this illustrious man ; and gives an interesting account in a letter to Mr Strachan of London, of the circumstances attending his death, and a eulogium upon his character. To those acquainted with Mr Hume's religious opinions, some part of this eulogium must certainly appear too high ; and the author was accordingly attacked on the subject by Dr Horne, Bishop of Norwich, who rashly ascribed to him, without any evidence, the same sceptical opinions which had been entertained by his illustrious friend.

Dr Smith resided chiefly in London for about two years after his great work had been given to the public, during which time his society was courted by the most distinguished persons in the metropolis. In 1778 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Customs in Scotland, through the unsolicited application of his friend and former pupil the Duke of Buccleuch. Upon attaining his appointment, he removed to Edinburgh, where he spent the remaining years of his life, enjoying comparative affluence, and the society of his earliest and most esteemed friends. His mother, who was then in extreme old age, accompanied him to town ; and his cousin, Miss Jane Douglas, who had formerly been a member of his family in Glasgow, undertook the superintendence of his domestic arrangements.

The accession to his income which he had now obtained, enabled him to gratify, to a much greater extent than formerly, the natural generosity of his disposition. "The state of his funds at the time of his death," Mr Stewart remarks, "compared with his very moderate establishment, confirmed, beyond a doubt, what his intimate acquaintances had often suspected, that a large proportion of his savings was allotted to offices of secret charity."

In 1787, Dr Smith was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow. A letter addressed to the principal of the university on the occasion shews the high sense he felt of this honour. "No preferment," he writes, "could have given me so much satisfaction. No man can owe greater obligations to a society than I do to the University of Glasgow. They educated me ; they sent me to Oxford. Soon after my return to Scotland, they elected me one of their own members ; and afterwards preferred me to another office, to which the abilities and virtues of the never-to-be-forgotten Dr Hutcheson had given a superior degree of illustration. The period of thirteen years, which I spent as a member of that society, I remember as by far the most useful, and therefore as by far the happiest and most honourable, period of my life ; and now, after three-and-twenty years' absence, to be remembered in

so very agreeable a manner by my old protectors, gives me a heartfelt joy, which I cannot easily express to you."

During the last residence of Dr Smith in Edinburgh, his studies appear to have been almost entirely suspended. The petty routine of his office, though requiring a little exertion of thought, was sufficient to occupy a considerable portion of his time and attention; and it is deeply to be regretted that, in all probability, these duties alone prevented him from giving that "account of the general principles of law and government, and of the different revolutions they have undergone in the different ages and periods of society," which he had stated in the concluding paragraph of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments" it was his intention to do.

In 1784 Dr Smith lost his mother, to whom he had been most tenderly attached; and her death was followed, four years afterwards, by that of Miss Douglas. These domestic afflictions contributed to hasten the decline of his health. His constitution had never been robust, and began early to give way. His last illness, which arose from a chronic obstruction of the bowels, was lingering and painful. He had the consolation, however, of receiving the tenderest sympathy of his friends; and he bore his afflictions with the most perfect resignation. His death took place in July 1790.

A few days before his death, when Dr Smith found his end rapidly approaching, he caused all his manuscripts to be destroyed, excepting a few essays, which he entrusted to the care of his executors, Dr Black and Dr Hutton. The intention of destroying all those of his manuscripts which he did not think worthy of publication, he had long entertained, and seems to have proceeded from a laudable anxiety in regard to his literary reputation. It is not exactly known what were the contents of the manuscripts which were destroyed, but there is every reason to believe that they consisted in part of the lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres which he had delivered at Edinburgh in 1748, and of the lectures on natural religion and jurisprudence, which form an important part of the course he had delivered at Glasgow. Of the essays which were left to the care of his friends, six were published a few years after his death by his illustrious executors. Three of them are fragments of a great work, which he at one time intended to write on the principles which lead and direct philosophical inquiries, but which he had long abandoned as far too extensive. The first contains the history of astronomy, which seems to be the most complete of the three; the second contains the history of ancient physics; and the third gives the history of the ancient logics and metaphysics. To these

essays, which are all written upon the plan of his essay on the formation of the languages, are subjoined other three, which treat, 1st, Of the nature of that imitation which takes place in what are called the Imitative Arts. 2d, Of the affinity between certain English and Italian verses; and, 3d, Of the external senses. As to the merits of these essays, the distinguished editors express their hopes "that the reader would find in them that happy connexion, that full and accurate expression, and that clear illustration, which are conspicuous in the rest of the author's works, and that though it is difficult to add much to the great fame he so justly acquired by his other writings, these would be read with satisfaction and pleasure." The library which Dr Smith collected during his life, though small, was valuable. The books were well selected, and he was particularly careful that the bijoux which he admitted into his collection should be in excellent order. Mr Smellie, in his life of Dr Smith says, "The first time I happened to be in his library, observing me looking at the books with some degree of curiosity and perhaps surprise, for most of the volumes were elegantly, and some of them superbly bound, 'You must have remarked,' said he, 'that I am a beau in nothing but my books.'" This valuable library, together with the rest of his property, Dr Smith bequeathed to Mr David Douglas, advocate, his cousin.

We shall close this sketch of Dr Smith's life with a few observations on his habits and private character, extracted from the valuable account of his life and writings given by Professor Dugald Stewart.

"To his private worth, the most certain of all, testimonies may be found in that confidence, respect, and attachment which followed him through all the various relations of life; the serenity and gaiety he enjoyed under the pressure of his growing infirmities, and the warm interest he felt to the last in everything connected with the welfare of his friends, will be long remembered by a small circle, with whom, as long as his strength permitted, he regularly spent an evening in the week; and to whom the recollection of his worth still forms a pleasing though melancholy bond of union.

"The more delicate and characteristic features of his mind it is perhaps impossible so trace. That there were many peculiarities both in his manners and in his intellectual habits was manifest to the most superficial observer; but although, to those who knew him, these peculiarities detracted nothing from the respect which his abilities commanded, and although to his intimate friends they added an inexpressible charm to his conversation, while they displayed in the most interesting light

the artless simplicity of his heart, yet it would require a very skilful pencil to present them to the public. He was certainly not fitted for the general commerce of the world, or for the business of active life. The comprehensive speculations with which he had been occupied from his youth, and the variety of materials which his own invention continually supplied to his thoughts, rendered him habitually inattentive to familiar objects and to common occurrences; and he frequently exhibited instances of absence which have scarcely been surpassed by the fancy of La Bruyere. Even in company he was apt to be engrossed with his studies; and appeared, at times, by the motion of his lips, as well as by his looks and gestures, to be in the fervour of composition. I have often, however, been struck, at the distance of years, with his accurate memory of the most trifling particulars, and am inclined to believe, from this and some other circumstances, that he possessed a power, not perhaps uncommon among absent men, of recollecting, in consequence of subsequent efforts of reflection, many occurrences which at the time when they happened did not seem to have sensibly attracted his notice.

“To the defect now mentioned it was probably owing that he did not fall in easily with the common dialogue of conversation, and that he was somewhat apt to convey his own ideas in the form of a lecture. When he did so, however, it never proceeded from a wish to engross the discourse or to gratify his vanity. His own inclinations disposed him so strongly to enjoy in silence the gaiety of those around him, that his friends were often led to concert little schemes in order to engage him in the discussions most likely to interest him. Nor do I think I shall be accused of going too far when I say that he was scarcely ever known to start a new topic himself, or to appear unprepared upon those topics that were introduced by others; indeed his conversation was never more amusing than when he gave a loose to his genius upon the very few branches of knowledge of which he only possessed the outlines.

“The opinions he formed of men, upon a slight acquaintance, were frequently erroneous; but the tendency of his nature inclined him much more to blind partiality than to ill-founded prejudices. The enlarged views of human affairs on which his mind habitually dwelt, left him neither time nor inclination to study in detail the uninteresting peculiarities of ordinary characters, and accordingly, though intimately acquainted with the capacities of the intellect and the working of the heart, and accustomed in his theories to mark with the most delicate hand the nicest shades both of genius and of the

passions ; yet, in judging of individuals, it sometimes happened that his estimates were in a surprising degree wide of the truth.

“The opinions to which, in the thoughtlessness and confidence of his social hours, he was accustomed to hazard on books and on questions of speculation, were not uniformly such as might have been expected from the superiority of his understanding and the singular consistency of his philosophical principles. They were liable to be influenced by accidental circumstances and by the humour of the moment ; and when retailed by those who only saw him occasionally, suggested false and contradictory ideas of his real sentiments. On these, however, as on most other occasions, there was always much truth, as well as ingenuity, in his remarks ; and if the different opinions which at different times he pronounced upon the same subject had been all combined together, so as to modify and limit each other, they would probably have afforded materials for a decision equally comprehensive and just. But, in the society of his friends, he had no disposition to form those qualified conclusions that we admire in his writings ; and he generally contented himself with a bold and masterly sketch of the object from the first point of view in which his temper or his fancy presented it. Something of the same kind might be remarked when he attempted, in the flow of his spirits, to delineate those characters which, from long intimacy, he might have been disposed to understand thoroughly. The picture was always lively and expressive, and commonly bore a strong and amusing resemblance to the original, when viewed under one particular aspect ; but seldom, perhaps, conveyed a just and complete conception of it in all its dimensions and proportions. In a word, it was a fault of his unpremeditated judgment to be systematical and too much in extremes.

“But, in whatever way these trifling peculiarities in his manners may be explained, there can be no doubt that they were intimately connected with the genuine artlessness of his mind. In this amiable quality he often recalled to his friends the accounts that are given of good La Fontaine, a quality which in him derived a peculiar grace from the singularities of its combination with those powers of reason and of eloquence which in his political and moral writings have long engaged the admiration of Europe.

“In his external form and appearance there was nothing uncommon. When perfectly at ease, and when warmed with conversation, his gestures were animated, and not ungraceful ; and, in the society of those he loved, his features were often brightened with a smile of inexpressible benignity. In the

company of strangers his tendency to absence, and perhaps, still more, his consciousness of this tendency, rendered his manner somewhat embarrassed—an effect which was probably not a little heightened by those speculative ideas of propriety which his recluse habits tended at once to perfect in his conception and to diminish his power of realizing. He never sat for his picture; but the medallion of Tassie conveys an exact idea of his profile, and of the general expression of his countenance.”

Of the many commentaries on *The Wealth of Nations*, that by Mr J. R. Maculloch is the most elaborate and the best known. But it is doubtful if any commentator has simplified the perspicuity or widened the comprehensiveness of the original. Mr Maculloch has contributed an historical sketch of political economy as an introduction to Adam Smith's work, and has added a useful index. He has also appended notes, which occasionally extend the ideas expressed in the text. But his notes have the demerit of attempting to correct Adam Smith where he is not in error. On the principles which govern rent—following an ingenious but mystic theory, propounded, while Adam Smith was alive, by Dr James Anderson of Scotland, and amplified and rendered more mysterious by the mathematical speculations of a far more eminent author, David Ricardo—Mr Maculloch charges the practical simplicity of the *Wealth of Nations* with error, and leaves the student of that work, who knows the simple causes which practically regulate rent, to look on in wonder at the learned and laboured mystery.

It is no part of our purpose in this biographic history to enter the lists of controversy. We only select those personages to people our pages who have contributed to the development of principles about which the great majority of mankind (at least British mankind) are now agreed. The questions raised by Mr Maculloch's corrective commentaries on *The Wealth of Nations* must be an exception. David Ricardo stands so high as a philosopher in economical science, on most subjects treated by him, as to be separated from Adam Smith, in point of merit and world-wide service, by no other author except Colonel Perronet Thompson. For which high service it would be to the dignity of these pages to assign to Mr Ricardo a distinguished and liberal place among those contemporaries who surrounded him some thirty or forty years after the death of the author of *The Wealth of Nations*. But as it would be then necessary to guard the economist student against the rent theory, it is better to strip that theory of its errors here while we have Adam Smith immediately before

our eyes, and Dr James Anderson at no great distance behind us. Around Mr Maculloch's commentary on *The Wealth of Nations* let us assemble them.

SECT. II.—DR JAMES ANDERSON.

It seems probable that this writer produced his theory (that which has been since amplified into *the theory*) of rent in an attempt to propound a system of corn-laws to be peculiarly the corn-laws of Scotland. Holding him to have been unsound on corn-laws and on rent, it may be asked, Why place him here? His title to a place here consists in this, that he was a practical writer on agriculture, on trade, and the principles of economy, sometimes right, though as often wrong; and that his opinions, both the right and the wrong, have had followers. It is no small distinction to some of his errors that they have been followed by such writers as Ricardo and Maculloch, and their followers

James Anderson was born about the year 1739, at the village of Hermiston, six miles from Edinburgh, of parents who succeeded their forefathers for several generations in cultivating the same land. They were a family of respectable farmers, and their son may be said to have inhaled with his first breath that spirit of agricultural knowledge for which he became so distinguished. Having been deprived of both his parents while yet very young, it was the wish of his guardian that he should occupy the paternal farm when old enough to undertake such a charge; and as much learning was not thought necessary for a farmer, he was discouraged by his friends from prosecuting his studies beyond a common school education; but that decision and firmness which were throughout his life the most conspicuous features of his character, now began to appear, and he displayed a resolution to judge and act for himself.

He informs us that, having read Home's *Essay on Agriculture*, and finding that he could not understand the reasoning for want of chemical knowledge, he immediately resolved to attend Cullen's lectures on that science. Being very young, and unaided by the countenance of any friend who could give him advice or introduce him to the world, he waited on Dr Cullen, and explained his views and intentions. The Doctor, considering it as a boyish whim which might lead him away from his necessary pursuits, at first endeavoured to dissuade him from the undertaking; but finding that he had fully reflected on the subject, and adopted his resolution with a fixed determination to persevere in it, he assented to the design;

and as the penetration of that celebrated man soon discovered the capacity and steadiness of his young pupil's mind, he not only encouraged his present object, but became his sincere friend, and carefully directed his future studies. Among the first things he did upon his farm was to introduce for the first time the small two-horse plough, now in universal use over the greater part of Scotland. After having occupied Hermiston for a few years, he quitted it as a place that did not possess a sufficient field for his enterprising mind, and took a long lease of a large farm in the wilds of Aberdeenshire, consisting of about 1300 acres of land almost in a state of nature. This vast undertaking was entered upon before he was of age, the execution of the lease having been deferred till that period arrived. In the midst of the difficulties he had to contend with in bringing this tract into cultivation, which were very great—arising chiefly from the badness or total want of roads, the remote distance from markets, and the precariousness of the climate—he began his career as an author with his essays on planting, &c. first printed in the year 1771, in the "*Edinburgh Weekly Magazine*," under the signature of Agricola, and again published separately in 1777. The first edition of his essays on agriculture, observations on national industry, and several others of his early writings, were composed during a residence of more than twenty years at Monkshill, the name of the above-mentioned farm. In the year 1780, the honorary degrees of A.M. and LL.D. were conferred upon him by the University of Aberdeen.

In 1783, having previously arranged matters for the conducting of his farm, he removed to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, principally with a view to the education of his increasing family, and influenced, no doubt, by a desire to live where he could enjoy more of literary society than was to be had in so remote a part of the country. Previous to his departure from Aberdeenshire, he was actively employed in promoting measures for alleviating the distresses of the poorer classes in that country, owing to the failure of the crops in 1782. About the same year he printed and circulated among his friends a proposal for establishing the Northern British Fisheries. This tract was never published, but the attention of the government being drawn to the subject by it, he was applied to by the treasury to undertake a survey of the western coasts of Scotland, for the purpose of obtaining information on this important subject. This public-spirited inquiry he undertook and accomplished in 1784, having a revenue cutter to convey him round the coast.

We next find him engaged in preparing for the publication

of the "Bee." This was a project he had long contemplated, namely, a weekly periodical work, designed for the dissemination of useful knowledge, which by its cheapness should be calculated for all ranks of people, while sufficient attention was paid to its various literary departments to render it acceptable in the highest circles.

His name was now so highly established, that the encouragement given by the public to this performance was wonderful, and nothing but great mismanagement in conducting the commercial part of the work could have caused it to fail in being a very profitable concern to him. His own writings form a conspicuous part of this book, under the names of Senex, Timothy Hairbrain, Alcibiades, and the greater part of the matter without signature

Having removed to the vicinity of London about the year 1797, he once more engaged in the service of the public, and produced, in April 1799, the first number of his "Recreations," a miscellaneous monthly publication, having for its principal objects agriculture and natural history. Although the work contains a number of communications from others, yet the greater part of it is written by himself. It met with the greatest encouragement from the public; but complaining of the irregularity of his printers and booksellers as being intolerable, he dropt it at the end of the sixth volume. The thirty-seventh number of his "Recreations" is his last publication, in March 1802, after which he consigned himself to quiet retirement, at a time when he foresaw the decline of his own powers approaching; these were hastened to decay by being overworked. He died on the 15th October 1808.

As a practical farmer, it is acknowledged by all who knew him that he not only understood how to turn the modes of culture usually followed by others to the greatest advantage, by judiciously selecting and applying them according to the circumstances of the case, but also that he had powerful resources within his own mind in the invention of new practices, many of which, and of those followed in distant countries, he introduced with the greatest success. Failings of a nature which too often accompany genius, however, deprived him of most of the benefits of his labours. He was deficient in that plodding perseverance which was necessary to mature the works he had begun; and he often neglected one object to adopt another. But, above all, his utter negligence of pecuniary matters brought him into difficulties which embittered the best of his days. In his younger days he was handsome in his person, of middle stature, and robust constitution. Extremely moderate in his living, the country exercise anima-

ted his countenance with the glow of health; but the overstrained exertion of his mental powers afterwards impaired his health, ultimately wasted his faculties, and brought on premature old age.

Dr Anderson was the author of several articles for the "Encyclopedia Britannica." He contributed numerous essays, under a variety of signatures, in the early part of the "Edinburgh Weekly Magazine," the principal of which were, Agricola; Timoleon; Germanicus; Simon; Scoto-Britannus; E. Aberdeen; Henry Plain; Impartial; A Scot. He also reviewed the subject of agriculture for the "Monthly Review," for several years.

In his *Inquiry into the Nature of the Corn-laws*, published in Edinburgh in 1777, he descants on rent, as we see in the next section.

SECT. III.—ANDERSON'S THEORY OF RENT.

"I foresee here a popular objection: It will be said that the price to the farmer is so high only on account of the high rents and avaricious extortions of the proprietors. 'Lower,' say they, 'your rents, and the farmer will be able to afford his grain cheaper to the consumer.' But if the avarice alone of the proprietors was the cause of the dearth of corn, whence comes it, I may ask, that the price of grain is always higher on the west than on the east coast of Scotland? Are the proprietors in the Lothians more tender-hearted and less avaricious than those of Clydesdale? The truth is, nothing can be more groundless than these clamours against men of landed property. There is no doubt that they, as well as every other class of men, will be willing to augment their revenue, as much as they can, and therefore will always accept of as high a rent for their land as is offered to them. Would merchants or manufacturers do otherwise? Would either the one or the other of these refuse, for the goods he offers to sale in a fair open way, as high a price as the purchaser is inclined to give? If they would not, it is surely with a bad grace that they blame gentlemen for accepting such a rent for their land as farmers, who are supposed always to understand the value of it, shall choose to offer them.

"It is not, however, the rent of the land that determines the price of its produce, but it is the price of that produce which determines the rent of the land, although the price of that produce is often highest in those countries where the rent of land is lowest. This seems to be a paradox that deserves to be explained.

“ In every country there is a variety of soils, differing considerably from one another in point of fertility. These we shall at present suppose arranged into different classes, which we shall denote by the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, &c., the class A comprehending the soils of the greatest fertility, and the other letters expressing different classes of soils, gradually decreasing in fertility as you recede from the first. Now, as the expense of cultivating the least fertile soil is as great or greater than that of the most fertile field, it necessarily follows that, if an equal quantity of corn, the produce of each field, can be sold at the same price, the profit on cultivating the most fertile soil must be much greater than that of cultivating the others; and as this continues to decrease as the sterility increases, it must at length happen that the expense of cultivating some of the inferior classes will equal the value of the whole produce.

“ This being premised, let us suppose that the class F includes all those fields whose produce in oatmeal, if sold at 14s. per boll, would be just sufficient to pay the expense of cultivating them, without affording any rent at all; that the class E comprehended those fields whose produce, if sold at 13s. per boll, would free the charges without affording any rent; and that, in like manner, the classes D, C, B, and A, consisted of fields whose produce, if sold respectively at 12s., 11s., 10s., and 9s. per boll, would exactly pay the charge of culture without any rent.

“ Let us now suppose that all the inhabitants of the country where such fields are placed could be sustained by the produce of the first four classes, viz. A, B, C, and D. It is plain that if the average selling price of oatmeal in that country was 12s. per boll, those who possessed the fields D could just afford to cultivate them without paying any rent at all; so that if there were no other produce of the fields that could be reared at a smaller expense than corn, the farmer could afford no rent whatever to the proprietor for them; and if so, no rents could be afforded for the fields E and F, nor could the utmost avarice of the proprietor in this case extort a rent for them. In these circumstances, however, it is obvious that the farmer who possessed the fields in the class C could pay the expense of cultivating them, and also afford to the proprietor a rent equal to 1s. for every boll of their produce; and, in like manner, the possessors of the fields B and A could afford a rent equal to 2s. or 3s. per boll of their produce respectively. Nor would the proprietors of these fields find any difficulty in obtaining these rents; because farmers, finding they could live equally well upon such soils, though pay-

ing these rents, as they could do upon the field D, without any rent at all, would be equally willing to take the one as the other.

“But let us again suppose that the whole produce of the fields A, B, C, and D, was *not* sufficient to maintain the whole of the inhabitants. If the average selling price should continue at 12s. per boll, as none of the fields E or F could admit of being cultivated, the inhabitants would be under the necessity of bringing grain from some other country to supply their wants; but if it should be found that grain could not be brought from that other country, at an average, under 13s. per boll, the price in the home market would rise to that rate, so that the fields E could then be brought into culture, and those of the class D could afford a rent to the proprietor equal to what was formerly yielded by C, and so on of others, the rents of every class rising in the same proportion. If these fields were sufficient to maintain the whole of the inhabitants, the price would remain permanently at 13s.; but if there was still a deficiency, and if that could not be made up for less than 14s. per boll, the price would rise in the market to that rate, in which case the fields F might also be brought into culture, and the rents of all the others would rise in proportion.

“To apply this reasoning to the present case, it appears that the people in the Lothians can be maintained by the produce of the fields A, B, C, D, and E, but the inhabitants of Clydesdale require also the produce of the fields F; so that the one is under the necessity of giving, at an average, 1s. per boll more for meal than the other.

“Let us now suppose that the gentlemen of Clydesdale, from an extraordinary exertion of patriotism, and an inordinate desire to encourage manufactures, should resolve to lower their rents so as to demand nothing from those who possessed the fields E, as well as those of the class F, and should allow the rents of all the others to sink in proportion; would the prices of grain fall in consequence of this? By no means. The inhabitants are still in need of the whole produce of the fields F as before, and are under the necessity of paying the farmer of these fields such a price as to enable him to cultivate them. He must, therefore, still receive 14s. per boll as formerly; and as the grain from the fields E, D, C, B, and A, is at least equally good, the occupiers of each of these fields would receive the same price for their produce. The only consequence, then, that would result from this Quixotic scheme, would be the enriching one class of farmers at the expense of their proprietors, without producing the smallest benefit to the consumers of grain—perhaps the reverse, as the industry of these farmers might be slackened by this measure.”

SECT. IV.—RICARDO AND MACULLOCH'S THEORY OF RENT.

“On the first settling of a country, in which there is an abundance of rich and fertile land, a very small proportion of which is required to be cultivated for the support of the actual population, or indeed can be cultivated with the capital which the population can command, there will be no rent; for no one would pay for the use of land when there was an abundant quantity not yet appropriated, and, therefore, at the disposal of whosoever might choose to cultivate it.

“On the common principles of supply and demand, no rent could be paid for such land, for the reason stated why nothing is given for the use of air and water, or for any other of the gifts of nature which exist in boundless quantity. With a given quantity of materials, and with the assistance of the pressure of the atmosphere, and the elasticity of steam, engines may perform work, and abridge human labour to a very great extent; but no charge is made for the use of these natural aids, because they are inexhaustible, and at every man's disposal. In the same manner, the brewer, the distiller, the dyer, make incessant use of the air and water for the production of their commodities; but as the supply is boundless, they bear no price. If all land had the same properties, if it were unlimited in quantity and uniform in quality, no charge could be made for its use, unless where it possessed peculiar advantages of situation. It is only, then, because land is not unlimited in quantity and uniform in quality, and because, in the progress of population, land of an inferior quality, or less advantageously situated, is called into cultivation, that rent is ever paid for the use of it. When, in the progress of society, land of the second degree of fertility is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on that of the first quality, and the amount of that rent will depend on the difference in the quality of these two portions of land.

“When land of the third quality is taken into cultivation, rent immediately commences on the second, and it is regulated as before, by the difference in their productive powers. At the same time, the rent of the first quality will rise, for that must always be above the rent of the second, by the difference between the produce which they yield with a given quantity of capital and labour. With every step in the progress of population, which shall oblige a country to have recourse to land of a worse quality, to enable it to raise its supply of food, rent, on all the more fertile land, will rise.

“Thus, suppose land Nos. 1, 2, 3, to yield, with an equal

employment of capital and labour, a net produce of 100, 90, and 80 quarters of corn. In a new country, where there is an abundance of fertile land compared with the population, and where therefore it is only necessary to cultivate No. 1, the whole net produce will belong to the cultivator, and will be the profits of the stock which he advances. As soon as population had so far increased as to make it necessary to cultivate No. 2, from which ninety quarters only can be obtained after supporting the labourers, rent would commence on No. 1; for either there must be two rates of profit on agricultural capital, or ten quarters, or the value of ten quarters, must be withdrawn from the produce of No. 1 for some other purpose. Whether the proprietor of the land, or any other person, cultivated No. 1, these ten quarters would equally constitute rent; for the cultivator of No. 2 would get the same result with his capital, whether he cultivated No. 1, paying ten quarters for rent, or continued to cultivate No. 2, paying no rent. In the same manner it might be shewn that when No. 3 is brought into cultivation, the rent of No. 2 must be ten quarters, or the value of ten quarters, whilst the rent No. 1 would rise to twenty quarters; for the cultivator of No. 3 would have the same profits, whether he paid twenty quarters for the rent of No. 1, ten quarters for the rent of No. 2, or cultivated No. 3 free of all rent.

“It often, and, indeed, commonly happens, that before Nos. 2, 3, 4, or 5, or the inferior lands, are cultivated, capital can be employed more productively on those lands which are already in cultivation. It may perhaps be found that, by doubling the original capital employed on No. 1, though the production will not be doubled, will not be increased by 100 quarters, it may be increased by eighty-five quarters, and that this quantity exceeds what could be obtained by employing the same capital on land No. 3.

“In such case capital will be preferably employed on the old land, and will equally create a rent; for rent is always the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of two equal quantities of capital and labour. If with a capital of L.1000 a tenant obtain 100 quarters of wheat from his land, and by the employment of a second capital of L.1000 he obtain a further return of eighty-five, his landlord would have the power, at the expiration of his lease, of obliging him to pay fifteen quarters, or an equivalent value for additional rent; for there cannot be two rates of profit. If he is satisfied with a diminution of fifteen quarters in the return for his second L.1000, it is because no employment more profitable can be found for it. The common rate of profit would be in

that proportion, and if the original tenant refused, some other person would be found willing to give all which exceeded that rate of profit to the owner of the land from which he derived it.

“ In this case, as well as in the other, the capital last employed pays no rent. For the greater productive powers of the first L.1000, fifteen quarters are paid for rent; for the employment of the second L.1000 no rent whatever is paid. If a third L.1000 be employed on the same land, with a return of seventy-five quarters, rent will then be paid for the second L.1000, and will be equal to the difference between the produce of these two or ten quarters; and at the same time the rent of the first L.1000 will rise from fifteen to twenty-five quarters; while the last L.1000 will pay no rent whatever.

“ If, then, good land existed in a quantity much more abundant than the production of food for an increasing population required, or if capital could be indefinitely employed without a diminished return on the old land, there could be no rise of rent; for rent invariably proceeds from the employment of an additional quantity of labour with a proportionally less return.

“ The most fertile and most favourably situated land will be first cultivated, and the exchangeable value of its produce will be adjusted in the same manner as the exchangeable value of all other commodities, by the total quantity of labour necessary in various forms, from first to last, to produce it and bring it to market. When land of an inferior quality is taken into cultivation, the exchangeable value of raw produce will rise, because more labour is required to produce it.

“ The exchangeable value of all commodities, whether they be manufactured, or the produce of the mines, or the produce of land, is always regulated, not by the less quantity of labour that will suffice for their production under circumstances highly favourable, and exclusively enjoyed by those who have peculiar facilities of production; but by the greater quantity of labour necessarily bestowed on their production by those who have no such facilities; by those who continue to produce them under the most unfavourable circumstances; meaning, by the most unfavourable circumstances, the most unfavourable under which the quantity of produce required renders it necessary to carry on the production.

“ Thus, in a charitable institution, where the poor are set to work with the funds of benefactors, the general prices of the commodities, which are the produce of such work, will not be governed by the peculiar facilities afforded to these workmen, but by the common, usual, and natural difficulties, which every other manufacturer will have to encounter. The

manufacturer enjoying none of these facilities might, indeed, be driven altogether from the market, if the supply afforded by these favoured workmen were equal to all the wants of the community; but, if he continued the trade, it would be only on condition that he should derive from it the usual and general rate of profits on stock; and that could only happen when his commodity sold for a price proportioned to the quantity of labour bestowed on its production.

“It is true that, on the best land the same produce would still be obtained with the same labour as before, but its value would be enhanced in consequence of the diminished returns obtained by those who employed fresh labour and stock on the less fertile land. Notwithstanding, then, that the advantages of fertile over inferior lands are in no case lost, but only transferred from the cultivator or consumer to the landlord, yet, since more labour is required on the inferior lands, and since it is from such land only that we are enabled to furnish ourselves with the additional supply of raw produce, the comparative value of that produce will continue permanently above its former level, and make it exchange for more hats, cloth, shoes, &c., &c., in the production of which no such additional quantity of labour is required.

“The reason then, why raw produce rises in comparative value, is because more labour is employed in the production of the last portion obtained, and not because a rent is paid to the landlord. The value of corn is regulated by the quantity of labour bestowed on its production on that quality of land, or with that portion of capital, which pays no rent. Corn is not high because a rent is paid, but a rent is paid because corn is high; and it has been justly observed that no reduction would take place in the price of corn, although landlords should forego the whole of their rent. Such a measure would only enable some farmers to live like gentlemen, but would not diminish the quantity of labour necessary to raise raw produce on the least productive land in cultivation.

“Nothing is more common than to hear of the advantages which the land possesses over every other source of useful produce, on account of the surplus which it yields in the form of rent. Yet when land is most abundant, when most productive, and most fertile, it yields no rent; and it is only when its powers decay, and less is yielded in return for labour, that a share of the original produce of the more fertile portions is set apart for rent. It is singular that this quality in the land, which should have been noticed as an imperfection, compared with the natural agents by which manufacturers are assisted, should have been pointed out as constituting its peculiar pre-eminence. If air, water, the elasticity of steam,

and the pressure of the atmosphere, were of various qualities if they could be appropriated, and each quality existed only in moderate abundance, they, as well as the land, would afford a rent, as the successive qualities were brought into use. With every worse quality employed, the value of the commodities in the manufacture of which they were used would rise, because equal quantities of labour would be less productive. Man would do more by the sweat of his brow, and nature perform less; and the land would be no longer pre-eminent for its limited powers.

“ If the surplus produce which land affords in the form of rent be an advantage, it is desirable that, every year, the machinery newly constructed should be less efficient than the old, as that would undoubtedly give a greater exchangeable value to the goods manufactured, not only by that machinery, but by all the other machinery in the kingdom; and a rent would be paid to all those who possessed the most productive machinery.

“ The rise of rent is always the effect of the increasing wealth of the country, and of the difficulty of providing food for its augmented population. It is a symptom, but it is never a cause, of wealth; for wealth often increases most rapidly while rent is either stationary or even falling. Rent increases most rapidly as the disposable land decreases in its productive powers. Wealth increases most rapidly in those countries where the disposable land is most fertile, where importation is least restricted, and where, through agricultural improvements, productions can be multiplied without any increase in the proportional quantity of labour, and where consequently the progress of rent is slow.

“ If the high price of corn were the effect and not the cause of rent, prices would be proportionally influenced as rents were high or low, and rent would be a component part of price. But that corn which is produced by the greatest quantity of labour is the regulator of the price of corn; and rent does not and cannot enter in the least degree as a component part of its price. Adam Smith, therefore, cannot be correct in supposing that the original rule which regulated the exchangeable value of commodities, namely, the comparative quantity of labour by which they were produced, can be at all altered by the appropriation of land and the payment of rent. Raw material enters into the composition of most commodities, but the value of that raw material, as well as corn, is regulated by the productiveness of the portion of capital last employed on the land, and paying no rent; and

therefore, rent is not a component part of the price of commodities.

“ We have been hitherto considering the effects of the natural progress of wealth and population on rent, in a country in which the land is of variously productive powers; and we have seen that, with every portion of additional capital which it becomes necessary to employ on the land with a less productive return, rent would rise. It follows, from the same principles, that any circumstances in society which should make it unnecessary to employ the same amount of capital on the land, and which should therefore make the portion last employed more productive, would lower rent. Any great reduction in the capital of a country, which should materially diminish the funds destined for the maintenance of labour, would naturally have this effect. Population regulates itself by the funds which are to employ it, and therefore always increases or diminishes with the increase or diminution of capital. Every reduction of capital is therefore necessarily followed by a less effective demand for corn, by a fall of price, and by diminished cultivation. In the reverse order to that in which the accumulation of capital raises rent will the diminution of it lower rent. Land of a less unproductive quality will be in succession relinquished, the exchangeable value of produce will fall, and land of a superior quality will be the land last cultivated, and that which will then pay no rent.

“ The same effects may, however, be produced when the wealth and population of a country are increased, if that increase is accompanied by such marked improvements in agriculture as shall have the same effect of diminishing the necessity of cultivating the poorer lands, or of expending the same amount of capital on the cultivation of the more fertile portions.

“ If a million of quarters of corn be necessary for the support of a given population, and if it be raised on land of the qualities of Nos. 1, 2, 3; and if an improvement be afterwards discovered by which it can be raised on Nos. 1 and 2, without employing No. 3, it is evident that the immediate effect must be a fall of rent; for No. 2, instead of No. 3, will then be cultivated without paying any rent; and the rent of No. 1, instead of being the difference between the produce of No. 3 and No. 1, will be the difference only between Nos. 2 and 1. With the same population, and no more, there can be no demand for any additional quantity of corn; the capital and labour employed on No. 3 will be de-

voted to the production of other commodities desirable to the community, and can have no effect in raising rent, unless the raw material from which they are made cannot be obtained without employing capital less advantageously on the land, in which case No. 3 must again be cultivated.

“It is undoubtedly true that the fall in the relative price of raw produce, in consequence of the improvement in agriculture, or rather in consequence of less labour being bestowed on its production, would naturally lead to increased accumulation; for the profits of stock would be greatly augmented. This accumulation would lead to an increased demand for labour, to higher wages, to an increased population, to a farther demand for raw produce, and to an increased cultivation. It is only, however, after the increase in the population that rent would be as high as before; that is to say, after No. 3 was taken into cultivation, a considerable period would have elapsed, attended with a positive diminution of rent.

“But improvements in agriculture are of two kinds; those which increase the productive powers of the land and those which enable us, by improving our machinery, to obtain its produce with less labour. They both lead to a fall in the price of raw produce; they both affect rent, but they do not affect it equally. If they did not occasion a fall in the price of raw produce, they would not be improvements; for it is the essential quality of an improvement to diminish the quantity of labour before required to produce a commodity; and this diminution cannot take place without a fall of its price or relative value.

The improvements which increase the productive powers of the land are such as the more skilful rotation of crops or the better choice of manure. These improvements absolutely enable us to obtain the same produce from a smaller quantity of land. If, by the introduction of a course of turnips, I can feed my sheep besides raising my corn, the land on which the sheep were before fed becomes unnecessary, and the same quantity of raw produce is raised by the employment of a less quantity of land. If I discover a manure which will enable me to make a piece of land produce twenty per cent. more corn, I may withdraw at least a portion of my capital from the most unproductive part of my farm. But, as I before observed, it is not necessary that land should be thrown out of cultivation in order to reduce rent; to produce this effect it is sufficient that successive portions of capital are employed on the same land with different results, and that the portion which gives the least result should be withdrawn. If, by the introduction of the turnip husbandry, or by the use of a more invigorating

manure, I can obtain the same produce with less capital, and without disturbing the difference between the productive powers of the successive portions of capital; I shall lower rent; for a different and more productive portion will be that which will form the standard from which every other will be reckoned. If, for example, the successive portions of capital yielded 100, 90, 80, 70, whilst I employed these four portions my rent would be 60, or the difference between

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} 70 \text{ and } 100=30 \\ 70 \text{ and } 90=20 \\ 70 \text{ and } 80=10 \\ \hline 60 \end{array} \right\} \text{whilst the produce would be 340,} \left\{ \begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 90 \\ 80 \\ 70 \\ \hline 340 \end{array} \right.$$

and while I employed these portions, the rent would remain the same, although the produce of each should have an equal augmentation. If, instead of 100, 90, 80, 70, the produce should be increased to 125, 115, 105, 95, the rent would still be 60, or the difference between

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} 95 \text{ and } 125=30 \\ 95 \text{ and } 115=20 \\ 95 \text{ and } 105=10 \\ \hline 60 \end{array} \right\} \text{whilst the produce would be} \left\{ \begin{array}{r} 125 \\ 115 \\ 105 \\ 95 \\ \hline 440 \end{array} \right.$$

increased to 440,

But with such an increase of produce, without an increase of demand, there could be no motive for employing so much capital on the land; one portion would be withdrawn, and consequently the last portion of capital would yield 105 instead of 95, and rent would fall to 30, or the difference between

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} 105 \text{ and } 125=20 \\ 105 \text{ and } 115=10 \\ \hline 30 \end{array} \right\} \text{whilst the produce will still be adequate} \left\{ \begin{array}{r} 125 \\ 115 \\ 105 \\ \hline 345 \end{array} \right.$$

to the wants of the population, for it
would be 345 quarters, or

the demand being only for 340 quarters. But there are improvements which may lower the relative value of produce without lowering the corn rent, though they will lower the money rent of land. Such improvements do not increase the productive powers of the land; but they enable us to obtain its produce with less labour. They are rather directed to the formation of the capital applied to land than to the cultivation of the land itself. Improvements in agricultural implements, such as the plough and the thrashing machine, economy in the use of horses employed in husbandry, and a better knowledge of the veterinary art, are of this nature.

Less capital, which is the same thing as less labour, will be employed on the land; but, to obtain the same produce, less land cannot be cultivated. Whether improvements of this kind, however, affect corn rent, must depend on the question, whether the difference between the produce obtained by the employment of different portions of capital be increased, stationary, or diminished. If four portions of capital, 50, 60, 70, 80, be employed on the land, giving each the same results, and any improvement in the formation of such capital should enable me to withdraw 5 from each, so that they should be 45, 55, 65, and 75, no alteration would take place in the corn rent; but if the improvements were such as to enable me to make the whole saving on that portion of capital which is least productively employed, corn rent would immediately fall, because the difference between the capital most productive and the capital least productive would be diminished; and it is this difference which constitutes rent.

“Without multiplying instances, I hope enough has been said to shew that, whatever diminishes the inequality in the produce obtained from successive portions of capital employed on the same or new land tends to lower rent; and that whatever increases that inequality necessarily produces an opposite effect, and tends to raise it.

“In speaking of the rent of the landlord, we have rather considered it as the proportion of the produce obtained with a given capital on any given farm, without any reference to its exchangeable value; but since the same cause, the difficulty of production, raises the exchangeable value of raw produce, and raises also the proportion of raw produce paid to the landlord for rent, it is obvious that the landlord is doubly benefited by difficulty of production; first, he obtains a greater share; and, secondly, the commodity in which he is paid is of greater value.”

As Mr Maculloch adopts the foregoing theory, and delivers it, in his *Notes on the Wealth of Nations*, in language only slightly different from this, we need not lengthen our quotations by inserting his theory here. Some of his points are quoted by Colonel Thompson in the next section.

SECT. V.—ADAM SMITH AND COLONEL PERRONET THOMPSON'S
THEORY OF RENT.

In the *Wealth of Nations*, book i., chapter ii., Smith says—“Rent, considered as the price paid for the use of land, is naturally the highest which the tenant can afford to pay in the actual circumstances of the land. In adjusting the terms of the lease, the landlord endeavours to leave him no greater

share of the produce than what is sufficient to keep up the stock from which he furnishes the seed, pays the labour, and purchases and maintains the cattle and other instruments of husbandry, together with the ordinary profits of farming stock in the neighbourhood. This is evidently the smallest share with which the tenant can content himself without being a loser, and the landlord seldom means to leave him any more."

In these plain words, brief, and easily understood, we have not only the theory of rent, but its universal practice. It is not a charge of rapacity against the landowners, as Dr Anderson treats it, to say that they take all the profits of the land which the tenants can afford to pay as rent. It is the same with the shopkeepers, the manufacturers, and the merchants, in regard of prices, as with the landowners and their rents; and the same with the houseowners and their rents.

It is no more necessary that there should be different qualities of land to constitute rent per acre, than that there should be different qualities of cloth to constitute price per yard. The best land is not rented the highest, if it be situated disadvantageously for markets. It is not true, as Mr Ricardo and Mr Maculloch allege, that in newly settled countries the best land is all occupied first, and that therefore no rent is paid until land of the second quality is occupied. The first colonists in a new country plant themselves beside some natural harbour, natural fortress, and, if possible, naturally good land. They are bound by forests and the want of roads, or by some other obstacle, and impelled by convenience, to occupy land of *all qualities*, where they first settle, before going farther into the wilderness to reclaim.

Mr Ricardo says, "Rent is that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the indestructible powers of the soil," and not for the buildings, he proceeds to say, nor the drainage, nor other improvements.

Mr Maculloch says, "The rent of land properly so called, is the sums paid for the *natural and inherent powers of the soil*, and is entirely distinct from the sums paid for buildings, roads, fences, or other improvements effected upon it. The latter is plainly the profit on, or return for, the capital laid out on the land. Practically these sums are uniformly almost confounded, as they have been in this instance by Dr Smith, under the general term rent. But they are essentially distinct; and should be so considered in every inquiry of this sort."

They are as distinct as the cost of the wool or the cotton is from the price of the blanket or the calico. It is necessary in

all inquiries into the natural and acquired value of any commodity, to observe what part is the price of raw material, what the price of labour, what the fair return for capital invested, and what the excess or deficit of profit arising from full demand and deficient supply, or from deficient demand and over-supply. But care must be taken not to assert fallacies as facts. The greatest conflict of principles in modern times has been the conflict of the Free Trade with the monopolist principle. The monopolist principle had its stronghold in the corn-laws. The corn-laws were defended on the ground that the lowest quality of land then in cultivation would be discultured if the trade in corn became free; and if the lowest quality of land was discultured, the rent of all other lands would be reduced in amount. This allegation was chiefly founded on the rent theory of Anderson, which is amplified as we have seen by Ricardo and adopted by Maculloch. The monopolists having authors of such high reputation as political economists to appeal to, were proportionately formidable to the Free Traders. A theory more visionary and unrelated to practice never was propounded. Seldom has there been one on economical subjects so mischievous.

Colonel Thompson, in reviewing Mr Maculloch's corrections of Adam Smith, says, in vindication of Smith and correction of Maculloch, "Rent is *not* a consequence of the decreasing productiveness of the soils successively brought into cultivation. It exists in Egypt, where a man may stand with one foot in the rich arable soil, and the other in the dominions of Typhon, as some have construed him, or sand; and it clearly would exist in the island in the South Sea, if such there were, where every inch of soil, down to the sea beach, should be of the same uniform quality as a citizen's cabbage garden at Peckham, *from the moment the population began to press against the produce.* 'It is never heard of in newly settled countries—in New Holland, Illinois, or Indiana, or in any country where none but the best of the good soils are cultivated;' (*Maculloch.*) Nor would it be heard of in the South Sea island, while the land was newly settled, or, *till the population began to press against the produce.* If there be inferior land in existence, then, as population begins to press, this inferior land will successively be taken into cultivation, in the South Sea island, or anywhere else. But why will this particular school of political economists persist in mystifying their fellow creatures, by putting the cart before the horse, and declaring to be the general cause what is only an accidental consequence, arising out of foreign circumstances, which may exist or may not? Could the art of man have invented a more likely

way to go wrong? They admit that there is high rent because prices are high; but what makes prices high? Answer; because there is inferior land; for they say there would be no rent unless the lands 'under cultivation be of different powers,' and, 'unless inferior lands are taken into tillage;' *Ergo*, the existence of inferior lands is the cause of rent; also rent, they say, is not the cause but the effect of high prices; *Ergo*, the existence of inferior land must cause rent by previously causing high prices—there is no other way of piecing the two into a whole. If, then, the inferior land were sunk into the sea, would there cease to be high prices? According to their reasoning there ought. Yet it will be very difficult to persuade the world that prices would not be *higher* from such a circumstance, or that the effect of the rise upon the lucky owners of the good land left would not be to raise their rents."—(*Westminster Review*, 1st October 1832.)

SECT. VI.—GRANVILLE SHARP.

In the slave nations of olden times; in the serfdom days of England; in the nations whose industry is still the work of the bondman, commerce, as a wealth-giving, man-elevating institution, never existed and cannot exist: commerce shrinks from the foul bargain of man's flesh, and languishes in those lands, be they ever so fertile, ever so favoured for trade by nature, where the moral pestilence of slavery consumes human energies. We cannot in the moderate compass of this history of the emancipation of trade render full homage, nor perform full biographic service, to all the emancipators of men. Yet to omit them would be to leave biographic blanks, which duty to the pioneers of personal and commercial freedom does not permit us to pass over. In the spirit of that dutiful homage, let us write the name and life of Granville Sharp, who at his own cost laid an adamant stone in the British constitution, in its lowest foundation, to remain for ever, and reared upon it one of the noblest dignities of the British nation, to last through all time in the eyes of all the world; who at his own cost established by law the legal axiom that "the moment the foot of a slave touches the soil of Britain that slave is a free man." The opponents and subduers of the most damnable of monopolies—the man-monopoly—cannot be passed over.

Granville Sharp was born at Durham on the 21st of November 1735. He was the ninth son of Dr Thomas Sharp, and grandson of Archbishop Sharp. In the spring of the year 1750 he left Durham, and in May was bound apprentice in London to a linen-draper. At the expiration of his appren-

ticeship he quitted his situation, and engaged himself in the service of another linen factory, which he had reason to suppose established on a large foundation; but finding the concern far more contracted than he had imagined, he soon relinquished his engagement.

In this period he made his first advances in learning. A series of controversies with an inmate of his master's house, who happened to be a Unitarian, first excited him to the study of the Greek tongue. They disputed concerning the Trinity and the atonement of Christ; on these topics the Unitarian declared that Granville was mistaken in the opinions which he uttered, and that his misconception arose from his want of acquaintance with the Greek language, "in which," he asserted, "the subjects of their dispute did not suffer the interpretation which he put on them, and he therefore referred him to the New Testament in its original text." He learned Hebrew nearly at the same time, and from a cause exactly similar. A Jew, who appears to have resided also in his master's house, frequently contested with him the truths of the Christian religion, and, when hard pressed by his earnest reasonings, constantly declared that he misinterpreted the prophecies from ignorance of the language in which they were written; referring him to the Hebrew Bible, in the same manner as the Unitarian had done to the Greek Testament.

In 1765 his attention was first directed towards slavery. Pain and disease, the consequence of severe blows and hardships, led a miserable sufferer named Strong to seek the aid of Mr William Sharp, Granville's brother; and it was in one of his morning visits to the surgery in Mincing Lane that he was met by Granville, as he approached the door of the house, ready to faint through extreme weakness. On inquiry it was found that he had been a slave of Mr David Lisle, a lawyer of Barbadoes, whose barbarous treatment had by degrees reduced him to a state of weakness, and who had then turned him adrift in the streets. This happened in 1765. By the united care of the two brothers, into whose hands Strong had providentially fallen, he was restored to health, and placed in the service of a respectable apothecary in Fenchurch Street. In this comfortable situation he remained for two years, when, as he was one day attending his mistress behind a hackney coach, he was seen, and quickly recognised, by the lawyer to whom he had been a slave; and who, conceiving from his appearance that he must have regained his strength sufficiently for useful labour, formed a design to recover possession of him. He followed the coach for the means of obtaining intelligence of his abode, and laid a plan to entrap him.

“Some days afterwards, he (David Lisle) employed two of the Lord Mayor’s officers to attend him to a public house, from whence he sent a messenger to acquaint Jonathan Strong that a person wanted to speak with him. Jonathan of course came, and was shocked to find that it was his old master who had sent for him, and who now immediately delivered him into the custody of the two officers. Jonathan, however, sent for his present master, Mr Brown, who likewise came, but being violently threatened by the lawyer, on a charge of having detained *his property*—as he called Strong—he was intimidated, and left him in Lisle’s hands. After this Mr Sharp received a letter from the Poultry Compter, signed Jonathan Strong, a name which he did not at first recollect; he sent, however, a messenger to the compter to inquire about him, but the keeper denied that he had any such person committed to his charge.” This refusal was sufficient to rouse the suspicion and call forth the active benevolence of Mr Sharp. He went himself to the compter, inquired for the master of the prison, and insisted on seeing Jonathan Strong. He was then called, and was immediately recollected by Granville Sharp, who charged the master of the prison, at his own peril not to deliver him up to any person whatever who might claim him, until he had been carried before the Lord Mayor—Sir Robert Kite—to whom Granville Sharp immediately went, and gave information that one Jonathan Strong had been confined in prison without any warrant, and requested of his Lordship to summon those persons who had detained him, and to give him notice to attend at the same time. This request was complied with. When the appointed day was come, Sharp attended at the Mansion House, and found Jonathan in presence of the Lord Mayor, and also two persons who claimed him, the one a notary public, who produced a bill of sale from the original master to James Kerr, a Jamaica planter, who had refused to pay the purchase money until the negro should be delivered on board a ship bound to Jamaica, the captain of which vessel, David Lair, was the other person then attending to take him away. The Lord Mayor having heard the claim, said that “the lad had not stolen anything, and was not guilty of any offence, and was therefore at liberty to go away;” whereupon the captain seized him by the arm, and told the Lord Mayor, “he took him as the property of Mr Kerr.” Mr Beech, the city coroner, now came behind Sharp and whispered in his ear the words “charge him;” on which Sharp, turning towards the captain, said, “Sir, I charge you for an assault!” On this, Lair quitted his hold of Jonathan’s arm, and all came away. A few days after this transaction, Sharp was charged by a

writ, with having robbed the original master, David Lisle, the lawyer, of a negro slave, and also of another slave, &c. &c.

In these charitable exertions Granville appears to have been seconded by his brother James. He alludes to this circumstance, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr Muysson, in November 1767, in which he mentions "a law-suit commenced against him and his brother James for having lawfully and openly obtained the liberty of a poor negro before the chief magistrate of the city." But the action at law was not the only weapon employed to alarm him, and to deter him from the prosecution of his humane task. Lisle sought out the negro's *friend* at his brother William's house, and, having announced his name, was admitted. The conversation, on one part at least, was warm; and Lisle, after ineffectual denunciations of revenge in various ways, attempted to intimidate by a challenge. In what manner a defiance of this nature was received by a man of Mr Sharp's character, we learn from his own notes:—"Oct. 1, 1767, David Lisle, Esq., a man of the law, called on me in Mincing Lane, to demand gentleman-like satisfaction, because I had procured the liberty of his slave, Jonathan Strong. I told him that, 'as he had studied the law so many years, he should want no satisfaction that the law could give him.'"

Mr Sharp kept his word faithfully, but in a way little to be expected from a person who, as he himself states, "had never once opened a law book to consult it till on occasion of the present cause." His first step, in order to defend himself from the legal process instituted against him, was to apply to an eminent solicitor in the Lord Mayor's office, and to retain Sir James Eyre, then recorder of the city, and afterward Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, as his counsel. After some consideration of the case, the solicitor brought him a copy of the iniquitous opinion given in the year 1729, by the attorney and solicitor-general, Yorke and Talbot, that a slave coming from the West Indies to Great Britain or Ireland does not become free, and assured him that they should not be able to defend him against the action, as the Lord Chief-Justice Mansfield was also decidedly of the same opinion.

It appears that he now gave himself up for nearly two years to an intense study of the English laws, on those points particularly which regard the liberty of the person in British subjects. In his difficult task of legal inquiry he had no instructor, no assistant, except his own conscience. During his studies he applied to the celebrated Blackstone, but received little satisfaction from his opinion on the interesting subject in question. He consulted, likewise, several other professional

men of eminence, but could find no one whose opinion was favourable to his undertaking. "Even my own lawyers," he repeats, "were against me." By continued application, however, before the final term when he was to answer the charge against his brother and himself, Granville had added to a thorough investigation of the English laws much extraneous research into those of other nations; and he had compiled in manuscript a tract "On the Injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating the least claim to private Property in the Persons of Men in England." This tract, when completed, he submitted to the perusal of Blackstone; and then employed his utmost efforts to circulate it, by means of numerous copies, among those on whom he wished to produce a favourable effect. The arguments contained in it were irresistible, and by its success he had the satisfaction of amply fulfilling his promise to his antagonist. "The substance of his tract," he says, "was handed about among the gentlemen of the law, in twenty or more different manuscript copies, for nearly two years, until the lawyers employed against the negro, Jonathan Strong, were intimidated, and the plaintiff was compelled to pay treble costs for not bringing forward the action; after which," he adds, "the tract was printed in 1769."

At length the important case of James Somerset presented itself—a case which is said to have been selected at the mutual desire of Lord Mansfield and Mr Sharp, in order to bring to a final judgment a subject of contest which, from the benevolence of the latter, so frequently occupied, and, from the legal researches and abilities of the former, so much embarrassed, the courts of judicature. Somerset had been brought to England in November 1769, by his master, Charles Stewart, and in process of time left him. Stewart found an opportunity of seizing him unawares; and he was conveyed on board the "*Ann and Mary*," Captain Knowles, in order to be carried to Jamaica, and there to be sold for a slave. The leading counsel was Mr Sergeant Davy, who brought the case into court before Lord Mansfield, on the 24th of January, but professed the cause to be of so high importance, that it might be deferred till another term, in order to give him time to prepare fully for its support. This request Lord Mansfield declined granting, but fixed the hearing for that day fortnight, apprising Sergeant Davy at the same time, that, "if it should come fairly to the general question, whatever the opinion of the court might be, even if they were all agreed on one side or the other, the subject was of so general and extensive concern, that, from the nature of the question, he should certainly take the opinion of all the judges upon it." On the 7th of Febru-

ary the case was again brought before Lord Mansfield, assisted by the three justices, Ashton, Willes, and Ashurst. The cause of liberty was opened by Mr Sergeant Davy, with a vast mass of information on the subject of slavery, prefaced by a declaration of his intention to maintain before the court the proposition, "That no man at this day is or can be a slave in England." Mr Sergeant Glynn followed on the same side, and enforced very powerfully the arguments proposed by the leading counsel. At the conclusion of Mr Sergeant Glynn's speech, Lord Mansfield, after some short questions, added, "This thing seems, by the arguments, probable to go to a great length, and it is the end of the term; so it will hardly be possible to go through it without stopping, therefore, let it stand over to the next term."

On the 9th of May the question was again brought before the court, on the broad and general ground, "Whether a slave, by coming into England, becomes free?" On this second reading, the pleadings in favour of Somerset were resumed by Mr Mansfield, who, in a speech of strong sense and expression, contended that, if the negro Somerset was a man—and he should conclude him one till the court should adjudge otherwise—it was impossible he could be a slave in England, unless by the introduction of some species of property unknown to our constitution. He considered the dispute as between one human creature, the master, and another, the negro, whether the latter should be entitled to the important rights which nature had given him. He was stated by the master to have been a slave in America, but that did not prove him a slave in England, where no such condition of men exists. "From all that can be drawn from the state of Africa or America," said the orator, "the negro may very well answer—'It is true I was a slave, kept as a slave in Africa; I was first put in chains on board a British ship, and carried from Africa to America; I there lived under a master from whose tyranny I could not escape; if I had attempted it I should have exposed myself to the severest punishment; and never, from the first moment of my life to the present time, have I been in a country where I had power to assert the common rights of mankind. I am now in a country where the laws of liberty are known and regarded; and can you tell me the reason why I am not to be protected by those laws, but to be carried away again to be sold?'—To hear a negro state that argument," he continued, "and have it answered, consistently with our laws, seems to me to be impossible; for, on the contrary, he is as fully and clearly entitled to the protection of those laws as every one who now hears me." He concluded by expressing

his conviction that the alteration which had been attempted in the laws of England, by the introduction of a new species of slavery, was so prodigious and important, and would require so many and various regulations, that it would be far beyond the extent of any power that could legally exercise it, except the legislature itself. "But I hope," added he, "such a kind of slavery will never find its way into England; and I apprehend that, by your Lordships' decision, this man will receive his liberty."

At the end of Mr Mansfield's speech it appears that the cause was further adjourned to the 14th of May. The expectation of all parties was now raised to the utmost pitch, when, finally, in Trinity term, on Monday, the 22d of June, "The court proceeded to give judgment in the case of Somerset the negro, then before the court, on the motion of the Habeas Corpus." Lord Mansfield first stated the return, and then spoke to the following purport:—"We pay due attention to the opinions of Sir Philip Yorke and Mr Talbot, taken in the year 1729, whereby they pledge themselves to the West India planters for the legal consequences of slaves coming here, or being baptized. This opinion was solemnly recognised by Lord Hardwicke, sitting as chancellor, June 9, 1749, to this effect—'That there had been a prevailing opinion in the colonies that baptism was an emancipation of a negro slave, and that, in consequence of coming here, such slave became free; but he was satisfied there was no ground for the opinion; and he and Lord Talbot had so expressed themselves upon a cause referred to them for their opinions, when attorney-general and solicitor-general. They had given it all the consideration that the subject could require, and he was satisfied that neither baptism nor coming to England made any alteration in the temporal state of the slave;—that the statute of the 12th of Charles II. chap. 24, had abolished *villeins regardant*; but if a man was *vilain in gross*, he knew of no law which could possibly prevent the operation of such confession. We have likewise paid due regard to the many arguments urged at the bar of inconvenience; but we are all so clearly of one opinion upon the question before us, that there is no necessity to refer it to the twelve judges. The question is, whether the captain has returned a sufficient cause for the detainer of Somerset? The cause returned is, that he had kept him by order of his master, with an intent to send him abroad to Jamaica, there to be sold. So high an act of dominion must derive its force from the law of the country; and if to be justified here, must be justified by the laws of England. Slavery has been different in different ages and states. The

exercise of the power of a master over his slave must be supported by the laws of particular countries; but no foreigner can in England claim a right over a man: such a claim is not known to the laws of England. Immemorial usage preserves a positive law after the occasion or accident which gave rise to it has been forgotten; and, tracing the subject to natural principles, the claim of slavery never can be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law. Upon the whole, we cannot say the cause returned is sufficient by the law; and therefore the man must be discharged." The ever-memorable result of this trial is thus noticed by Mr Sharp:—"The judgment thus pronounced by Lord Mansfield has established the following axiom, as proposed by Mr Sergeant Davy—'As soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground he becomes free.' A sentence to be engraved for ever on our hearts."

On the memorable day which terminated the cause of Somerset, and established the rights of all negroes in England, Mr Sharp received the first offering of a correspondence instituted for the sole object of forwarding the deliverance of African and other slaves, but tending also in its progress to render him a partaker in the great political strife between Great Britain and her colonies. His correspondent was Anthony Benezet, a highly respectable member of the Society of Friends in North America. He had established a free school at Philadelphia for the education of black people, and he took every opportunity which his situation gave him of pleading in their behalf. The tract on the injustice of slavery, and the dispersion of it throughout America by Benezet and other zealous Quakers, during the course of three successive years, from 1769, had already produced the most powerful effects. The house of Burgesses and Virginia sent a petition to the King, dated 1st of April 1772, wherein they implored his majesty's paternal assistance in averting "a calamity of the most alarming nature." "The importation of slaves," they said, "into the colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and, under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very existence of your majesty's American dominions." In some other colonial assemblies it had either excited or strengthened an earnest wish to abolish slavery as well as the slave trade.

Granville Sharp was at this time a clerk in the Ordnance Office. That situation he resigned on account of his conscientious objections to the proceedings against the American colonies. This act he thus notices—"July 28, 1775, Board

at Westminster. Account in Gazette of the Battle of Charlestown, near Boston; and letters with large demands of ordnance stores being received, which were ordered to be got with all expedition; I thought it right to declare my objections to the being any way concerned in that unnatural business, and was advised by Mr Boddington to ask leave of absence for two months, as the board would take it more kindly than an abrupt resignation. I wrote that day to Sir Charles Cocks, clerk of the Ordnance, and received a very polite answer. Sir Jeffrey Amherst and Mr Langlois were made acquainted with my objections by Mr Boddington, and also with the advice he had given me, and they approved of the manner of my absenting myself.

“April 10th, 1777.—This morning I called on Sir C. Cocks, and resigned my post in the Ordnance, Mr Boddington having acquainted me that matters were so circumstanced in the office at present, that Sir Charles did not think it prudent to grant me any longer leave of absence. I went on, however, with the current business of the office, excepting what related to preparations against the Americans, until Monday, the 31st of July, when I delivered up my keys to Mr Boddington.”

Granville's situation, after he had resigned his employment in the Ordnance Office, was sufficiently singular. His resignation had in it all that is considered, in a worldly point of view, as an excess of imprudence. He had expended the remains of his paternal inheritance and the fruits of his employment in acts of bounty, and the protector of the helpless stood himself without the means of sustenance. But the cordial attachment of his brothers—all now prosperous—brought them instantly around him. In a family overflowing with mutual love and benevolence, the accession to their household of such a relation as Granville had ever been accounted a treasure, not a burden; they revered that obedience to conscience which had deprived him of his competency, and they strove to compensate his loss by every act of respect and kindness.

Soon after Mr Sharp's resignation, occurred the case of Millachip, a freeman of the city of London, pressed in the month of March 1777. His cause was instantly taken up by the common council, and an order was given by the Lord Mayor that an application should be made to the Admiralty to obtain his discharge. This application not being successful, a committee of the common council was authorized to proceed in taking such measures as they should think fit for procuring his immediate liberation. A writ of Habeas Corpus was then obtained by the city-solicitor from Lord Mansfield; and the impressed man having in the meantime been sent down to the

Nore, the city-marshal carried the writ on board the admiral's ship, then lying there, and Millachip was instantly given up, brought back to town, and discharged. But after the short interval of a fortnight Millachip was a second time impressed, and the committee, in consequence, ordered application to be made for another writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to the commander of the receiving vessel. Some objections were made by Judge Aston to the mode of proceeding adopted by the city in procuring the former writ. But Mr Dunning, the counsel, having explained and justified their conduct, the writ was granted, and the cause was brought before Lord Mansfield on the 7th of May 1777. It was finally ordered to stand over, and Millachip, in the meantime, was discharged on the recognizance of the city-solicitor; but the case was never brought to an issue. Although various memorandums demonstrate that Granville took a very active interest in this proceeding, it is difficult to ascertain, at so great a distance of time, in what degree either his communications with the members of the committee, or his example in the conduct of the negro causes might have influenced their measures. A report from the committee on cases of impressment appears among his papers, and there can be little doubt that, agreeably to his former custom, he circulated his own and General Oglethorpe's remarks among all those who were peculiarly concerned in the circumstance. It is not unlikely that the "Remarks on Impressed Seamen," generally attributed to him, were written at this time, though printed long afterwards.

In the course of his exertions concerning impressed seamen, his notes record an interview with Dr Johnson. "May 20th, 1770.—Called on Dr Johnson. Had a long debate with him about the legality of pressing seamen. He said it was a condition necessarily attending that way of life; and when they entered into it, they must take it with all its circumstances; and, knowing this, it must be considered as a voluntary service, like an inn-keeper who knows himself liable to have soldiers quartered upon him."

From the time that he published his tract "On Equitable Representation," he took a very active part in promoting the plan, then in public agitation, of parliamentary reform. He entered into an extensive correspondence with the committees of associations formed in various counties; and shortly afterwards, finding that his ideas of the legal duration of parliament did not coincide with those of several of the committees, he forwarded a printed circular letter to the petitioning counties, cities, and towns, addressed to their respective

general meetings, in which he strenuously maintained the doctrine of "Annual Parliaments, or more often if need be," in opposition to the proposal which had issued from the general meeting of the county of York, under the influence of the Rockingham party, in favour of triennial parliaments. Among his manuscripts appears an "Alphabetical List of Public Meetings for Parliamentary Reformation, to which Books were sent and Letters written to each Committee, by G. S." The list contains the names of forty-one general meetings and their respective chairmen—such was his unrelaxing assiduity in the prosecution of every measure which he conceived to be conducive to public good.

In 1783 Mr Sharp found himself called on for a renewal of his benevolent efforts in behalf of African slaves. The case which presented itself was of the greatest enormity and most atrocious description. The master of a slave-ship, trading from Africa to Jamaica, and having four hundred and forty slaves on board, had thought fit, on a pretext that he might be distressed on his voyage for want of water, to lessen the consumption of it in the vessel by throwing overboard one hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly among the slaves. On his return to England the owners of the ship claimed from the insurers the full value of those drowned slaves, on the ground that there was an absolute necessity for throwing them into the sea, in order to save the remaining crew and the ship itself. The underwriters contested the existence of the alleged necessity; or, if it had existed, attributed it to the ignorance and improper conduct of the master of the vessel. A contest of pecuniary interest then brought to light a scene of horrid brutality.

After numerous and unwearied endeavours on the part of the Quakers in America, and of the zealous Clarkson and Granville Sharp in England, in behalf of the slaves, the time had arrived when it appeared to be within the bounds of hope that an association of benevolent persons, protected by a congenial movement in the British parliament, might lead to a retrieval of the human character from the ignominy of the slave-trade. Endeavours were therefore used to collect, and unite in one body, the various parties who had severally, and almost independently of one another, begun to make exertions of a similar nature; and in the spring of 1787 special meetings were convened of a few men of eminent character, all of whom were friendly to the cause.

On the 22d of May a committee was chosen, consisting of twelve members, whose declared duty and purpose it was to promote, by every means in their power, an abolition of the

traffic in the human race. Granville Sharp was included in the committee. The incipient labours of the association were cheered by an important coincidence which occurred at this time. The efforts of the humane Anthony Benezet and other American Quakers had, by gradual advances, at length effected a general manumission of slaves among the whole body of men of their persuasion; and the year 1787, in which the committee was appointed in England for promoting the abolition of the trade, was distinguished in America by the gratifying circumstance of there not remaining a single slave in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker.

Eleven years had now elapsed since the criminality of the slave-trade was first adverted to in the House of Commons. It was in 1776 that a motion was made by Mr David Hartley, son of the celebrated physician and metaphysician, and member for Hull, the purport of which was, "That the slave-trade was contrary to the laws of God and to the rights of men." The motion was seconded by Sir George Saville. But the proposition failed entirely of support, and its very memory had nearly vanished. It was now resumed with a happier prospect. The trials which had occurred with regard to negroes in this country, had awakened a very general attention to the subject of African slavery; and although prejudice and interest still guarded the ground against the attempts of philanthropists, considerable access to liberal minds had been gained by the assiduous and affecting eloquence of these new pleaders in the cause of humanity. The committee for effecting an abolition of the slave-trade assumed its denomination in June 1787, and immediately dispersed circular letters, giving an account of the institution. These letters soon procured the friendly notice of the Quakers at large. In order to diffuse a more general knowledge of the subject, the committee deemed it right to adopt the publication of a work which Mr Clarkson had presented to them, entitled, "A summary view of the Slave-trade, and of the probable consequences of its Abolition." Numerous copies of this useful tract were dispersed, and the curiosity of the public became every day more excited by the authentic information thus unexpectedly laid before them. The new class of moral revolutionists in France warmly espoused the cause of the abolition. Brissot and Claviere—his friend and afterwards his fellow-sufferer under Robespierre's tyranny—requested to be admitted members of the association.

As Granville had continued unmarried, his brothers' houses were for many years his general residence; and it was not till the beginning of the year 1792 that he took chambers in the

Temple for the purposes of various business that pressed upon him. In the exercise of his religion, he was careful to preserve a behaviour free from ostentation; but it was at the same time firm, and profoundly reverential. As he rose early, his first employment was either reading the Holy Scriptures or chanting a portion of the Hebrew Psalms to his harp. His evenings were closed in the same manner. When in London, he regularly attended the service at St Paul's, and joined in the choral part. In the respective families of his relations he regularly attended, and generally read the morning and evening prayers from the Liturgy. Nothing was more remarkable in Mr Sharp's social intercourse than the firmness with which he delivered his most serious opinions on many ordinary occasions, and the unembarrassed simplicity with which he uttered them, blending religion with almost every topic, both in conversation and in writing. Some of his religious views were singular. The near approach of the millennium was a favourite idea with him; and his belief in Satanic influence was carried to an extraordinary length.

In the month of June 1813, having made an offer of some books to the Temple library, he thought it requisite to attend in person to the delivery of them, and proposed a visit to London for that purpose. Every argument which affection could dictate was urged to dissuade him; but all proved ineffectual. The offer of the family-carriage was then withheld, in the hope that forgetfulness might prevent the apprehended evil; but at breakfast-time the next morning he did not appear as usual, and on inquiry it was found that he was gone to London in the stage-coach. A servant was immediately despatched after him; but he had left his chambers also. He returned with the stage to Fulham in the afternoon; said he had packed and sent his books, but had had no food, and was nearly exhausted. His danger had been imminent. It appeared that the coachman who conveyed him to town, perceiving his altered state, had felt considerable anxiety on his account, and as soon as he had settled the business of the coach, he went in search of him to his chambers, at the door of which he found him, wandering about in a state of incertitude, being unable to guide himself to that part of the town that he designed to reach. He was easily persuaded by the coachman to go back to Fulham, and was thus happily preserved from more distressing accidents. On the day preceding his death, he breakfasted as usual with the family. His weakness was much increased; and he was several times compelled to lie down on his bed during the course of the afternoon. He appeared often to labour for breath. Night

and partial repose came on. In the morning his countenance was changed—in colour only; in expression it remained unaltered. About four o'clock in the afternoon he fell into a tranquil slumber, in which, without a struggle or sigh, he breathed his last.

His remains were, on the 13th of July 1813, deposited in the family vault at Fulham. The following epitaph, written by the Rev. John Owen, rector of Eaglesham in Essex, was placed on the north side of the tomb:—"Here, by the remains of the Brother and Sister whom he tenderly loved, lie those of Granville Sharp, Esq. At the age of seventy-eight, this venerable philanthropist terminated his career of almost unparalleled activity and usefulness, July 6, 1813; leaving behind him a name that will be cherished with affection and gratitude as long as any homage shall be paid to those principles of justice, humanity, and religion, which, for nearly half a century he promoted by his exertions and adorned by his example."—(*Fullarton's Lives of Eminent Englishmen.*)

SECT. VII.—CAPTAIN COOK AND SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

We have recorded the lives and enterprises of Sebastian Cabot and Captain Dampier, and have glanced at other eminent navigators. None of them excelled Captain Cook in professional adventure; few approached him in dignity of character, professional or personal; none equalled him in pure philanthropy of purpose and exalted services, rendered alike to savage and to civilized mankind.

Those acts of his which we admire the most were performed in connection with other scientific men named in this memoir, one of them placed at the head of the section in conjunction with himself. Sir Joseph Banks and Captain Cook, tracking the ocean and the earth from highest to lowest latitudes; unfolding new countries, carrying from shore to shore, to the far off islands and the continents untrodden by white man's foot, unbroken by delving man's spade, the seeds and roots of other islands and continents; sowing and planting them, and exchanging gift for gift of bountiful nature—transposing from zone to zone along the girdle of the globe, the plants and useful animals of one hemisphere into the blanks of the other—Sir Joseph Banks and Captain Cook taking up this work which Adam and Eve should have completed, but failed to perform, were rendering to nature, to man, to God, a service which, for aught we know, had not been rendered by human hands, to the same extent, from Adam's day to their own.

And though they voyaged but once round the world together, each continued, while he lived, to add new performances to the great office. Sir Joseph Banks living in the unhappy times of the French Revolution of 1789, in the reign of terror, and the reign of war and European ruin which ensued, never ceased, though a courtier of the King of England, to exchange the courtesies of science—the leaves of botany, the olive leaves of peace—with the republicans of France. And though rebuked by a bishop of Christianity, as we shall see, for seeking to have the good-will and fellowship of the French in time of war, though more of good-will and fellowship might have avoided war, he still retained the place of scientific brotherhood, still held in his hand, giving and receiving, the elements of concord.

James Cook was born at Marton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, 27th October 1728. His father was an agricultural servant, who, with his wife, bore a most unexceptionable character for honesty and industry. The village school mistress taught the boy to read; but at eight years of age his father, through his good conduct, was appointed to be bailiff of a farm near Great Ayton, belonging to Thomas Skottowe, Esq., who at his own expense put James to a day-school in that town, where he was taught writing and the first rules in arithmetic. The predilection of the lad inclined him for the sea; but as this stood contrary to the wishes of his parents, he was, soon after his twelfth year, apprenticed to William Sanderson, a general dealer in haberdashery, grocery, hardware, &c. at Staith, upon the coast, about ten miles north of Whitby. The youth's mind, however, continued more occupied upon maritime affairs than anything else, and though he faithfully discharged his duty to his master, he longed to be at sea. An opportunity occurred to favour his desire; Mr Sanderson cancelled his indentures, and left him to pursue his inclinations. Thus freed, he bound himself to Messrs John and Henry Walker, who owned the "*Free-love*," in which Cook embarked. She was principally engaged in the coal trade, but made a voyage or two to the north; and when his time was out, the youngster still continued to serve as a fore-mast-man till he was made mate of one of Mr John Walker's ships. During this period he evinced no particular marks of genius. His associates, however, were not exactly the class of persons to observe the real bent of his mind; they thought him taciturn, and sometimes sullen; but this doubtless arose from his studious habits and endeavours to acquire knowledge. As for practical seamanship, there could be no better school than a collier.

When in his twenty seventh year war broke out between

England and France, and Cook, who was then in the Thames, tried to escape the pressgang, which was sweeping the river of every seaman that could be picked up. This restraint, however, did not meet his views; he looked upon the service of his country as honourable, and at once entered for the "*Eagle*" of 60 guns, commanded by Captain Hamer, who, a few months afterwards, was superseded by Captain (subsequently Sir Hugh) Palliser. The young man's steady conduct and seaman-like qualities soon attracted this officer's attention. His knowledge of the coasts was excellent; and Mr Skottowe having applied to Mr Osbaldeston, M.P. for Scarborough, to exert his influence to raise Cook to the quarter-deck, by the joint interest of this gentleman, with Captain Palliser, a warrant as master was obtained on 10th May 1759, James being then in his thirty-first year. He joined the "*Grampus*," but she had a master already; he was then appointed to the "*Garland*," but she was abroad; and eventually he sailed in the "*Mercury*," to join the fleet under Sir Charles Saunders, then engaged in conjunction with General Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec. Here the peculiar talents of Mr Cook were called into active operation. The buoys in the navigation of the St Lawrence had all been removed by the French at the first appearance of the English fleet, and it was essentially necessary that a survey should be made of the channels, and correct soundings obtained, to enable the ships to keep clear of the numerous shoals. By the recommendation of his old commander, Captain Palliser, this onerous duty was confided to Mr Cook, who readily undertook it in a barge belonging to a 74. This could only be executed in many parts during the darkness of the night, on account of the enemy; and he experienced a narrow escape one night when detected, his boat having been boarded by Indians in the pay of the French, and carried off in triumph, he and his companions getting away just in time to save their lives and scalps. Through Mr Cook's judicious arrangements, the fleet reached the island of Orleans in safety; and he afterwards surveyed and made a chart of the St Lawrence, which, together with sailing directions for that river, were published in London.

On his return from Quebec, Mr Cook was appointed master of the "*Northumberland*," under Lord Colville, who was stationed as commodore at Halifax. Here he enjoyed much leisure during the winter; but instead of frittering it away in the frivolous or worse amusements of a seaport, he diligently employed it in studies suitable to his profession. No sailor can possibly advance beyond the ranks of an ordinary seaman unless he be acquainted with the theory as well as the practice of navigation; and to gain such knowledge he must attain a certain proficiency in mathematics. Aware of this, Cook began

by gaining an accurate knowledge of Euclid's Elements of Plain Geometry; and proceeded thence to the higher branches of mathematical study, including nautical astronomy. By these means he learned to take astronomical observations, to calculate a ship's progress, and to ascertain the degree of latitude and longitude at any given spot on the trackless ocean. In short, he became an accomplished mariner, ready for any office of trust. Besides improving himself in these useful branches of education, he possessed sufficient tact to cultivate urbanity of manner, and to gain the confidence and esteem of his acquaintance. This was a point of some consequence; for intellectual acquirements, without a polite and high moral bearing, are of small avail in the general intercourse of the world, and, personally, may do more harm than good. It is gratifying to know that Cook aimed at gentlemanly behaviour not less than skill in his profession; and to this commendable effort—which the most humble may practise—is perhaps owing not a little of his future success in life.

In 1762 the *Northumberland* was ordered to Newfoundland, to assist in the recapture of that island; and here the talents and assiduity of our hero were again conspicuous. Greatly improved by his winter's studies, he was now still more able to make nautical surveys, and these he carried on to a considerable extent on the coast of Newfoundland; laying down bearings, marking headlands and soundings, and otherwise placing on record many facts which proved highly advantageous to future voyagers, especially those engaged in fishing speculations.

Towards the close of this year (1762) Mr Cook returned to England, and was married at Barking, in Essex, to Miss Elizabeth Batts, who has been spoken of as a truly amiable and excellent woman. In the following year, through the intervention of Captain (afterwards Admiral) Graves, the governor of Newfoundland, who was well acquainted with Cook's worth, he was appointed to survey the whole coast of that island, which he accomplished with great ability, as well as Miquelon and St Pierre, which had been ceded to the French. Cook then returned to England, but did not remain long. His constant friend, Sir Hugh Palliser, assumed the command at Newfoundland, and took Mr Cook with him, bearing the appointment of marine surveyor, and a schooner was directed to attend upon him in his aquatic excursion. His charts and observations, particularly on astronomy, brought him into correspondence with the members of the Royal Society; and some scientific observations on the eclipse of the sun were inserted in the 57th volume of the Philosophical Transactions.

Here may be said to close the first chapter in Cook's life. We have traced him from the humble home of his father, an obscure peasant, through the early part of his career, till his thirty-fourth year, at which time he had gained a footing among the most learned men in England. The youthful aspirant will observe that this enviable point had not been reached without patient study. Cook could have gained no acquaintanceship with members of the Royal Society, nor could he have placed himself in the way of promotion, had he been contented to remain an illiterate seaman.

FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

Prepared by diligent self culture, Cook was ready for any enterprise which circumstances might produce. The project of a voyage of discovery, involving certain important astronomical observations, fortunately came under discussion while he was in a state of hesitation as to his future movements. The principal object of the expedition was to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the face of the sun, which could only be done somewhere in the Pacific or Southern Ocean. The transit was to happen in June 1769. The Royal Society, as interested in the phenomenon, for the sake of science applied to George III. to fit out an expedition suitable to take the observations. The request was complied with; and no other man being so well calculated to take the command, it was given to Cook. The appointment was quite to the mind of our hero, and he was soon ready for sea. He received the commission of a lieutenant from his majesty, and the "*Endeavour*," of 370 tons, was placed at his disposal. About this time Captain Wallis returned from his voyage of discovery, and reported Otaheite (now called Tahiti) to be the most eligible spot for the undertaking. That island was therefore fixed upon for the observation. Mr Charles Green undertook the astronomical department, and Mr Banks (afterwards Sir Joseph) and Dr Solander, purely through a love of science, and at great expense to themselves, obtained permission to accompany the expedition.

The "*Endeavour*" was victualled for eighteen months, armed with 12 carriage guns and 12 swivels, and manned with a complement of 84 seamen. Every requisite preparation was made for such a voyage that human foresight could suggest; trinkets and other things were put on board to trade with the natives; and on the 26th August 1768 they sailed from Plymouth Sound for the hitherto but little explored South Seas. On the 13th September they anchored in Funchal Roads, Madeira, and here commenced the researches and inquiries of the men of science.

From hence they departed on the night of the 18th ; and falling short of water and provisions on the Brazil coast, they put into the beautiful harbour of Rio Janeiro on the 13th November. The viceroy of this fine city could make nothing of the scientific intentions of the English, and was exceedingly troublesome and annoying. When told that they were bound to the South Seas to observe the transit of Venus, he could form no other conception of the matter than that it was the passing of the north star through the south pole. Numerous difficulties were thrown in the way of the departure of the voyagers after they had victualled and watered ; and when they sailed, shots were fired at them from the fort of Santa Cruz, a heavy battery at the entrance of the harbour ; and on inquiry, Mr Cook ascertained that the pass for the "*Endeavour*" had not been sent from the city. A spirited remonstrance was made, and the viceroy apologized.

On the 7th December the voyagers finally quitted this place, and on the 14th January 1769 entered the Straits of Le Maire, where the sea was running tremendously high, and on the following day anchored in the Bay of Good Success. Although the season was extremely inclement, yet the love of botany induced Mr Banks, Dr Solander, Mr Monkhouse the surgeon, and Mr Green the astronomer, to ascend the mountains in search of plants. They took with them their attendants and servants, with two seamen ; and after suffering severe hardships from the cold and the torpor it produced, they got back to the ship on the second day, leaving two black men, who had accompanied them, dead from the extreme severity of the weather. They could not be got on, but lay down to rest, and slept the sleep of death. Dr Solander with great difficulty was saved ; for although the first to warn others against the danger of reposing, yet he was eventually himself so overcome, that great exertion was required to force him along. They found the inhabitants on the coasts of these straits a wretched set of beings, with scarcely any covering ; dwelling in hovels made of sticks and grass, that offered no obstruction to the entrance of the wind, the snow, and the rain. They wandered about, picking up a scanty subsistence wherever they could, though they had not a single implement to dress their fish when caught, or any other food ; still they appeared to be contented ; and the only things they coveted from the English were beads and useless trinkets.

On the 26th January the "*Endeavour*" took her departure from Cape Horn, and before March 1st had run 660 leagues. Several islands were discovered in their progress, most of which were supposed to be inhabited ; and their beautiful verdure

and delightful appearance were highly gratifying to the sea-worn mariners. On the 11th April they came in sight of Otaheite, and in two days after anchored in Port Royal, (Matavia), to where the scientific gentlemen landed, and fixed upon a spot to serve them for an observatory. The natives displayed much friendship; but, to prevent collision, Mr Cook drew up a code of regulations by which communication and traffic were to be carried on. A tent was erected on the site proposed—the natives keeping outside a marked boundary—and a midshipman with thirteen marines were placed over it as guards. As soon as this was accomplished, the party proceeded to examine the interior of the island; but soon after their departure, one of the natives snatched away the musket of the sentry. The marines were ordered to fire, and the thief was shot dead. This greatly alarmed the natives; but in a day or two they again became familiarized and friendly. Mr Cook proceeded to erect a fort round the observatory, and mounted six swivel guns, which caused apprehensions amongst the chiefs; but the natives assisted in the works; and the commander displayed his sense of justice by publicly flogging the butcher for having attempted or threatened the life of a wife of one of the chiefs, who was particularly favourable to the English. On the first stroke of the lash, the natives earnestly solicited that the man should be forgiven; but Mr Cook deemed the example essential, and inflicted the whole punishment, greatly to the pain and regret of the compassionate Indians, many of whom shed tears.

As soon as the fort was completed, and the astronomical instruments were landed, they sought for the quadrant by which the transit was to be observed, but it was nowhere to be found. Diligent search was made, and a reward offered, but without success; and it was feared that the object of their long and arduous voyage would remain unaccomplished. At length, through the judicious intervention of Mr Banks, the quadrant was recovered from the natives, who had stolen it, and with great joy set up in its place. The approach of the time of observation produced anxiety and excitement; and hoping that the atmosphere would be clear and favourable, as well as to make assurance sure, Mr Cook established two other observatories—one on the island of Eimeo, under Mr Banks, and the other to the eastward of the main observatory, under Mr Hicks, (the master.) The morning of the 3d June was ushered in with a cloudless sky, and at the fort the transit was observed in the most satisfactory manner. The success of their enterprise was highly gratifying to the voyagers; but their pleasure was somewhat damped by the

violence which at times was engendered between the natives and the seamen, the former of whom proved to be dexterous thieves. But Mr Cook would not allow the plunderers to be fired upon, as he considered the issue of life and death to be of too important a nature to be intrusted to a sentinel, without any form of trial or show of equity; nor did he deem a petty theft as meriting so severe a punishment. On one occasion, however, he seized upon all their fishing canoes, fully laden; and though from motives of humanity he gave up the fish, yet he detained the vessels, under a hope that several articles which had been pilfered would be restored. But in this he was mistaken; for nothing of value was given up, and ultimately he released the canoes. Mr Cook and Mr Banks circumnavigated the island, and visited many villages, where they renewed acquaintance with the several chiefs. Exploring parties were also sent into the interior; and Mr Banks planted the seeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had collected for the purpose, (some of which are now in rich perfection;) and it was ascertained that parts of the island manifested appearances of subterranean fire.

On the 7th July the carpenters began to dismantle the fort preparatory to departure, and on the 13th the ship weighed anchor. Tupia, one of the principal natives, the chief priest of the country, with a boy of thirteen, having obtained permission from Mr Cook to embark for England, they took an affecting and affectionate leave of their friends. Few places possess more seductive influences than Otaheite. The climate is delightful, the productions of the earth bountiful and almost spontaneous, and the people, though addicted to pilfering, simple, kind-hearted, and hospitable.

After quitting Otaheite, the "*Endeavour*" visited the islands Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola, where Mr Cook purchased various articles of food. They also anchored at Owharre, and exchanged friendly gifts with the natives; and presents of English medals, &c., with inscriptions, were made to the King Oree. Ulietea had been conquered by the King of Bolabola, but he received the English with considerable courtesy. These visits occupied rather more than three weeks; and Uleitea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tabai, and Mawrua, as they lay contiguous to each other, were named by Mr Cook the Society Islands.

In their intercourse with the natives of these places, (all of which more or less resembled the manners and habits of the Otaheitans,) they were greatly assisted by Tupia, who was very proud of the power possessed by his new friends. On the

9th August the "*Endeavour*" quitted Ulitea, and on the 13th made the island Oheteoa, where they attempted to land; but the natives displayed so much hostility, that Mr Cook deemed it best to desist, and proceeded on his way to the southward in search of a supposed continent. On the 25th they celebrated the anniversary of their departure from England, and on the 30th they observed a comet; it was just above the horizon, to the eastward, at one A.M., and about half-past four, when it passed the meridian, its tail subtended an angle of forty-five degrees. Tupia declared that its appearance would be the signal for the warriors of Bolabola to attack the Uleiteans and drive them to the mountains. The vessel was now proceeding in a south-westerly direction from the Pacific towards New Zealand, Cook designing to return by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and thus circumnavigate the globe. On the 6th October land was discovered, which proved to be a part of New Zealand, where, having anchored, an attempt was made to open a communication with the natives, but without effect. Their hostile menaces and actions were all of a decidedly warlike nature, and it was only when they felt the superiority of fire-arms, of which they seemed to have been in ignorance, that they desisted from attacks. Tupia addressed them to be peaceable, and they understood his language; but he could not prevail upon them to put confidence in the English. A conflict took place, in which some of the New Zealanders were rather unnecessarily killed, and three boys were taken prisoners, who were treated with much kindness. As the place afforded nothing that the voyagers wanted, Mr Cook named it Poverty Bay. The boys were dismissed, and the treatment they had experienced induced some of the Indians to come off to the ship; but it appeared almost impossible to conciliate any one of them for long. Armed parties in large canoes assembled, and paddled off to the "*Endeavour*," under pretext of trading, but in reality to plunder; and in various instances it was deemed essentially necessary to fire upon them. They also seized Tayoeto, Tupia's boy, but were compelled to relinquish their prey through the effects of a musket ball; and the lad, taking advantage, leaped from the canoe, in which he had been held down, and swam back to the ship. Whilst standing along the coast, they fell in with the largest canoe they had yet seen: her length was $68\frac{1}{2}$ feet, her breadth 5 feet, and her depth 3 feet 6 inches. About this time the "*Endeavour*" narrowly escaped being wrecked on the rocks that lay some distance from the land; but by the skill and judgment of Mr Cook the danger was avoided. On the 9th November, Lieutenant Cook, accompanied by Mr Green.

landed with the necessary instruments to observe the transit of Mercury over the sun's disc, and this they performed to their entire satisfaction.

On the 5th December, whilst turning out of the Bay of Islands, it fell calm; and the "*Endeavour*" drifted so close to the shore, that notwithstanding the incessant roar of the breakers, they could converse with the natives on the beach. The pinnace was got out to tow the vessel's head round; but none expected to escape destruction, when a light land-breeze sprang up, and gradually they got clear from their perilous situation—the ground was too foul to anchor. About an hour afterwards, just as the man heaving the lead sang out "Seventeen fathoms," she struck on a sunken rock with force; but the swell washed her over, and she was again in deep water. On the 30th December they made the land, which they judged to be Cape Maria, Van Diemen's; and on the 14th January 1770, anchored in a snug cove in Queen Charlotte's Sound, to refit the ship and clean her bottom. Here they caught a great quantity of fish by means of the seine—at one time not less than three hundred weight at two hauls. They also found an excellent stream of fresh-water. In one of their researches they discovered an Indian family; and it is related that they had indisputable proofs of the custom of eating human flesh. The place they were in is described as very delightful; and Mr Cook took several opportunities of obtaining views from the high hills, and examining the nearest coast. The inhabitants were friendly disposed, and everywhere received the English with hospitality. Mr Cook selected a favourable spot, on which he erected a pole, and, having hoisted the union jack, named the place Queen Charlotte's Sound, in honour of her majesty. Coins and spike-nails were given to the Indian spectators; and after drinking the Queen's health in wine, the empty bottle was bestowed upon the man who had carried it full, with which he was much delighted.

On the 5th February he quitted this part of New Zealand, and proceeded to explore three or four islands in that locality, giving names to capes, headlands, rocks, &c. But this was not accomplished without considerable peril, on account of the strength of the currents. To one place he gave the name of Admiralty Bay, where he took in wood and filled his water-casks, and sailed again on the 31st March, intending to return home by way of the East Indies. On the 19th April they came in sight of New Holland, (or New South Wales, as it is now called,) and anchored in Botany Bay on the 28th, where they landed; but contrary to the will of two or three

Indians, who attacked the English with their lances, but, on the firing of muskets, fled. The voyagers left beads and trinkets in the huts of the natives, and during the time they remained at that place they were untouched. The inhabitants seemed utterly regardless of the ship, though they could never have seen such a spectacle before. Here they caught a fish called a string-ray, which, after the entrails were taken out, weighed 336 lbs.

Mr Cook prosecuted his discoveries in New South Wales with zeal and energy over a track of 1300 miles; but on the 10th June, near Trinity Bay, the "*Endeavour*" struck on a reef of coral rocks, and was compelled to start her water, throw her guns overboard, and use every mode to lighten the vessel; but with four pumps at work they could not keep her free; and every soul, though struggling hard for life, yet prepared for that death which now appeared to be inevitable. Upon these rocks the ship remained for nearly forty-eight hours, her sheathing ripped off, and the very timbers nearly rubbed through: by great exertion, however, she was got afloat at high tide, and it was found that she made no more water than when aground; and the men, by working incessantly at the pumps, kept her afloat. At the suggestion of Mr Monkhouse, a sail was fothered, (that is, pieces of oakum and other light materials were slightly stitched to it,) and being hauled under the ship's bottom, the loose pieces were sucked into the leaks, and in a great measure stopped the holes, so that they were enabled to keep the water in the hold under with only one pump. On the morning of the 17th, after running aground twice, they got into a convenient harbour for repairing their damages; and here, when the vessel was hove down, they found a large piece of rock in the ship's bottom, firmly jammed in the hole it had made, so as to exclude the sea, and which, if it had fallen out, must have proved fatal to all.

About this time the scurvy broke out amongst them, and attacked indiscriminately both officers and men; but the quantity of fish that was caught, allowing each man two pounds and a-half per day, together with turtle and herbs, somewhat checked its progress. Three of the turtle caught weighed together 791 pounds. The natives took but little notice of the voyagers at first, but afterwards became familiar; and on one occasion, when refused something which they wanted, one of them seized a firebrand, and going to windward of the place where the armourer was at work, set fire to the high grass, so that every part of the smith's forge that would burn was destroyed. A musket ball was fired at them, and they ran away. The fire was repeated in the woods shortly after-

wards, but without injury, as the stores and powder that had been landed were already on board. The hills all round burned fiercely for several nights.

It must here be mentioned that the injuries sustained by the vessel proved destructive to many valuable specimens that had been collected by Mr Banks, which had been put for security in the bread-room, but, the salt-water saturating a great portion, they were utterly spoiled. The place where they refitted was named by Mr Cook Endeavour River. Its entrance for many miles was surrounded with shoals, and the channels between them were very intricate. On the 4th August they quitted their anchorage, and it was not till the 24th that they got clear of the reefs and sandbanks. After another narrow escape from being wrecked, they made New Guinea on the 3d September, where they anchored, and went on shore; but the hostility of the natives, who resembled those of New South Wales, prevented intercourse. The latter used a sort of combustible material that ignited, without any report. The land looked rich and luxurious in vegetation, and the cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain trees, flourished in the highest perfection. Mr Cook made sail to the westward, contrary to the wish of his people, who wanted to cut down the trees to get their fruit, but which, through humanity to the natives, he could not permit. In pursuing their voyage, they fell in with islands which were not upon the charts, and passed Timor and others, intending to run for Java. On the 17th they saw a beautiful island, and found Dutch residents, with cattle and sheep. The crew of the "*Endeavour*" had suffered many privations and hardships, and the scurvy was making havoc among them, so that they complained of their commander not having put in at Timor; but now they obtained nine buffaloes, six sheep, three hogs, thirty dozen fowls, &c. with several hundred gallons of palm syrup. This was the island Savu, and the natives are spoken of as highly pure in their morals and integrity, and their land a perfect paradise.

On the 21st Mr Cook again sailed, and on the 1st October came within sight of Java, and on the 9th brought up in Batavia Roads, where they found the "*Harcourt*," East Indiaman, and once more enjoyed the pleasure of communicating with their countrymen, and obtaining news from home. As it was deemed necessary to re-examine the "*Endeavour's*" bottom, preparations were made for that purpose. Tupia and his boy Tayoeta were almost mad with delight on viewing the display of European manners on shore; but sickness assailed all who resided in the city, and the two Indians became its vic-

tins. In about six weeks there were buried Mr Spearing, assistant to Mr Banks, Mr Parkinson, artist, Mr Green, astronomer, the boatswain, the carpenter and his mate, Mr Monkhouse, and another midshipman, the sailmaker and his assistant, the ship's cook, the corporal of marines, and eleven seamen.

On the 27th December the "*Endeavour*," being completed, stood out to sea, and on the 5th January 1771 anchored at Prince's Island, but sailed again on the 15th for the Cape of Good Hope, where they arrived on the 15th March. On the 14th April Mr Cook resumed his voyage home, touched at St Helena, (1st May to 4th,) made the Lizard on the 10th June and anchored the next day in the Downs, where Mr Cook left her.

The arrival of Mr Cook, and the publication of sketches of his voyage, produced earnest desires to ascertain the full extent of his discoveries. Unknown parts had been explored; vast additions were made to geographical and scientific knowledge; the productions of various countries, together with the manners, habits, and customs of the natives, excited universal curiosity and deep interest; so that, when Dr Hawkesworth's account of the voyage, from the papers of Mr Cook and Mr Banks, was published, it was eagerly bought up at a large price. The astronomical observations threw much information on the theory of the heavenly bodies; navigation had eminently proved its vast capabilities: it had been in a great measure determined that no southern continent existed, or at least that neither New Zealand nor New South Wales were parts of such a continent; and most interesting accounts were given of the places visited and the perils encountered.

Mr Cook was promoted to the rank of commander; the Royal Society honoured him with especial favour and notice; and his society was courted by men of talent and research, eager for information. His worthy patrons, Sir Charles Saunders and Sir Hugh Palliser, were gratified to find their recommendations had been so well supported; the Earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty Board, paid him considerable attention; and his majesty George III. treated him with more than ordinary consideration. Captain Cook enjoyed sufficient to make him proud; but he was too humble in mind, too modest in disposition, and too diffident in manners, to cherish one atom of unbecoming self-estimation.

SECOND VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

The idea of the existence of a southern continent, or, as the learned call it, *Terra Australis Incognita*, had existed for

more than two centuries; and though Cook had sailed over many parts where it was said to be situated, without seeing land, yet his first voyage did not altogether destroy the expectation that it might yet be found. Besides, his discoveries in the South Seas had whetted the public appetite for still further knowledge on the subject. The king, well pleased with what had been done, wished more to be accomplished; and accordingly two stout ships, built at Hull, were purchased—the “*Resolution*,” of 462 tons, commanded by Captain Cook, with a complement of 112 persons, and the “*Adventure*,” of 336 tons, commanded by Tobias Furneaux, with a crew, including officers, of 81 souls. These appointments took place on 28th November 1771, and the most active exertions were immediately called into operation to fit them for the undertaking. Experience had taught Captain Cook what was most essential and requisite for such a voyage; not only for the comforts and preservation of his people from scurvy, not only for commerce with the natives, but cattle and seeds of various kinds, and numerous things which philanthropy suggested, were shipped for the purpose of spreading the advantages of propagation and fertility amongst the South Sea islands, the benefits of which have since been experienced by other voyagers in an eminent degree. The Admiralty engaged Mr W. Hodges as landscape painter; Mr J. R. Foster and son were appointed to collect specimens of natural history; and Mr Wales in the “*Resolution*,” and Mr Bayley in the “*Adventure*,” were sent by the Board of Longitude to superintend astronomical observations, for which they were furnished with admirable instruments and four excellent time-pieces.

The instructions given to Captain Cook were—“To circumnavigate the whole globe in high southern latitudes, making traverses from time to time into every part of the Pacific Ocean that had not undergone previous investigation, and to use his best endeavours to resolve the much agitated question of the existence of a southern continent.”

On the 13th July 1772 the two vessels quitted Plymouth, and after touching at Madeira for wine, and at the Cape de Verdes for water, crossed the line with a brisk south-west wind, and anchored in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on the 30th October. Here Captain Cook ascertained that the French were prosecuting discoveries in the South Seas, and that, about eight months before, two French ships had sailed about forty miles along land in the latitude of 48 degrees, but had been driven off by a gale of wind. He also learned that two others had recently left the Mauritius for a similar purpose. On the 22d November Captain Cook took leave of

Table Bay, and pursued his voyage for Cape Circumcision, but encountered very severe gales, which destroyed much of the live stock, and the people experienced great inconvenience from the intensity of the cold. The judicious management of the commander, however, prevented any fatal result. Warm clothing was given to the men; the decks below were kept well dried and ventilated, as well as warmed; and an addition was made to the issue of grog. On the 10th December they fell in with immense icebergs, some two miles in circuit at the edge of the water, and about sixty feet in height, over which the sea was breaking with tremendous violence. On the 14th the ships were stopped by a field of low ice, to which no end could be seen, either east, west, or south. On the 18th they got clear of this obstruction, but continued amongst the fields and bergs, with heavy gales of wind, till the 1st January 1773, when it was clear enough to see the moon, which they had only done once before since quitting the Cape. The fogs had been so impenetrable as to obscure the heavens. Various indications had induced a belief that land was not far distant, and Captain Cook had as near as possible pursued a course for the supposed Cape Circumcision. By the 17th January they had reached the latitude of 67 degrees 15 minutes south, where they found the ice closely packed from east to west-south-west, and further progress debarred, unless by running the hazard of getting blocked up, as the summer in this part of the world was rapidly passing away. The captain therefore desisted from penetrating further to the south, and returned northerly, to look for the asserted recently-discovered land of the French. On the 1st February they were in latitude 48 degrees 30 minutes south, and longitude 58 degrees 7 minutes east, where it was stated to have been seen; but nothing of the kind presented itself to view. He traversed this part of the ocean with similar results; and, during a dense fog, parted company with the "*Adventure*." On the 23d they were in latitude 61 degrees 52 minutes south, and longitude 95 degrees 2 minutes east; the weather thick and stormy, and the ship surrounded by drifting ice. Captain Cook therefore stood to the north in a hard gale, with a heavy sea, which broke up the mountains of ice, and rendered them, by their numbers, still more dangerous, especially in the long dark nights. On the 13th and 14th March the astronomers got observations which shewed the latitude to be 58 degrees 22 minutes south, and the longitude 136 degrees 22 minutes east, whilst the watches shewed the latter to be 134 degrees 42 minutes east. Captain Cook had become convinced he had left no continent south of him, and consequently shaped a course for New Zealand, to

refresh his men, refit his ship, and look for the "*Adventure*." He made the land, and anchored in Dusky Bay on the 26th March, after having been 117 days at sea, and traversed 3660 leagues without seeing any land; whilst during the whole time, through the arrangements and supplies of Captain Cook, scarcely a single case of scurvy occurred. From Dusky Bay they removed to another anchorage, where fish were plentifully caught, and the woods abounded with wild fowl; timber and fire-wood were close at hand, and a fine stream of fresh water within a hundred yards of the ship's stern. This place was named Pickersgill Harbour, in honour of the lieutenant who discovered it. The workmen erected tents for the forge, the carpenters, the sailmakers, coopers, and others, and a spot was selected for an observatory. Some tolerably good beer was manufactured from the branches and leaves of a tree resembling the American black spruce, mixed with the inspissated juice of wort and molasses.

On the 28th some of the natives visited them, and though at first shy, a friendly intercourse was subsequently established. Captain Cook surveyed Dusky Bay, where, in retired spots, he planted seeds, and left several geese. They also caught a number of seals, from which they procured a supply of oil. On the 11th May they quitted this place for Queen Charlotte's Sound, and on the 17th it fell perfectly calm, and they had an opportunity of seeing no less than six waterspouts, one of which passed within fifty yards of the "*Resolution*." The next day they made the Sound, where the "*Adventure*" had already arrived, and great was the joy at meeting. On the 4th June they celebrated the birthday of George III., and a chief and his family, consisting of ninety persons, were shewn the gardens which had been made, which they promised to continue in cultivation. A male and female goat were put on shore on the east side of the sound, and a boar and two sows near Cannibal Cove, which it was hoped would not be molested.

On the 17th June the ships sailed, and on the 29th July the crew of the "*Adventure*" manifested rather alarming symptoms of a sickly state. The cook died, and about twenty of her best men were incapable of duty through scurvy and flux; whilst at this period only three men were sick in the "*Resolution*," and but one of these with the scurvy. The difference was attributed to the people of the former ship not having fed much upon celery, scurvy-grass, and other greens, whilst at Queen Charlotte's Sound. On the 1st August they were in the supposed position of Pitcairn's Island, laid down by Captain Carteret in 1767; but as its longitude was incorrectly stated, they did not see it, but must have passed it about 15

leagues to the westward. On the 6th of August the ships got the advantage of the trade-winds at south-east, being at that time in latitude 19 degrees 36 minutes south, and longitude 131 degrees 32 minutes west. The captain directed his course west-north-west, passed a number of islands and rocks, which he named the Dangerous Archipelago, and on the 15th August came in sight of the Osnaburgh Islands, or Maitea, which had been discovered by Captain Wallis, and sail was immediately made for Otaheite, which they saw the same evening.

On the 17th the ships anchored in Oaiti-piha Bay, and the natives immediately crowded on board with fruits and roots, which were exchanged for nails and beads; and presents of shirts, axes, &c. were made to several who called themselves chiefs. Their thieving propensities, however, could not be restrained; and some articles of value having been stolen, Captain Cook turned the whole of them out of the ship, and then fired musketry over their heads, to shew them the hazard which they ran. It is worthy of remark, that though Tupia was well known to the islanders, yet very few inquired what had become of him, and those who did, on being informed that he was dead, expressed neither sorrow, suspicion, nor surprise; but every one anxiously asked for Mr Banks and others who had accompanied Captain Cook in his former voyage. With respect to the Otaheitans, considerable changes had occurred. Toutaha, the regent of the great peninsula of that island, had been slain in battle about five months before the "*Resolution's*" arrival, and Otoo was now the reigning chief. Several others friendly to the English had fallen; but Otoo manifested much friendship for them. A few days subsequent to their anchoring in the bay, a marine died; the rest of the men, who had laboured under sickness and scorbutic weakness, very soon recovered, through the supplies of fresh meat and vegetables.

On the 24th the ships got under weigh, and the next evening anchored in Matavai Bay, where the decks became excessively crowded by natives, who had visited them the voyage previous. On the following day Captain Cook went to Oparre to see Otoo, whom he describes as a fine well-made man, six feet high, and about thirty years of age. He was not, however, very courageous, for he declined accompanying the captain on board the "*Resolution*," as he was "afraid of the guns." The observatory was fitted up, the sick were landed, as well as a guard of marines, and the natives brought hogs and fruits to barter. Some disturbance that took place through two or three marines behaving rudely to the women, caused at the time considerable alarm; but the men were seized and punished, and tranquillity restored.

Everything being ready for sea, on the 1st September the ships quitted Matavai Bay, and visited the other islands. At Owharre, the chief brought the presents he had received from Captain Cook on the previous voyage, to shew that he had treasured them. He also behaved very generously, in sending the best fruits and vegetables that could be procured for the captain's table. The intercourse with the natives was proceeding very quietly, when, on the 6th, without any provocation, a man assailed Captain Cook with a club at the landing-place, and Mr Sparrman, who had gone into the woods to botanize, was stripped and beaten. The Indians expressed great contrition for this outrage; and the king, on being informed of it, not only wept aloud, but placed himself under the entire control of the English, and went with them in search of the stolen articles. His subjects endeavoured to prevent this, but his sister encouraged him; and not meeting with success, Oree insisted on being taken on board the "*Resolution*" to remain as a hostage. He dined with Captain Cook, and was afterwards landed by that officer, to the great joy of the people, who brought in hogs and fruits, and soon filled two boats. The only thing recovered belonging to Mr Sparrman was his hanger. The next day the ships unmoored, and put to sea for Huahaine, where they remained a short time, and received on board a native named Omai, who afterwards figured much in England.

The inhabitants of the Society Islands generally manifested great timidity: on some occasions they offered human sacrifices to a supreme being. The voyagers quitted this part of the world on the 17th, and sailed to the westward, and gave the name of Harvey's Island to land they discovered on the 23d. It was in 10 degrees 18 minutes south, and 158 degrees 4 minutes westward. By October 1st they reached Middleburg, and were welcomed with loud acclamations by the natives. Barter commenced; but the people ashore seemed more desirous to give than to receive, and threw into the boats whole bales of cloth, without asking or waiting for anything in return. After leaving some garden seeds, and other useful things, the ships proceeded to Amsterdam, where they met a similar reception; but Captain Cook putting a stop to the purchase of curiosities and cloth, the natives brought off pigs, fowls, and fruits in abundance, which they exchanged for spike nails. The island was extensively cultivated; there appeared to be not an inch of waste ground; and the fertility of the soil was excellent. Captain Cook paid a visit to the head chief, who was seated, and seemed to be in a sort of idiotic stupor, nor did he take the slightest notice of the captain or any one else. The inhabitants of these islands are described

as being of good shape, regular features, brisk, and lively; particularly the women, who were constantly merry and cheerful. Most of the people had lost one or both of their little fingers, but no reason could be gathered as to the cause of amputation.

The voyage was renewed on the 7th October, and on the 21st they came in sight of New Zealand, eight or ten leagues from Table Cape, when Captain Cook presented the chief with two boars, two sows, four hens, two cocks, and a great variety of seeds—wheat, peas, beans, cabbage, turnips, onions, &c.—and a spike nail about ten inches in length, with which latter he seemed to be more delighted than with all the rest put together. After beating about the coast in a variety of tempestuous weather, the "*Resolution*" anchored in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the 3d November; but the "*Adventure*" was separated from them in a heavy gale, and was never seen or heard of during the remainder of the voyage. In this place they made the best use of the means they possessed to repair the damage they had sustained, but, on examining the stock of bread, ascertained that 4992 pounds were totally unfit for use, and other 3000 pounds in such a state of decay that none but persons situated as our voyagers were could have eaten it. On inquiry after the animals left on the island by Captain Cook, most of them were preserved in good condition, with the exception of two goats that a native had destroyed. The articles planted in the gardens were in a flourishing condition. To his former gifts the captain now added many others, and placed them in such situations that they were not likely to be disturbed. Whilst lying here, complaint was made that some of the "*Resolution's*" men had plundered a native hut. The thief was discovered, tied up to a post, and flogged in the presence of the chiefs and their people, who expressed themselves satisfied with the punishment inflicted. It was a great principle with Cook to set an example of strict honesty.

In this second voyage the captain gained indisputable proofs that the New Zealanders were eaters of human flesh; but he firmly believed that it was the flesh of captives, or those who had been killed in battle.

Captain Cook quitted New Zealand on the 26th November, his ship's company in good health and spirits, and nowise daunted at the prospects of hardships they were about to endure in again searching for a southern continent or islands in high latitudes. They were not long before they once more encountered fields and islands of ice, and when in latitude 67 degrees 5 minutes, they were nearly blocked up. On the 22d

December they attained the highest latitude they could venture—this was 67 degrees 31 minutes south, and in longitude 142 degrees 54 minutes west; but no land was discovered. The crew of the "*Resolution*" were attacked by slight fever, caused by colds, but, on coming northward, it was cured in a few days; and on the 5th January 1774, when in 50 degrees south, there were not more than two or three persons on the sick list.

After traversing the ocean as far south as it was prudent to go, all the scientific men expressed their belief that ice surrounded the pole without any intervening land; the "*Resolution*" consequently returned to the northward to look for the island of Juan Fernandez. About this time Captain Cook was seized with a dangerous and distressing disease, and it was several days before the worst symptoms were removed. On his amending, there being no fresh provisions on board, and his stomach loathing the salt food, a favourite dog of Mr Forster was killed and boiled, which afforded both broth and meat, and upon this fare he gained strength. The "*Resolution*," on the 11th March, came in sight of Easter Island, situated in 27 degrees 5 minutes south, and 109 degrees 46 minutes west, where they remained a few days, and found the inhabitants very similar in appearance and character to the people of the more western isles. The place, however, afforded scarcely any food or fuel, the anchorage was unsafe, and the only matters worthy of notice were some rudely-carved gigantic statues in the interior. Captain Cook left Easter Island to pursue a course for the Marquesas, and got sight of them on the 6th April. During the passage the captain had a recurrence of his disorder, but it was neither so long nor so violent as before. The ship was anchored in Resolution Bay, at the island of St Christina, where thievery was practised equally as much as at the Society and other isles; and one of the natives was unfortunately killed whilst in the act of carrying away the iron stanchion of the gangway. They had now been nineteen weeks at sea, entirely on salt provisions; but still, owing to the anti-scorbutic articles and medicines, and the warmth and cleanliness preserved, scarcely a man was sick. Here they obtained fresh meat, fruits, yams, and plantains, but in small quantities; and the captain having corrected, by astronomical observations, the exact position of these islands, once more made sail for Otaheite. During the passage they passed several small islands, and discovered four others, which Cook named after his old commander, Sir Hugh Palliser. On the 22d April the anchor was again let go in Matavai Bay, where the usual process was gone through of

erecting the observatory to try the rates of the watches ; but no tent was required for the sick, as there was not a man ill on board.

During the stay of Captain Cook at this island, where refreshments of all kinds were readily obtained, and particularly in exchange for some red feathers that had been brought from Amsterdam, the old friendships were renewed with Otoo and other chiefs ; there was a constant interchange of visits ; and on one occasion the Otaheitans got up a grand naval review.

The large canoes in this part of the world are extremely graceful and handsome in display, particularly the double war canoes, with flags and streamers, paddling along with great swiftness, and performing their evolutions with considerable skill. No less than 160 of the largest double war canoes were assembled, fully equipped, and the chiefs and their men, habited in full war costume, appeared upon the fighting stages, with their clubs and other instruments of warfare ready for action. Besides these large vessels, there were 170 smaller double canoes, each of these last having a mast and sail, and a sort of hut or cabin on the deck. Captain Cook calculated that the number of men embarked in them could not be fewer than 7760, most of them armed with clubs, pikes, barbed spears, bows and arrows, and slings for throwing large stones ; in fact, strongly resembling the representations of engagements with galleys in the Mediterranean described some centuries before. The spectacle at Otaheite was extremely imposing, and greatly surprised the English.

Whilst lying at Matavai Bay, one of the islanders was caught in the act of stealing a water-cask. Captain Cook had him secured and sent on board the "*Resolution*," where he was put in irons, and in this degraded situation was seen by Otoo and other chiefs, who intreated that the man might be pardoned. But the captain would not comply with their requests ; he told them that "any act of dishonesty amongst his own people was severely punished, and he was resolved to make an example of the thief he had caught." Accordingly, the culprit was taken ashore to the tents, the guard turned out, and the offender being tied to a post, received two dozen lashes, inflicted by a boatswain's mate. Towha, one of the chiefs, then addressed the people, and recommended them to abstain from stealing in future. To make a further impression on them, the marines were ordered to go through their exercise, and load and fire with ball.

A few days afterwards one of the gunner's mates attempted to desert, and it was soon ascertained that he had formed an

attachment on shore, and if he had got away, the natives would have concealed him up the country. Indeed the temptations for remaining in this country were very great. Every requisite to sustain existence was abundant, the scenery splendid, the earth spontaneously fertile, the waters abounding with fish—in short, a few hours' exertion was sufficient to obtain a week's supply; and in a climate replete with health, a European might have rendered others subservient to his will, and lived without labour of any kind.

They next anchored in Owharre harbour, at Huaheine, and the former amicable intercourse was repeated. The stock of nails and articles of traffic being much reduced, the smiths were set to work to manufacture more. Whilst lying here, the voyagers had an opportunity of witnessing a theatrical representation, principally founded on an actual occurrence. A young girl had quitted Otaheite and her friends to accompany a seaman to Ulietea, and she was now present to see the drama. It described her as running away from her home, the grief of her parents, and a long string of adventures, which terminated in her returning to her native place, where her reception was none of the most gentle that can be conceived. The poor girl could hardly be persuaded to wait for the conclusion, and she cried most bitterly.

They parted from the inhabitants with much regret, and having called at Ulietea, they sailed past Howe Island, and discovered another nearly surrounded with reefs, to which the name of Palmerston was given. On the 20th July fresh land was seen, on which they went ashore, but found the natives fierce and hostile. The firing of muskets did not deter them; and one came close enough to throw a spear at the captain, which passed just over his shoulder. The captain presented his piece, but it missed fire, and the daring fellow was saved. They named this Savage Island. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 1 minute south, longitude 169 degrees 37 minutes west. From thence, after passing a number of small islets, they anchored on the 26th on the north side of Anamocka, Rotterdam, and commenced trade for provisions. But here, as at the other islands, frequent disputes and conflicts took place with the inhabitants on account of their thievish propensities. Here they ascertained that a chain of islands, some of which they could see, existed in the neighbourhood, forming a group within the compass of three degrees of latitude, and two of longitude, and which Captain Cook named the Friendly Isles; which designation they certainly merited, for the social qualities and conduct of the natives.

Pursuing their course westward, they came, on the 1st July,

to a small island, which, on account of the great number of turtle, was named after that amphibious creature; and on the 16th they saw high land; and after coasting it for two other days, they anchored in a harbour in the island of Mallecollo, to which the captain gave the name of Port Sandwich. At first the natives were hostile, but they were soon conciliated through the bland manners of Cook, and were found strictly honest in all their dealings. In fact, they are described as totally different to any they had yet visited. They were very dark, extremely ugly and ill-proportioned, and their features strongly resembled those of a monkey.

Soon after getting to sea, various other islands were seen and named; and an affray took place with some of the natives, in which two of them were wounded. A promontory near where the skirmish occurred they called 'Traitor's Head. After cruising about amongst the great number of islands in this locality, making observations and taking surveys, they steered towards New Zealand, to wood and water, previous to a renewal of their search to the southward; and on the 4th September discovered land, and entered a pleasant harbour on the following day, where they were well received. On the 13th they weighed again, and surveyed the coast, by which they ascertained that the island was very extensive; and, from certain peculiarities, Cook named it New Caledonia. Botany here received great accessions. Many plants were collected hitherto unknown; and both geography and natural history afforded much research to the scientific men. A small island, on which were growing some pine trees, received the name of Pine Island; and another was called Botany, from the great variety of specimens obtained.

The "*Resolution*," in proceeding for New Zealand, touched at an uninhabited island, abounding with vegetation, which was named Norfolk Island, and, on the 18th October, anchored in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound, where she refitted, and the captain completed his survey. Captain Cook had buried a bottle near the Cove when he was here before, and in digging now it was not to be found. It was therefore supposed that the "*Adventure*" had anchored here, and her people had removed it. On the 10th November they took their departure; and having sailed till the 27th in different degrees of latitude, from 43 degrees to 54 degrees 8 minutes south, Captain Cook gave up hopes of falling in with any more land in this ocean. He therefore resolved to steer for the west entrance of the Straits of Magellan, in order to coast along the south side of Terra del Fuego, round Cape Horn to the Straits of Le Maire. On 17th December he reached his first destination, and here

the scenery was very different from what they had before beheld. Lofty rocky mountains, entirely destitute of vegetation, craggy summits, and horrible precipices; the whole aspect of the country barren and savage. Yet near every harbour they were enabled to procure fresh-water and fuel; and there were plenty of wild fowl and geese. The inhabitants were wretchedly poor and ignorant.

On the 25th January 1778, having coasted it as far as 60 degrees south, the land presenting the same uncouth appearance, covered with ice and snow, and the ship exposed to numerous storms, and the people to intense cold, the course was altered to look for Bouvet's Land; but though they reached the spot where it was laid down on the charts, and sailed over and over it, yet no such place could be discovered; and after two day's search more to the southward, Cook came to the conclusion that Bouvet had been deceived by the ice, and once more bent his thoughts towards home—especially as the ship stood in need of repairs, and her sails and rigging were nearly worn out—and consequently steered for the Cape of Good Hope, where he heard of the "*Adventure*," and anchored in Table Bay on the 22d March. From thence he sailed again on the 27th April, touched at St Helena on the 15th May, and remained till the 21st, and then got under weigh for Ascension, where he arrived on the 28th; and from thence shaped a course for the remarkable island Fernanho de Noronha, which he reached on the 9th June; and pursuing his way for the western islands, anchored in Fayal Roads on the 14th July, where Mr Wales the astronomer determined the position of the Azores by a series of observations. The "*Resolution*" ultimately entered Portsmouth on the 30th, and Captain Cook landed after an absence of three years and eighteen days, having sailed 20,000 leagues in various climates, from the extreme of heat to the extreme of cold. But so judicious had been the arrangements for preserving health, and so carefully had Captain Cook attended to the ventilation between decks, and the mode of promoting warmth, as well as the food, &c. of the people, that he lost only one man by sickness. It may naturally be supposed that the wear and tear of the ship was great, her rigging scarcely trustworthy, and her sails unfit to meet a fresh breeze; yet so careful were the officers of the masts and yards, that not a single spar of any consequence was carried away during the whole voyage.

The fame of Captain Cook as a navigator, coupled with his marked humanity as a man, now exalted him in public estimation far beyond what he had before experienced; and the utmost anxiety prevailed to obtain intelligence relative to his

discoveries, &c. The King, to testify his approbation, made him a post captain nine days subsequent to his arrival; and three days afterwards a captaincy in Greenwich Hospital was conferred upon him, to afford an honourable and competent retirement from active service. On the 29th February 1776 he was elected a member of the Royal Society, and in a short time he was honoured with the gold medal; Sir John Pringle, in presenting it, uttering a well-merited eulogium on the worthy receiver. The account of his second voyage was written by Captain Cook himself, and manifests a plain manly style, giving facts rather than embellishments.

COOK'S LAST VOYAGE.

The discovery of a supposed north-west passage from the North Atlantic to the North Pacific oceans had for many years been ardently sought for both by the English and the Dutch. Frobisher in 1576 made the first attempt, and his example was in succeeding times followed by many others. But though much geographical information had been gained in the neighbourhood of Hudson's Bay, Davis' Straits, Baffin's Bay, and the coast of Greenland, yet no channel whatever was found. By act of parliament £20,000 was offered to the successful individual. But though Captain Middleton in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746, explored those seas and regions, the object remained unattained. The Honourable Captain Phipps (afterwards Earl Mulgrave) was sent out in the "*Racehorse*," accompanied by Captain Lutwidge in the "*Carcase*," (Lord Nelson was a boy in this latter ship,) to make observations, and to penetrate as far as it was practicable to do so. They sailed on the 2d June 1773, and made Spitzbergen on the 28th; but, after great exertions, they found the ice to the northward utterly impenetrable. Once they became closely jammed, and it was only with great difficulty they escaped destruction. On the 22d August, finding it impossible to get further to the northward, eastward, or westward, they made sail, according to the instructions, for England, and arrived off Shetland on the 7th September.

Notwithstanding these numerous failures, the idea of an existing passage was still cherished; and Earl Sandwich, continuing at the head of the Admiralty, resolved that a further trial should be made, and Captain Cook offered his services to undertake it. They were gladly accepted, and on the 10th February 1776 he was appointed to command the expedition in his old but hardy ship, the "*Resolution*," and Captain Clerke, in the "*Discovery*," was ordered to attend him. In this instance, the mode of experiment was to be reversed, and

instead of attempting the former routes by Davis' Straits or Baffin's Bay, &c., Cook, at his own request, was instructed to proceed into the South Pacific, and thence to try the passage by way of Behring's Straits; and as it was necessary that the islands in the Southern Ocean should be revisited, cattle and sheep, with other animals, and all kinds of seeds, were shipped for the advantage of the natives.

Every preparation having been made, the "*Resolution*" quitted Plymouth on the 12th July (the "*Discovery*" was to follow) taking Omai, the native brought from the Society Isles, with him. Having touched at Teneriffe, they crossed the equator on the 1st September, and reached the Cape on the 18th October, where the "*Discovery*" joined them on the 10th November. Whilst lying in Table Bay, the cattle were landed; and some dogs getting into the pens, worried and killed several of the sheep, and dispersed the rest. Two fine rams and two ewes were lost; but the two latter were recovered; the others could not be got back. Captain Cook here made an addition to his stock, and, besides other animals, purchased two young stallions and two mares.

The ships sailed again on the 30th November, and encountered heavy gales, in which several sheep and goats died. On the 12th December they saw two large islands, which Cook named Prince Edward's Islands; and three days afterwards several others were seen; but having made Kerguelen's Land, they anchored in a convenient harbour on Christmas day. On the north side of this harbour one of the men found a quart bottle fastened to a projecting rock by stout wire, and, on opening it, the bottle was found to contain a piece of parchment, on which was an inscription purporting that the land had been visited by a French vessel in 1772-3. To this Cook added a notice of his own visit; the parchment was then returned to the bottle, and the cork being secured with lead, was placed upon a pile of stones near to the place from which it had been removed. The whole country was extremely barren and desolate; and on the 30th they came to the eastern extremity of Kerguelen's Land. To his great chagrin, whilst exploring the coast, Captain Cook lost, through the intense cold, two young bulls, one heifer, two rams, and several of the goats.

On the 24th January 1777 they came in sight of Van Diemen's Land, and on the 26th anchored in Adventure Bay, where intercourse was opened with the natives, and Omai took every opportunity of lauding the great superiority of his friends the English. Here they obtained plenty of grass for the remaining cattle, and a supply of fresh provisions for

themselves. On the 30th they quitted their port, convinced that Van Diemen's Land was the southern point of New Holland. Subsequent investigations, however, have proved this idea to be erroneous, Van Diemen's Land being an island separated from the main-land of Australia by Bass' Straits.

On the 12th February Captain Cook anchored at his old station in Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand; but the natives were very shy in approaching the ships, and none could be persuaded to come on board. The reason was, that on the former voyage, after parting with the "*Resolution*," the "*Adventure*" had visited this place, and ten of her crew had been killed in an unpremeditated skirmish with the natives. It was the fear of retaliatory punishment that kept them aloof. Captain Cook, however, soon made them easy upon the subject, and their familiarity was renewed; but great caution was used, to be fully prepared for a similar attack, by keeping the men well armed on all occasions. Of the animals left at this island in the former voyages, many were thriving; and the gardens, though left in a state of nature, were found to contain cabbages, onions, leeks, radishes, mustard, and a few potatoes. The captain was enabled to add to both. At the solicitation of Omai he received two New Zealand lads on board the "*Resolution*," and by the 27th was clear of the coast.

After landing at a number of islands, and not finding adequate supplies, the ships sailed for Anamocka, and the "*Resolution*" was brought up in exactly the same anchorage that she had occupied three years before. The natives behaved in a most friendly manner, and but for their habits of stealing, quiet would have been uninterrupted. Nothing, however, could check this propensity, till Captain Cook shaved the heads of all whom he caught practising it. This rendered them an object of ridicule to their countrymen, and enabled the English to recognise and keep them at a distance. Most of the Friendly Isles were visited by the ships, and everywhere they met with a kind reception. On the 10th June they reached Tongataboo, where the king offered Captain Cook his house to reside in. Here he made a distribution of his animals amongst the chiefs, and the importance of preserving them was explained by Omai. A horse and mare, a bull and cow, several sheep and turkeys, were thus given away: but two kids and two turkey-cocks having been stolen, the captain seized three canoes, put a guard over the chiefs, and insisted that not only the kids and turkeys should be restored, but also everything that had been taken away since their arrival. This produced a good effect, and much of the plunder was returned.

Captain Cook remained at the Friendly Islands nearly three months, and lived almost entirely during that period upon fresh provisions, occasionally eating the produce of the seeds he had sown there in his former visits. On the 17th July they took their final leave of these hospitable people, and on the 12th August reached Otaheite, and took up a berth in Oaiti-piha Bay, which it was discovered had been visited by two Spanish ships since the "*Resolution*" had last been there.

Animals of various kinds had been left in the country by the Spaniards, and the islanders spoke of them with esteem and respect. On the 24th the ships went round to Matavai Bay, and Captain Cook presented to the King Otoo the remainder of his live stock. There were already at Otoo's residence a remarkably fine bull and some goats that had been left by the Spaniards, and to these the captain added another bull, three cows, a horse and a mare, and a number of sheep; also a peacock and hen, a turkey-cock and hen, one gander and three geese, a drake and four ducks. The geese and ducks began to breed before the English left the island.

They here witnessed a human sacrifice, to propitiate the favour of their gods in a battle they were about to undertake. The victim was generally some strolling vagabond, who was not aware of his fate till the moment arrived, and he received his death-blow from a club. For the purpose of shewing the inhabitants the use of the horses, Captains Cook and Clerke rode into the country, to the great astonishment of the islanders; and though this exercise was continued every day by some of the "*Resolution's*" people, yet the wonder of the natives never abated.

On the return of Omai to the land of his birth, the reception he met with was not very cordial; but the affection of his relatives was strong and ardent. Captain Cook obtained the grant of a piece of land for him on the west side of Owharre Harbour, Huaheine. The carpenters of the ships built him a small house, to which a garden was attached, planted with shaddocks, vines, pine apples, melons, &c., and a variety of vegetables, the whole of which were thriving before Captain Cook quitted the island. When the house was finished, the presents Omai had received in England were carried ashore, with every article necessary for domestic purposes, as well as two muskets, a bayonet, a brace of pistols, &c.

The two lads brought from New Zealand were put on shore at this place, to form part of Omai's family; but it was with great reluctance that they had quitted the voyagers, who had behaved so kindly to them.

Whilst lying at Huaheine, a thief, who had caused them great trouble, not only had his head and beard shaved, but, in order to deter others, both his ears were cut off. On the 3d November the ships went to Ulietea, and here, decoyed by the natives, two or three desertions took place; and as others seemed inclined to follow the example, Captain Clerke pursued the fugitives with two armed boats and a party of marines; but without effect. Captain Cook experienced a similar failure: he therefore seized upon the persons of the chief's son, daughter, and son-in-law, whom he placed under confinement till the people should be restored, which took place on the 28th, and the hostages were released. One of the deserters was a midshipman of the "*Discovery*," and the son of a brave officer in the service. Schemes were projected by some of the natives to assassinate Captain Cook and Captain Clerke; but though in imminent danger, the murderous plans failed.

At Bolabola, Captain Cook succeeded in obtaining an anchor which had been left there by M. Bouganville, as he was very desirous of converting the iron into articles of traffic. They left this place on the 8th December, crossed the line, and on the 24th stopped at a small island, which he named Christmas Island, and where he planted cocoa-nuts, yams, and melon seeds, and left a bottle enclosing a suitable inscription.

On the 2d January 1778 the ships resumed their voyage northward, to pursue the grand object in Behring's Straits. They passed several islands, the inhabitants of which, though at an immense distance from Otaheite, spoke the same language. Those who came on board displayed the utmost astonishment at everything they beheld; and it was evident they had never seen a ship before. The disposition to steal was equally strong in these as in the other South Sea islanders, and a man was killed who tried to plunder the watering party; but this was not known to Captain Cook till after they had sailed. They also discovered that the practice of eating human flesh was prevalent. To a group of these islands (and they were generally found in clusters) Captain Cook gave the name of the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the noble earl at the head of the Admiralty.

The voyage to the northward was continued on the 2d February, and the long-looked-for coast of New Albion was made on the 7th March, the ships being then in latitude 44 degrees 33 minutes north; and after sailing along it till the 29th, they came to an anchor in a small cove lying in latitude 49 degrees 29 minutes north. A brisk trade commenced with the na-

tives, who appeared to be well acquainted with the value of iron, for which they exchanged the skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, &c., both in their original state and made up into garments. But the most extraordinary articles were human skulls and hands not quite stripped of the flesh, and which had the appearance of having been recently on the fire. Thieving was practised at this place in a more scientific manner than they had before remarked; and the natives insisted upon being paid for the wood and other things supplied to the ships, with which Captain Cook scrupulously complied. This inlet was named King George's Sound; but it was afterwards ascertained that the natives called it Nootka Sound. After making every requisite nautical observation, the ships being again ready for sea on the 26th, in the evening they departed, a severe gale of wind blowing them away from the shore. From this period they examined the coast, under a hope of finding some communication with the Polar Sea; and one river they traced as high as latitude 61 degrees 30 minutes north, and which was afterwards named Cook's River.

They left this place on the 6th June, but notwithstanding all their watchfulness and vigilance, no passage could be found. The ships ranged across the mouth of the straits in about latitude 60 degrees, where the natives of the islands, by their manners, gave evident tokens of their being acquainted with Europeans—most probably Russian traders. They put in at Oonalaska and other places, which were taken possession of in the name of the King of England. On the 3d August Mr Anderson, surgeon of the "*Resolution*," died from a lingering consumption, under which he had been suffering more than twelve months. He was a young man of considerable ability, and possessed an amiable disposition.

Proceeding to the northward, Captain Cook ascertained the relative positions of the two continents, Asia and America, whose extremities he observed. On the 18th they were close to a dense wall of ice, beyond which they could not penetrate, the latitude at this time being 70 degrees 44 minutes north. The ice here was from ten to twelve feet high, and seemed to rise higher in the distance. A prodigious number of sea-horses were crouching on the ice, some of which were procured for food. Captain Cook continued to traverse these icy seas till the 29th; he then explored the coasts in Behring's Straits, both in Asia and America; and on the 2d of October again anchored at Oonalaska to refit; and here they had communication with some Russians, who undertook to convey charts and maps, &c. to the English Admiralty, which they faith-

fully fulfilled. On the 26th the ships quitted the harbour of Samganooodah, and sailed for the Sandwich Islands, Captain Cook purposing to remain there a few months, and then to return to Kamschatka. In latitude 20 degrees 55 minutes, the island of Mowee was discovered on the 26th of November; and on the 30th they fell in with another, called by the natives Owhyhee, and being of large extent, the ships were occupied nearly seven weeks in sailing round it and examining the coast; and they found the islanders more frank and free from suspicion than any they had yet had intercourse with; so that on the 16th Jan. 1779 there were not fewer than a thousand canoes about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs and other productions of the place. A robbery having been committed, Captain Cook ordered a volley of musketry and four great guns to be fired over the canoe that contained the thief; but this seemed only to astonish the natives, without creating any great alarm. On the 17th the ships anchored in a bay called by the islanders Karakakooa. The natives constantly thronged to the ships, whose decks consequently, being at all times crowded, allowed of pilfering without fear of detection; and these practices, it is conjectured, were encouraged by the chiefs. A great number of the hogs purchased were killed and salted down so completely that some of it was good at Christmas 1780. On the 26th Captain Cook had an interview with Terreoboo, king of the islands, in which great formality was observed, and an exchange of presents took place, as well as an exchange of names. The natives were extremely respectful to Cook; in fact, they paid him a sort of adoration, prostrating themselves before him; and a society of priests furnished the ships with a constant supply of hogs and vegetables, without requiring any return. On the 3d February, the day previous to the ship's sailing, the king presented them with an immense quantity of cloth, many boat-loads of vegetables, and a whole herd of hogs. The ships sailed on the following day, but on the 6th encountered a very heavy gale, in which, on the night of the 7th, the "*Resolution*" sprung the head of her foremast in such a dangerous manner that they were forced to put back to Karakakooa Bay in order to get it repaired. Here they anchored on the morning of the 11th, and everything for a time promised to go well in their intercourse with the natives. The friendliness manifested by the chiefs, however, was far from solid. They were savages at a low point of cultivation, and theft and murder were not considered by them in the light of crimes. Cook, aware of the nature of these barbarians, was anxious to avoid any collision, and it was with no small regret that he found that an affray had taken place between

some seamen and the natives. The cause of the disturbance was the seizure of the cutter of the "*Discovery*" as it lay at anchor. The boats of both ships were sent in search of her, and Captain Cook went on shore to prosecute the inquiry, and, if necessary, to seize the person of the king, who had sanctioned the theft.

The narrative of what ensued is affectingly tragical. Cook left the "*Resolution*" about seven o'clock, attended by the lieutenant of marines, a sergeant, a corporal, and seven private men. The pinnace's crew were likewise armed, and under the command of Mr Roberts; the launch was also ordered to assist his own boat. He landed with the marines at the upper end of the town of Kavoroah, where the natives received him with their accustomed tokens of respect, and not the smallest sign of hostility was evinced by any of them; and as the crowds increased, the chiefs employed themselves as before in keeping order. Captain Cook requested the king to go on board the "*Resolution*" with him, to which he offered few objections; but in a little time it was observed that the natives were arming themselves with long spears, clubs, and daggers, and putting on the thick mats which they used by way of armour. This hostile appearance was increased by the arrival of a canoe from the opposite side of the bay, announcing that one of the chiefs had been killed by a shot from the "*Discovery's*" boat. The women who had been conversing familiarly with the English, immediately retired, and loud murmurs arose amongst the crowd. Captain Cook perceiving the tumultuous proceedings of the natives, ordered Lieutenant Middleton to march his marines down to the boats, to which the islanders offered no obstruction. The captain followed with the king, attended by his wife, two sons, and several chiefs. One of the sons had already entered the pinnace, expecting his father to follow, when the king's wife and others hung round his neck, and forced him to be seated near a double canoe, assuring him that he would be put to death if he went on board the ship.

Whilst matters were in this position, one of the chiefs was seen with a dagger partly concealed under his cloak lurking about Captain Cook, and the lieutenant of marines proposed to fire at him; but this the captain would not permit; but the chief closing upon them, the officer of marines struck him with his firelock. Another native grasping the sergeant's musket, was forced to let go by a blow from the lieutenant. Captain Cook, seeing the tumult was increasing, observed, "that if he were to force him, the king off, it could only be done by sacrificing the lives of many of his people;" and was about to give orders to re-embark, when a man flung a stone

at him, which he returned by discharging small shot from one of the barrels of his piece. The man was but little hurt, and brandishing his spear, with threatenings to hurl it at the captain, the latter, unwilling to fire with ball, knocked the fellow down, and then warmly expostulated with the crowd for their hostile conduct. At this moment a man was observed behind a double canoe in the act of darting a spear at Captain Cook, who promptly fired, but killed another who was standing by his side. The sergeant of marines, however, instantly presented, and brought down the native whom the captain had missed. The impetuosity of the islanders was somewhat repressed; but being pushed on by those in the rear, who were ignorant of what was passing in front, a volley of stones was poured in amongst the marines, who, without waiting for orders, returned it with a general discharge of musketry, which was directly succeeded by a brisk fire from the boats. Captain Cook expressed much surprise and vexation: he waved his hand for the boats to cease firing, and to come on shore to embark the marines. The pinnace unhesitatingly obeyed; but the lieutenant in the launch, instead of pulling in to the assistance of his commander, rowed further off at the very moment that the services of himself and people were most required. Nor was this all the mischief that ensued; for, as it devolved upon the pinnace to receive the marines, she became so crowded, as to render the men incapable of using their firearms. The marines on shore, however, fired; but the moment their pieces were discharged, the islanders rushed *en masse* upon them, forced the party into the water, where four of them were killed, and the lieutenant wounded. At this critical period Captain Cook was left entirely alone upon a rock near the shore. He, however, hurried towards the pinnace, holding his left arm round the back of his head, to shield it from the stones, and carrying his musket under his right. An islander, armed with a club, was seen in a crouching posture cautiously following him, as if watching for an opportunity to spring forward upon his victim. This man was a relation of the king's, and remarkably agile and quick. At length he jumped forward upon the captain, and struck him a heavy blow on the back of his head, and then turned and fled. The captain appeared to be somewhat stunned. He staggered a few paces, and, dropping his musket, fell on his hands and one knee; but whilst striving to recover his upright position, another islander rushed forward, and with an iron dagger stabbed him in the neck. He again made an effort to proceed, but fell into a small pool of water not more than knee-deep, and numbers instantly ran to the spot, and

endeavoured to keep him down ; but by his struggles he was enabled to get his head above the surface, and casting a look towards the pinnace, (then not more than five or six yards distant,) seemed to be imploring assistance. It is asserted that, in consequence of the crowded state of the pinnace, (through the withdrawal of the launch,) the crew of that boat were unable to render any aid : but it is also probable that the emergency of this unexpected catastrophe deprived the English of that cool judgment which was requisite on such an occasion. The islanders, perceiving that no help was afforded, forced him under water again, but in a deeper place ; yet his great muscular power once more enabled him to raise himself and cling to the rock. At this moment a forcible blow was given with a club, and he fell down lifeless. The savages then hauled his corpse upon the rock, and ferociously stabbed the body all over, snatching the dagger from each other's hands to wreak their sanguinary vengeance on the slain. The body was left some time exposed upon the rock ; and, as the islanders gave way, through terror at their own act and the fire from the boats, it might have been recovered entire. But no attempt of the kind was made, and it was afterwards, together with the marines, cut up, and the parts distributed amongst the chiefs. The mutilated fragments were subsequently restored, and committed to the deep with all the honours due to the rank of the deceased. Thus (February 14, 1779) perished, in an inglorious brawl with a set of savages, one of England's greatest navigators, whose services to science have never been surpassed by any man belonging to his profession. It may almost be said that he fell a victim to humanity ; for if, instead of retreating before his barbarous pursuers with a view to spare their lives, he had turned revengefully upon them, his fate might have been very different.

The death of their commander was felt to be a heavy blow by the officers and seamen of the expedition. With deep sorrow the ships' companies left Owhyhee, where the catastrophe had occurred, the command of the "*Resolution*" devolving on Captain Clerke, and Mr Gore acting as commander of the "*Discovery*." After making some further exploratory searches among the Sandwich Islands, the vessels visited Kamschatka and Behring's Straits. Here it was found impossible to penetrate through the ice either on the coast of America or that of Asia, so that they returned to the southward ; and on the 22d August 1779 Captain Clerke died of consumption, and was succeeded by Captain Gore, who in his turn gave Lieutenant King an acting order in the "*Discovery*." After a second

visit to Kamschatka, the two ships returned by way of China, remained some time at Canton, touched at the Cape, and arrived at the Nore, 4th October 1780, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days, during which the "*Resolution*" lost only five men by sickness, and the "*Discovery*" did not lose a single man.

By this, as well as the preceding voyages of Cook, a considerable addition was made to a knowledge of the earth's surface. Besides clearing up doubts respecting the Southern Ocean, and making known many islands in the Pacific, the navigator did an inestimable service to his country in visiting the coasts of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, and Norfolk Island—all now colonial possessions of Britain, and which promise at no distant day to become the seat of a large and flourishing nation of Anglo-Australians—the England of the southern hemisphere.

The intelligence of Captain Cook's death was received with melancholy regret in England. The king granted a pension of L.200 per annum to his widow, and L.25 per annum to each of the children; the Royal Society had a gold medal struck in commemoration of him; and various other honours at home and abroad were paid to his memory. "Thus, by his own persevering efforts," as has been well observed by the author of the Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties, "did this great man raise himself from the lowest obscurity to a reputation wide as the world itself, and certain to last as long as the age in which he flourished shall be remembered by history. But better still than even all this fame—than either the honours which he received while living, or those which, when he was no more, his country and mankind bestowed upon his memory—he had exalted himself, in the scale of moral and intellectual being; had won for himself, by his unwearied striving, a new and nobler nature, and taken a high place among the instructors and benefactors of mankind."

SECT. VIII.—CAPTAIN COOK AND SIR JOSEPH BANKS.—CONTINUED.

Sir Joseph Banks, the son of William Banks, Esq. of Revesby Abbey, Lincolnshire, was born in London on the 13th of February 1743. He was educated at Harrow and Eton, and at Christ's Church, Oxford. He inherited an ample fortune from his father, who died in 1761. But he did not repose upon it, to live the life of a wealthy worthless gentleman. While yet a boy, natural history in all its branches

had been a study to him: when grown to the years of manhood, he pursued the study with all the vigour of strong intellect—with all the facilities which wealth of money afforded him. In 1766 he made a voyage to Newfoundland in company with Lieutenant Phipps, (afterwards Lord Mulgrave.) In 1768, when Captain Cook was appointed to undertake the voyage which made the circuit of the world, Mr Banks obtained permission to accompany him. The other scientific men were selected for the voyage and provided for it by Mr Banks. His preparations for himself and them, for science, for his country, for mankind, for posterity, were on a large and liberal scale. The friendly intercourse which he cultivated with the inhabitants who bore the name and outward appearance of savages, reduced savagism to civility. He gave them domestic animals, utensils, implements, plants, seeds, and, for the credit of his country and mankind, he conciliated them with a benevolence to which neither his country nor mankind has a parallel. In return for the benefits which from Europe and the European colonies he conferred on the primitive races of unartificial men, he carried to Europe and its colonies the plants which were the natural products of the islands in the Southern seas, inhabited by the unartificial men. He gave the West Indies the sugar cane and the bread-fruit tree; and confined not his gifts to the narrow policy of the times, which snarled at a service done to another than his own nation.

After returning from the first voyage of Captain Cook, he went, in 1772, to Iceland. Mr Van Troil, a Swedish clergyman, who formed one of the scientific party, published the researches and results of the expedition; the simplicity of Mr Banks' nature not inciting him to seek the fame, as the amplitude of his fortune did not necessitate him to seek the resources, of authorship.

After returning from Iceland, Mr Banks undertook no distant expeditions; but he promoted his benevolent and delightful science not the less effectually by his correspondence with naturalists in all parts of the world. He sent out other inquirers and collectors at his own expense; and by his influence with George III. and the governments of his day, caused some part of the public money to be given for the most benevolent of purposes—the transposing, transplanting, and diffusion of the products of nature. How small a part of the public money was devoted to this world-wide service, while such heaps, masses of treasure, were devoted to war, to its crimes, to the wreck of commerce and the ruin of humanity, reason and pity can only now unite to deplore. Nor is the national treasure.

devoted much more wisely now in 1848 than it was in the days of Mr Banks, when he could only obtain the grant of a fraction of it for purposes the most benevolent and reproductive of benefits. Cotton, the staple of the greatest industrial enterprise of Britain, has fallen so far short of the consumption and demand for it throughout Europe, that enterprise is arrested—the trade languishes. India, the colony of Britain, over-run with British armies; her Hindoo people eaten up with military expenses; her fertile soils trampled by the hoofs and wheels of war, might grow all the cotton which all the factories of Britain—built or to be built—could spin and weave; but there is no Sir Joseph Banks to do for cotton what he did for sugar; and the public money sends not to India cotton seeds, implements, skilled cultivators, teachers of the Hindoos; but more demands for Hindoo taxes to pay for past and provide for prospective Indian wars.

In 1781 Mr Banks was advanced to the baronetage, and in 1795 he received the order of the Bath. In 1797 he became a privy councillor. He had been, shortly after his return from Iceland, elected to the presidency of the Royal Society, but not without the violent opposition of the bigotted and the narrow minded, who understood not the dignity and benevolence of that science which he cultivated, and which, by his practical application of it to the service of the world, has raised him to the highest rank of public benefactors. One of his opponents, and perhaps the most formidable, was the talented, but captious polemical disputant, Bishop Horsley. It is written of Sir Joseph Banks that "his influence with the king enabled him to perform some valuable services to men of science throughout Europe, during the long interruption of friendly communication betwixt Great Britain and the continent. An eminent member of the French Institute, in his eloge upon Banks, asserts that no less than ten times, different collections of plants addressed to the Jardin du Roi at Paris, but which had been captured by English vessels, were restored by Sir Joseph's intercession to their original destination."

In 1802 the National Institute of France elected him one of their eight foreign associates. This distinction and the letter to the Institute which acknowledged his thanks, roused Bishop Horsley, once again, whose antipathy for a time had slumbered. The bishop's letter, publicly addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, pays the greatness of his public services such homage in the very fierceness of its censure, that we transfer it for the reader's use at full length.

“ *To Sir Joseph Banks, &c. &c.*

“ Sir,—The following article, extracted from the official French paper of the 18th instant, is not only so little honourable to your own character, but so insulting to the society over which you have long presided, and so repugnant to the genuine feelings of an Englishman, that the public voice demands from you an explanation of the letter, if it be authentic, or a disavowal of it, if it be a forgery.

“ *Letter of Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society of London, to the President and Secretaries of the National Institute of France.*

“ LONDON, January 21, 1802.

“ Citizens,—Be pleased to offer to the National Institute my warmest thanks for the honour they have done me, in conferring upon me the title of associate of this learned and distinguished body. Assure, at the same time, my respectable brothers, that I consider this mark of their esteem as the highest and most enviable literary distinction which I could possibly attain. To be the first elected to be an associate of the first literary society in the world, surpasses my most ambitious hopes; and I cannot be too grateful towards a society which has conferred upon me this honour, and towards a nation of which it is the literary representative; a nation which, during the most frightful convulsions of the late most terrible revolution, never ceased to possess my esteem; being always persuaded, even during the most disastrous periods, that it contained many good citizens, who would infallibly get the upper hand, and who would re-establish in the hearts of their countrymen the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour. Receive more especially, citizens, my warmest acknowledgments for the truly polite-manner in which you communicated this agreeable intelligence.—I am, with sincere esteem for your distinguished talents, &c. JOSEPH BANKS.’

“ Now, sir, notwithstanding my disgust at this load of filthy adulation, I shall trouble you with some calm remarks upon it. Supposing your acceptance of the nomination to be perfectly consistent with your dignity, (which, however, I deny,) there would be no material objection to the first and concluding paragraphs of your letter, which would have been amply sufficient for the purpose of acknowledgment; but the intermediate part is highly reprehensible: it is replete with sentiments which are a compound of servility, disloyalty, and falsehood; sentiments which ought never to be conceived by an English

heart, never written by an English hand, and, least of all, by yours, distinguished as you are by repeated (out of respect to his majesty I will not say unmerited) marks of royal favour, and elevated to a station in which the country might be excused for looking up to you as the jealous guardian, not the betrayer, of its literary credit. Your 'respectable brothers' of the French Institute may, perhaps, be intoxicated by the incense which you have lavished before their altar of atheism and democracy; for, although they were companions of the respectable Bonaparte in his expeditions, and plundered libraries and cabinets with as much alacrity and as little scruple as he displayed in treasuries and in churches, I do not believe that the ungrateful nations whom they robbed ever composed such a brilliant eulogium on their talents and their virtues. No, sir; it was reserved for the head of the Royal Society of London to assure an exotic embryo academy that he is more proud of being a mere associate of the latter than president of the former; that he considers their election of him as 'the highest and most enviable literary distinction which he could possibly attain;' and that he deems them the 'first literary society in the world.' Sir, I have read, with pleasure and with profit, many volumes published by the Royal Society, and, with due submission to you, I assert that the cultivation of science is more indebted to their exertions than to those of any institution whatsoever. But I am yet to learn the merits of this novel association of revolutionary philosophers into which you have enlisted. What acts, but acts of robbery, have we seen of theirs? Where are the proofs of their pre-eminence? It is incumbent on you to produce those proofs, and to convince the British literati that your contempt of them is just. But the plenitude of your joy admits no consideration for English societies or the English nation. You exult in your new honours, and your gratitude knows no limits but those of France; it overleaps the cradle of the infant institute, and expands itself throughout a nation which you say has 'never ceased to possess your esteem during the most frightful convulsions of the revolution; being always persuaded, even during the most disastrous periods, that it contained many good citizens, who would infallibly get the upper hand, (as you elegantly express it,) and who would re-establish in the hearts of their countrymen the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour.' Really, sir, I know not which excites the greater admiration, the impetuous torrent of your esteem, which bears away the feeble impediments of loyalty, patriotism, morality, and religion, or the wonderful sagacity of your prognostics, some of which are

accomplished, and for the rest we must wait for the consul's leisure. The good citizen Bonaparte has already got the upper hand, but when will he re-establish the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour, in the hearts of the republican Frenchman (where I suspect they never had much foundation) your penetration only can foresee. As to religion, you seem yourself to despair of its restoration, since you do not even mention it; or perhaps you deemed it a matter of too little importance to merit the consideration of philosophers. I must not omit another observation, that the French people 'never ceased to possess your esteem during the most frightful convulsions of the revolution.' There is a singular coincidence between the sentiment and the time at which it is uttered. Your letter is dated 21st January. Sir, the 21st of January was the day on which the ill-fated Louis XVI. was executed by his treacherous subjects, and it is the anniversary of that day which you select to assure his assassins that they 'never ceased to possess your esteem !!!' I will not assert that you designedly combined the declaration and the date; but the French jacobins are too quick-sighted not to remark the circumstance, and to deduce their inference; and the English jacobins will do the same: nay, I verily believe that this circumstance, together with an opportunity (which they are ever ready to embrace) of wounding the pride of Englishmen, were the motives which induced the publication of your letter. But, after all, sir, why this display of gratitude? You must acknowledge it to be at least superfluous; because the French nation, by electing you a member of their institute, merely discharged an old account. You understand me, sir; but as the public are probably not so well informed, I must solicit their attention to the following anecdote:—Soon after the judicial murder of Louis XVI. one of the officers who accompanied the unfortunate La Perouse returned to Europe with numerous specimens of natural history, collected during the early part of his voyage of discovery. In these latitudes he first obtained intelligence of the revolution, and being a man of honour, felt that he was accountable only to the crown of France, from which he had accepted his commission. Accordingly he brought his vessel to an English port, from whence, by permission of our government, the cargo was conveyed to London, and committed to the custody of a nobleman, who, having communicated the circumstance to Louis XVIII., was instructed to offer to the queen any part of the curiosities of which her majesty might approve, and to present the remainder to the British Museum. You must remember, sir, that,

in pursuance of these instructions, the entire (or nearly the entire) collection was confided to you, in order to be deposited in the museum; and you cannot forget that you disposed of it by sending it all to France, with no authority but your own, with no pretence except that the philosophers of the two nations were not at war. Thus, sir, you imposed an obligation on the French which they have repaid, it seems, to your exquisite gratification. By the sacrifice of what duties and what principles that obligation was imposed it is not for me to say; but I will without hesitation assert, that your acknowledgment of its discharge has brought disgrace upon your country and discredit on the Royal Society, the guardianship of whose honour was confided to you by your sovereign.—I am, sir, &c. MISOGALLUS.”

Sir Joseph Banks died on the 19th of June 1820, after a lingering illness, which he endured with much patience and even cheerfulness. His magnificent library of natural history, of which an admirable catalogue was compiled by his librarian, in five volumes octavo, he bequeathed to the British Museum. His published writings are neither very numerous nor very important. They consist of a few papers in the Philosophical Transactions, the “*Archæologia*,” and some other periodical works, and an essay on the causes of Mildew, first published in 1803.

SECT. IX.—ARTHUR YOUNG AND THE CONDITION OF IRELAND.

It was said of Sir Joseph Banks and of Arthur Young that they could obtain the liberation of any British prisoner during the French War from the service rendered by them to science.

Arthur Young was born in the year 1741. His father, Dr Young, was a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, prebendary of Canterbury, and chaplain to Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, from whom the subject of this memoir took his Christian name.

His attention was early drawn towards natural science; but after attaining manhood he chiefly devoted himself to the study of political economy, and theoretical and practical agriculture. At this period agriculture had scarcely engaged the attention of philosophers in this country; the field was, in a great measure, new, and from the immense importance of the subject, and its intimate connection with political economy, promised to reward the attention and talents that might be bestowed upon it. Mr Young, with an ardour which no dis-

appointments could damp, within six years after his marriage, he had pursued this study with so much success, and collected such a mass of important information, (although, as we understand, thus far, with very little or no pecuniary advantage to himself,) that he was enabled to publish several considerable works, proposing various improvements, and exhibiting the results of very extensive observations.

The chief of these works consisted of his northern, southern, and eastern tours through England. The first consisted of five octavo volumes, and the others were in proportion. The valuable and important contents of these productions arrested the attention of his countrymen, and excited a considerable degree of interest in the minds of many extensive landholders and farmers. The fame of his writings passed to the continent of Europe, and the author had the honour of seeing, we believe, all these works translated into the Russian language, by the order of Queen Catherine. Soon after, Mr Young took several young Russians under his care, to receive practical instruction in the best system of English farming. The success which had attended his tours through England, and the valuable stock of information thereby gained, induced him to turn his attention to Ireland—a country remarkable for its fertility, and, from the low and neglected state of agriculture, promising amply to repay the attention of the philanthropist and philosopher. He therefore undertook a tour through Ireland, and, in 1778, published two volumes in octavo, consisting of facts and suggestions relating to the internal economy of that country.

We select some of his remarks on the condition of Ireland then past and then present; not alone as specimens of his work, but as introductory to our sections on Irish trade. He says, "It must be very apparent to every traveller through that country, that the labouring poor are treated with harshness, and are, in all respects, so little considered, that their want of importance seems a perfect contrast to their situation in England, of which country, comparatively speaking, they reign the sovereigns. The age has improved so much in humanity, that even the poor Irish have experienced its influence, and are every day treated better and better; but still the remnant of the old manners, the abominable distinction of religion, united with the oppressive conduct of the little country gentlemen, or rather vermin of the kingdom, who never were out of it, altogether bear still very heavy on the poor people, and subject them to situations more mortifying than we ever behold in England. The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot who

yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but that of his will. To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm; the language of law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery. There is too much of this contradiction in Ireland; a long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission; speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of written liberty. Landlords that have resided much abroad, are usually humane in their ideas, but the habit of tyranny naturally contracts the mind; so that, even in this polished age, there are instances of a severe carriage towards the poor, which is quite unknown in England.

“A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant, labourer, or cottar dares to refuse to execute. Nothing satisfies him but an unlimited submission. Disrespect, or anything tending towards sauciness, he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip, with the most perfect security. A poor man would have his bones broken if he offered to lift his hand in his own defence. Knocking down is spoken of in the country in a manner that makes an Englishman stare. Landlords of consequence have assured me that many of their cottars would think themselves honoured by having their wives or daughters sent for to the bed of their master, a mark of slavery that proves the oppression under which such people must live. Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of people being made free with without any apprehension of the justice of a jury. But let it not be imagined that this is common; formerly it happened every day, but law gains ground. It must strike the most careless traveller to see whole strings of cars whipped into a ditch by a gentleman's footman to make way for his carriage; if they are overturned or broken in pieces, it is taken in patience: were they to complain, they would perhaps be horsewhipped. The execution of the laws lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be *called out*. Where *manners* are in conspiracy against *law*, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse? It is a fact that a poor

man having a contest with a gentleman must—but I am talking nonsense, they have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat.

“The landed property of the kingdom had been greatly changed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; still more under Cromwell, who parcelled out an immense proportion of the kingdom to the officers of his army, the ancestors of great numbers of the present possessors; the colonels of his regiments left estates which are now eight and ten thousand a year, and I know several gentlemen of two and three thousand pounds a-year at present, which they inherit from captains in the same service. The last forfeitures were incurred in that war which stripped and banished James II. Nineteen-twentieths of the kingdom changed hands from Catholic to Protestant. The lineal descendants of great families, once possessed of vast property, are now to be found all over the kingdom in the lowest situation, working as cottars for the great-great-grandsons of men, many of whom were of no greater account in England than these poor labourers are at present on that property which was once their own. So entire an overthrow and change of landed possession is, within the period, to be found in scarcely any country in the world. In such great revolutions of property the ruined proprietors have usually been extirpated or banished; but in Ireland the case was otherwise: families were so numerous, and so united in clans, that the heir of an estate was always known; and it is a fact that, in most parts of the kingdom, the descendants of the old landowners regularly transmit by testamentary deed the memorial of their right to those estates which once belonged to their families. From hence it results that the question of religion has always in Ireland been intimately connected with the right to, and possession of, the landed property of the kingdom, and has probably received from this source a degree of acrimony, not at all wanting, to influence the superstitious prejudices of the human mind.

“Flushed with success after the victory of the Boyne, and animated with the recollection of recent injuries, it would not have been surprising if the triumphant party had exceeded the bounds of moderation towards the Catholic, but the amazing circumstance is, that the great category of persecuting laws was not framed during the life of that monarch, who wisely was a friend to toleration; if ever such a system as would crush the minds of a conquered people into a slavish submission was necessary, it must have been an apparent justification; but why such a system should be embraced six or

seven years after the death of King William, is not so easy to be accounted for.

“By the laws of discovery as they are called :—

- “1. The whole body of Roman Catholics are absolutely disarmed.
- “2. They are incapacitated from purchasing land.
- “3. The entails of their estates are broken, and they gavel among the children.
- “4. If one child abjures that religion he inherits the whole estate, though he is the youngest.
- “5. If the son abjures the religion, the father has no power over his estate, but becomes a pensioner on it in favour of such son.
- “6. No Catholic can take a lease for more than thirty-one years.
- “7. If the rent of any Catholic is less than two-thirds of the full improved value, whoever *discovers*, takes the benefit of the lease.
- “8. Priests who celebrate mass to be transported, and if they return, to be hanged.
- “9. A Catholic having a horse in his possession above the value of five pounds, to forfeit the same to the discoverer.
- “10. By a construction of Lord Hardwick’s, they are incapacitated from lending any money on mortgage.

“That it is a desirable object in some respects to have a people if not all of one persuasion, at least in good friendship and brotherhood as to religion, is undeniable. Though I think there are reasons against wishing a whole kingdom to profess only one similar faith. It excludes a variety of disquisitions which exercise and animate the talents of mankind; it encourages the priests of the national religion to a relaxation of their studies, their activity, and even their morals, and tends to introduce a lazy, wretched, vicious, and ignorant clergy: it is opposition and contrast that sharpen the wits of men. But waving these objections, and considering the question only in a political view, I admit that such a similarity of worship as is followed by laws equal to the whole community to be an advantage. Let us therefore examine whether the Irish intolerant ones have had the effect or not.

“That they have lessened the landed property in the hands of the Catholics is certain, their violence could not have had any other effect, but not, however, to such a degree as might have been imagined. There are principles of honour, religion, and ties of blood, too powerful for tyrannic laws to overcome, and which have prevented their full effect. I am not convinced

that the conversion of the landowners, while all the rabble retained their religion, was an advantage to the kingdom. Great possessions gave those landlords an interest in the public welfare, which in emergencies of danger might induce them to use their influence to keep their dependants quiet; but when none are connected with them richer than themselves, the whole party consisting of a poor and half ruined peasantry, and priests almost as poor as themselves, what tie, or what call is there to restrain the dictates of resentment and revenge? At this day the best subjects among the Catholics, and many there are very much to be depended on, notwithstanding all their oppressions, are the men of landed property; how impolitic to wish to lessen the number! to be desirous of cutting off two millions of peasantry from every possible connection that can influence their submission. The same observation is applicable to mortgages, and, in short, to all investments of money within the kingdom. Surely the obedience of a man who has property in the realm is much securer than if all he is worth is in the English or Dutch funds! While prosperity lay exposed to the practices of power, the great body of the people, who had been stripped of their all, were more enraged than converted; they adhered to the persuasion of their forefathers with the steadiest and most determined zeal; while the priests, actuated by the spirit of a thousand inducements, made proselytes among the common Protestants in defiance of every danger. And the great glaring fact yet remains, and is even admitted by the warmest advocates for the laws of *discovery*, that the established religion has not gained upon the Catholic in point of numbers, but, on the contrary, that the latter has been rather on the increase. Public lists have been returned in the several dioceses which confirm this fact; and the intelligence I received on my journey spoke the same language.

“But if these exertions of a succession of ignorant legislatures have failed continually in propagating the religion of government, or in adding to the internal security of the kingdom, much more have they failed in the great object of national prosperity. The only considerable manufacture in Ireland which carries in all its parts the appearance of industry, is the linen, and it ought never to be forgotten that this is solely confined to the Protestant parts of the kingdom, yet we may see, from the example of France and other countries, that there is nothing in the Roman Catholic religion itself that is incompatible with manufacturing industry. The poor Catholics in the south of Ireland spin wool very generally, but the purchasers of their labour, and the whole worsted trade, is in the hands of the Quakers of Clonmell, Carrick, Bandon, &c. The

fact is, the professors of that religion are under such discouragements that they cannot engage in any trade which requires both industry and capital. If they succeed and make a fortune, what are they to do with it? They can neither buy land nor take a mortgage, not even fine down the rent of a lease. Where is there a people in the world to be found industrious under such a circumstance? But it seems to be the meaning, wish, and intent of the *discovery* laws, that none of them should ever be rich. It is the principle of that system that wealthy subjects would be nuisances, and therefore every means is taken to reduce and keep them to a state of poverty. If this is not the intention of the laws, they are the most abominable heap of self contradictions that ever were issued in the world. They are framed in such a manner that no Catholic shall have the inducement to become rich; but if, in spite of these laws, he should accidentally gain wealth, that the whole kingdom should not afford him a possibility of investing it. Take the laws and their execution into one view, and this state of the case is so true, that they actually do not seem to be so much levelled at the religion as at the property that is found in it. By the law a priest is to be transported and hanged for reading mass, but the mass is very readily left to them with impunity. Let the same priest, however, make a fortune by his mass, and from that moment he is the object of persecution. The domineering aristocracy of five hundred thousand Protestants feel the sweets of having two millions of slaves; they have not the least objection to the tenets of that religion which keeps them by the law of the land in subjection; but property and slavery are too incompatible to live together. Hence the special care taken that no such thing should arise among them."

Mr Young proceeds to utter a momentous truth. It is the history of Ireland. We print it in italics.

"Relative to the national welfare, it must appear extremely evident to the unprejudiced, that *an aristocracy of five hundred thousand Protestants, crushing the industry of two millions of poor Catholics, can never advance the public interest.* Secure the industry of your people, and leave their religion to itself. It is their hands, not their faith, you want; but do not tie these behind them, and then ask why they are not better employed. How is agriculture to flourish, manufactures to be established, or commerce to extend in a dependant country labouring under great disadvantages, if the united capitals, industry, activity, and attention of the whole community, be not employed for such purposes? When the territory of an island lies in such a wretched state that, though blessed with a better soil, it yields, on comparison with England, as only 8

to 11 : when manufactures are of so sickly a growth as to be confined almost to one province, and when trade is known to exist only by the ships of other countries appearing in the harbours ; while a kingdom is in such a situation, is it wisdom to persist in a system which has no other effect than to clog, defeat, or exterminate the capital and industry of four-fifths of the inhabitants ! Surely the gentlemen of that country, when they complain of restricted commerce, and the remittance of the rentals of the absentees to England, cannot be thought serious in lamenting the situation of their country, while they continue wedded to that internal ruin which is the work of their own hands and the favourite child of their most active exertions. Complain not of restrictions while you yourselves enforce the most enormous restrictions ; for *what are the body of absentees when compared with the absence of industry and wealth from the immense mass of two millions of subjects !* I should be well founded in the assertion that both these evils, great and acknowledged as they are, are trifles when compared with the poverty and debility which result from the oppression of the Roman Catholics. Encourage the industry of those two millions of idle people, and the wealth arising from it will make ample amends for most of the evils complained of in Ireland. This remedy is in your hands ; you have no rivals to fear ; no ministers to oppose you."

It is to Arthur Young's forcible reasoning that Ireland, justice, humanity, owe the repeal of those penal laws which were called the Laws of Discovery. Their repeal was forced upon Lord North in 1779, the year after Mr Young's book was published. But they were practically retained long after they were removed from the Statute Book. With many of the Protestant landowners these penal laws are practically retained up to the present period, (1848.)—(See *Letters from Ireland in the WHISTLER AT THE PLOUGH* ; also the *Evidence taken by the DEVON COMMISSION in 1844.*)

Mr Young was now well known both in England and America, and on the continent of Europe, though not yet forty years old, as one of the first practical and scientific agriculturists of the age. His reputation had risen gradually, and was now universally confessed. In the year 1784 he commenced his "Annals of Agriculture," a monthly publication, containing essays, communications, and facts on agriculture and political economy, comprising a most valuable mass of information. This work continued under his superintendence till his death, and consists of forty-five octavo volumes, but Mr Young did not limit his pursuits to the economy of his native land. His ardent thirst for knowledge and science led him to the continent, where he expected to reap a rich harvest of

improvement, among the philosophers and economists of France. He also traversed, in pursuit of his favourite subjects, both Spain and Italy; and in 1791 published his travels in these countries.

At this period his attention, with that of most political speculators and economists, was powerfully arrested by the events which convulsed all Europe, and the influence of which seemed likely to produce very extensive and momentous changes in all the established governments of Christendom. The French revolution was the topic of general conversation, and of a warm public controversy. It was viewed by all parties not as a mere war of power, but of principle. In this controversy, Mr Young appeared as the author of a bold and vigorous pamphlet, entitled "The Example of France—A Warning to Great Britain." This pamphlet was published in 1792, and in the year following Mr Young was appointed secretary to the Board of Agriculture—then recently established. From this period he was much engaged in public business, and frequently came forward with small publications on the politics of the day; and on the questions of national interest, all his productions, as they flowed from a vigorous mind and strong feelings, arrested a large share of public attention, and were extensively read out of his own country. Besides his occasional pieces, which were numerous, he continued his "Annals of Agriculture" monthly, and published at intervals surveys and reports of the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Hertford, Essex, and Oxford. The French Directory, at the suggestion, it is said, of Carnot, ordered all his works then published to be translated into French and published at Paris; and a copy of the translation, consisting of twenty volumes octavo, was presented to the author. At a subsequent period Napoleon sent him an autograph letter, thanking him for his works descriptive of France.

The death of a beloved daughter, in 1797, made a deep impression upon Mr Young's mind: it gave a religious impulse to his feelings, and he thenceforward maintained a high character in the Christian world. In 1811 he lost the sight of both eyes by cataract. He prepared, after this distressing calamity, several useful publications, both on his favourite study of agriculture, and on practical and experimental religion. Two of the most celebrated of the non-conformist divines were among his chosen authors; and from their writings he made interesting selections of the most choice and favourable passages, and published them in two duodecimo volumes, entitled, "Oweniana and Baxteriana." Up to the very period of his last illness, he was employed in useful studies, and was prepar-

ing a new work on agriculture, containing the chief results of his observations and experience through the space of sixty years.

“The closing scenes of his valuable and useful life,” says a biographic writer in *Fullarton's Lives*, “were worthy of so great a man, and truly honourable to that grace of which he enjoyed no common share. The disease with which he was afflicted was of the most painful nature. Under its progress to the fatal issue, he manifested the strongest confidence in the reality of religion, and the all-sufficient grace of the Redeemer. He was never heard to repine against the will of his heavenly Father, but frequently admonished himself, by pious and solemn reflections, which he would utter aloud. His last hours were chiefly occupied in prayer, and in ejaculations of the most spiritual character. Towards the last, he expressed a strong confidence in the hopes and promises of the gospel, and earnestly sought deliverance from the body of sin and death under which he groaned. He expired on 12th of April 1820, in the house of the Board of Agriculture in Sackville Street, in the 79th year of his age.”

The works of Mr Young abound with sound aphorisms in political economy, uttered at a time when these were little appreciated. The mercantile theory of monopoly and protection had long been in operation, and still was. Mr Young, though not writing so correctly in theory as Adam Smith, was yet the most influential of the anti-monopolist and free trade authors. On the corn trade he seems to have lost sight of the principles which he advanced against commercial monopoly. But as a practical writer, we may question if either before him or after him there has been any man in Britain whose pen has been so immediately and permanently useful to his country and to mankind as his pen. The poets and the moralists may have written more gracefully—though he too wrote gracefully, and was, incidentally, both a poet and a moralist. They may have ascended in loftier flights from the earth, and have flown farther; they may have discovered new regions of thought, or have created them, and clothed their creations with beauty; but Arthur Young remained upon the earth, and concerned himself with the literal earth, and it only; and did more than any other single man to clothe it with greenness, floweriness, and fruit.

When Mr Pitt's liberal treaty with France in 1787, by allowing the exportation of wool from England to France, gave so much uneasiness to the English manufacturers, Arthur Young was one of the ablest supporters of the free trade policy of Mr Pitt. He published several pamphlets on the sub-

ject, one of them directed chiefly to Mr Hustler of Bradford, a manufacturer, who, in the name of all the rest of Yorkshire, advocated an establishment of "riding officers," to extend round the shores of England, from Berwick-upon-Tweed to Chester, to prevent the exportation of wool by smugglers—he alleging that 13,000 packs were smuggled to France yearly, whereby the price was enhanced to the British manufacturer. In one of Arthur Young's pamphlets on the wool trade, chiefly addressed to the monopolist manufacturers, he says—"The manufacturer says to the farmer, (or flockmaster,) I will have your wool 100 per cent. cheaper than you could sell it abroad. Very well, replies the farmer, then you will allow me to buy my coat at the cheapest market. Not at all, replies the other; you shall buy it of no one but me, let the price be what it may." He refers here specially to the opposition of the whole of the British manufacturers and traders to the propositions of Mr Pitt for freeing the trade with Ireland in 1785—three years before.

Some exceptions have been taken to Arthur Young on the score of his hostility to commerce. It should be observed, however, that when he speaks of the "commercial spirit," he means the *monopolist spirit*. All commerce up to his time had been a series of monopolies. The commercial classes were the instigators and abettors of war in favour of monopolies against foreign countries, or of war in favour of aggressions upon the trade of other countries. The wars forced upon Sir Robert Walpole and carried on by the elder Pitt, Earl of Chatham, were popular wars, and their popularity arose from the fact that they were directed against Spanish commerce and French colonial trade. Arthur Young refers to their origin in the following section, which is a forcible and truthful description of the policy which had guided England up to the year when he was writing—1778. For *commerce*, we should, however, now read *monopoly*.

SECT. X.—THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

"The entire administration of the colonies has been commercial," says Arthur Young. "It has been made a trader's project, and the spirit of monopoly pervaded every step of our progress in planting and rearing those settlements. They were governed by the narrow spirit of a counting-house, which, in the plantation of countries formed to be the residence of great nations, neither saw nor permitted anything better than a monopolized market. It was this spirit that shackled those countries in such commercial fetters as to render them inca-

pable of contributing to the necessities of the general government of the empire. Had a more liberal policy been embraced, such contributions would have been early introduced, with a capability (from a free commerce) of supporting them. The commercial government gave up the advantage of all contribution for the greater profit of monopoly: it was evident that *both* could not be had, till those countries became too great and powerful to be forced into new and unjust habits. Nothing therefore can be more idle than to say that this set of men, or the other administration, or that great minister, occasioned the American war. It was not the stamp act, nor the repeal of the stamp act; it was neither Lord Rockingham nor Lord North; but it was that baleful monopolizing spirit of commerce that wished to govern great nations on the maxims of the counter. That did govern them so; and in the case of Ireland and the Indies does still govern them so. Had not the trader's system been embraced, America would, in consequence of taxation, have been long ago united with Britain; but our traders knew very well that a free commerce would follow a union.

“Nor is it only in the loss of vast territories that we feel the direful effects of the monopolizing spirit. The greatest part of the national debt is owing to the two last wars, which cost us one hundred millions sterling, and arose solely from mercantile causes: that of 1740 was a war for the protection of English smugglers; and that of 1756 sprung from an apprehension that the French would divide the American market with our traders; the present, which may be as expensive before it is finished as either of the former, was owing to a determination to secure the market we had gained. But all the wars are for markets or smuggling, or trade or manufacture. That vast debt which debilitates the kingdom, those taxes we pay for having lost thirteen provinces, and the hazard we now run of losing or ruining Ireland, are all owing to the former predilection of our government for the trading (monopolist) system.

“I should go much beyond the line of truth to declare that trade and manufacture are necessarily ruinous. The very contrary is my opinion; extensive manufactures, and a flourishing commerce, are the very best friends of agriculture, as I have endeavoured to shew more at large in my *Political Arithmetic*. What I would urge here is, that trade is an admirable thing; but a trading government a most pernicious one. Protect and encourage merchants and manufacturers in every exertion of their industry; but listen not to them in the legislature. They never yet were the fathers of a scheme

that had not monopoly for its principle. It has been the fatality of our government to attend to them on every occasion. We are, at this moment, in the full maturity of the evils which a legislature influenced by traders can bring upon a country. Nor can I, without astonishment, view the commercial jealousy that has arisen in Europe in the last fifty years. Other nations have caught of us the commercial spirit. They have attributed the effects of the noblest and most perfect system of freedom the world has ever seen to the *trade* of the country. Deluded mortals! Give your subjects the liberty which Englishmen enjoy, and trade will spring up one among the many luxuriant branches of that wide-extended tree. Liberty, not trade, has been the cause of England's greatness. Commerce and all its consequences have been the *effect*, not the cause of our happiness. France has, with the same sort of folly, overlooked the simple and obvious advantage of improving her noble territory for the more precarious profits of trade: and what are the consequences? She too has hazarded those wars for commerce which have exhausted her resources, mortgaged her revenues, and debilitated every principle of her national strength.

“When the present rage for monopoly (the true characteristic of the commercial system) has half beggared Europe with the thirst of wealth, and nations have grown wiser by experience, they will, it is to be hoped, found their greatness in the full cultivation of their territories; the wealth resulting from that exertion will remain at home and be secure; nothing in that progress will kindle the jealousy of neighbours—no vile monopolies—no restrictions—no regulating duties are wanting: perpetual wars, heavy debts, and ruinous taxes, will not be necessary to extend and promote agriculture, inseparable as they have been from commerce.

“To a philosophical eye the present conduct of commercial Europe is an inexplicable enigma. The mercantile system of England having grasped at and possessed the monopoly of the North American market, France, in the transactions which preceded the war of 1756, manifested the plainest jealousy of our power in North America; the most ill-founded jealousy, as experience has shewn, that could actuate a nation. The two countries engaged in the war upon a subject merely commercial; and it cost, between them, above an hundred millions sterling, the one to be driven out of Canada, and the other to lose America by rebellion. Is it possible that the rulers of these two kingdoms, if they had an inclination to amuse themselves with expending such a sum, had so poor a genius that they could not devise the means of doing it at

home, in the encouragement of agriculture and arts; in inclosures, navigation, roads, harbours, the cultivation of wastes, draining marshes, raising palaces, &c.?

“In the Duke de Choiseul’s ministry we were on the point of another commercial war: we had a greater trade to India than France, and, in order to balance it, that kingdom was ready to expend fifty millions more. Then Spain takes commercial umbrage at our settling with commercial views on a rock, the great products of which are seals and penguins; the affair could not cost less than five millions; but that is a trifle in the affairs of trade—for see, we are now engaged in a fresh career of commerce with America and the whole house of Bourbon. Upon a moderate computation, France, Spain, and Britain, will each of them spend enough in it to improve three or four provinces to the highest pitch of cultivation; which, instead of slaughtering three or four hundred thousand men, and leaving thrice that number of widows and orphans, would render a greater number of families happy for life, and leave a rich and increasing legacy of ease and plenty to their posterity: and all the slaughter, ruin, poverty, and destruction that is thus brought on the human species, it is for the sake of commerce.

“It was the commercial system that founded those colonies—commercial profits reared them—commercial avarice monopolized them—and commercial ignorance now was to recover the possession of what is not intrinsically worth the powder and ball that are shot away in the quarrel. The same baneful commercial genius influences France and Spain to exhaust their revenues, ruin their subjects, and stagnate every branch of domestic industry, for distant, ideal, and precarious commercial advantages.”

At the commencement of the war of independence, says the *Anatomy of the Navigation Laws*, (by John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., M.P., 1848,) “the American colonies could import or export nothing in any but British vessels.

“They could not export the most important articles of their produce to any part of Europe other than Great Britain.” The separation of America may be traced to these and the like perverse acts of parliament.

Mr Bancroft, the American historian, says of the navigation laws and the monopolizing spirit of which Arthur Young writes so severely—“Those acts avowed the design of sacrificing the natural rights of the colonists to English interests. The harbours of the colonies were shut against the Dutch and every foreign vessel. American industry produced articles for exportation; but these articles were of two kinds.

Some were produced in quantities only in America, and would not compete in the English market with English productions. These were enumerated, and it was declared that none of them should be transported to any other country than those belonging to the crown of England, under penalty of forfeiture; and, as new articles of industry of this class grew up in America, they were added to the list. Hardly had time enough elapsed for a voyage or two across the Atlantic, before it was found that the English merchant might derive still further advantages by the imposition of still further restraints at the cost of the colonists. A new law prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in English ships from England. The activity of the ships of New England, which should have excited admiration, excited envy in the minds of the English. The law was still more injurious to England, from its influence on the connexion between the colonies and the metropolis. Durable relations in society are correlative and reciprocally beneficial. In this case, the statute was made by one party to bind the other, and was made on iniquitous principles. Established as the law of the strongest, it could endure no longer than the superiority in force. It converted commerce, which should be the bond of peace, into a source of rankling hostility, and scattered the certain seeds of a civil war."

We have also the testimony of Mr Huskisson. In his defence of his modification of the Navigation Laws, he said:—"It is generally believed that the attempt to tax our American colonies without their consent was the sole cause of the separation of these colonies from the mother country; but if the whole history of the period between 1663 and 1773 be attentively examined, I think it will be abundantly evident that, however the attempt at taxation may have contributed somewhat to hasten the explosion, the train had been long laid, by the severe and exasperating efforts of this country, to enforce, with inopportune and increasing rigour, the strictest and most annoying regulations of our colonial and navigation code. Every petty adventure in which the colonists embarked was viewed by the merchants of this country, and the Board of Trade, as an encroachment on the commercial monopoly of Great Britain.

"The professional subtlety of lawyers and the practical ingenuity of custom-house officers were constantly at work in ministering to the jealous but mistaken views of our seaports. Blind to the consequences elsewhere, they persisted in their attempts to put down the spirit of commercial enterprize in New England, until these attempts roused a very different spirit—that spirit which ventured to look for political independence in the result of a successful rebellion."

We here see that Mr Young is amply borne out in his allegation, that it was commercial monopoly which separated Britain and America. Let us again turn to Ireland.

SECT. XI.—THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP OF IRELAND AND ENGLAND UP TO 1785.

“The only manufacture,” says Arthur Young, “of considerable importance in Ireland is that of linen, which the Irish have for near a century considered as the great staple of the kingdom. The history of it in its earlier periods is very little known; a committee of the house of commons, of which Sir Lucius O’Brien was chairman, examined the national records with great attention, in order to discover how long they had been in it; all that they discovered was, that by an act passed in 1542, the 33d of Henry VIII., linen and woollen yarn were enumerated among the most considerable branches of trade possessed by the natives of Ireland, in an act made against grey merchants forestalling. By the 11th of Queen Elizabeth, the same act was revived, and a further law made against watering hemp or flax, &c. in rivers. By the 13th of Elizabeth, all persons were prohibited from exporting wool, flax, linen, and woollen yarn, except merchants residing in cities and boroughs; and by a further act, the same year, a penalty of 12d. a-pound was imposed on all flax or linen yarn exported, and 8d. more for the use of the town exporting from. In this last act, it is recited that the merchants of Ireland had been exporters of those articles in trade upwards of one hundred years preceding that period; and by many subsequent acts and proclamations, during the reigns of Charles I. and II., those manufactures were particularly attended to, from whence it evidently appeared that the kingdom possessed an export trade in these commodities at those early periods. The Earl of Strafford, Lord-Lieutenant in Charles I.’s reign, passed several laws, and took various measures to encourage this manufacture, insomuch that he has by some authors been said to have established it originally. At the end of the last century, in King William’s reign, it arose to be an object of consequence, but not singly so; for it appears, from a variety of records in both kingdoms, that the Irish had then a considerable woollen manufacture for exportation, which raised the jealousy of the English manufacturers in that commodity so much, that they presented so many petitions to both Lords and Commons as to induce those bodies to enter fully into their jealousies and illiberal views, which occasioned the famous compact between the two nations brought on in the following manner:—

1698.—“The Earl of Stamford reported from the Lords committees (appointed to draw an address to be presented to his majesty, relating to the woollen manufacture in Ireland) the following address, viz. :—

“We, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, do humbly represent unto your majesty that the growing manufacture of cloth in *Ireland*, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here, by which the trade of this nation and the value of lands will very much decrease, and the numbers of your people be much lessened here: wherefore, we do most humbly beseech your most sacred majesty, that your majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ireland that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there, hath long, and will ever be looked upon with great jealousy by all your subjects of this kingdom; and, if not timely remedied, may occasion very strict laws, totally to prohibit and suppress the same; and on the other hand, if they turn their industry and skill to the setting and improving the linen manufacture, for which, generally, the lands of that kingdom are very proper, they shall receive all countenance, favour, and protection, from your royal influence for the encouragement and promoting of the said linen manufacture, to all the advantage and profit that kingdom can be capable of.”

To which the House agreed.

“It is ordered, by the Lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, that the Lords, with white staves, do humbly attend his majesty with the address of this house, concerning the woollen manufacture in Ireland.

“The Lord Steward reported his majesty’s answer to the address, to this effect, viz. :—

“That his majesty will take care to do what their Lordships have desired.

‡ ASHLEY COWPER.

“Clerk Parliamentor.”

“Most Gracious Sovereign,

“We, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons in parliament assembled, being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do, in a great measure, depend upon the preserving the woollen manufacture, as much

as possible, entire to this realm, think it becomes us, like our ancestors, to be jealous of the establishment and increase thereof elsewhere, and to use our utmost endeavours to prevent it.

“ And, therefore, we cannot without trouble observe that Ireland—dependant on, and protected by England, in the enjoyment of all they have ; and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England—should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both them and us.

“ The consequence whereof will necessitate your parliament of England to interpose to prevent the mischief that threatens us, unless your majesty, by your authority and great wisdom, shall find means to secure the trade of England, by making your subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms.

“ And we do most humbly implore your majesty’s protection and favour in this matter, and that you will make it your royal care, and enjoin all those you employ in Ireland, to make it their care, and use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland, to which we shall always be ready to give our utmost assistance.

“ Resolved, That the said address be presented to his majesty by the whole house.”

HIS MAJESTY’S ANSWER.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there ; and to promote the trade of England.

“ *Thursday, 27th September 1698.*”

PART OF THE LORD-JUSTICE’S SPEECH.

“ Amongst these bills there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures. At our first meeting, we recommended to you that matter ; and we have now endeavoured to render that bill practicable and useful for that effect, and as such we now recommend it to you. The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this

kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which, being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose ; whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged, as inconsistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England."

The Commons of Ireland returned the following answer to the speech from the throne :—

"We pray leave to assure your excellencies that we shall heartily endeavour to establish a linen and hempen manufacture here, and to render the same useful to England, as well as advantageous to this kingdom, and that we hope to find such a temperament in respect to the woollen trade here, that the same may not be injurious to England." And they passed a law that session, commencing the 25th of March 1699, laying 4s. additional duty on every 20s. value of broadcloth exported out of Ireland, and 2s. on every 20s. value of serges, baize, kerseys, stuffs, or any other new sort of drapery made of wool, or mixed with wool, (friezes only excepted,) which was, in effect, a prohibition. And in the same session a law was passed in England restraining Ireland from exporting those woollen manufactures, including frieze, to any other parts, except England and Wales.

"The addresses of the two houses to the king," says Arthur Young, "carry the clearest evidence of their source, the jealousy of merchants and manufacturers ; I might add their ignorance too ; they are dictated upon the narrow idea, that the prosperity of the woollen fabrics of Ireland was inconsistent with the welfare of those of England ; it would, at present, be fortunate for both kingdoms if these errors had been confined to the last century. There is an equal mixture also of falsehood in the representations ; for they assert that the cheapness of necessaries in Ireland drew from England the woollen manufactures : but they forgot the cheapness of labour in Ireland to which no workman in the world ever yet emigrated. The Irish were engaged in various slight fabrics not made in England ; but had they been employed on broadcloth for exportation, the English manufacture would well have bore it ; they did, at that time and afterwards, bear a rapid increase of the French fabrics, and yet flourished. We have had so long an experience of markets increasing with industry and invention, that the time ought to have come long ago for viewing competitors without the eye of jealousy.

"The memoirs of the time, as well as the expression in the above transaction, evidently prove that it was understood by

both kingdoms to be a sort of compact, that if Ireland gave up her woollen manufacture, that of linen should be left to her under every encouragement. I have, however, myself heard it in the British parliament denied to have been any compact; but simply a promise of encouragement, not precluding a like or greater encouragement to the British linens. This is certainly an error; for, so understood, what is the meaning of the ample encouragement promised by the British parliament? They could not mean internal encouragement or regulation, for they had nothing to do with either; it could simply mean, as the purport of the words evidently shew, that they would enter into no measures which should set up a linen manufacture to rival the Irish. That woollens should be considered and encouraged as the staple of England, and linens as that of Ireland, it must mean this, or it meant nothing. That the Irish understood it so cannot be doubted for a moment; for what did they in consequence? They were in possession of a flourishing woollen manufacture, which they actually put down and crippled by prohibiting exportation. Let me ask those who assert there was no compact why they did this? It was their own act. Did they cut their own throats without either reward or promise of reward? Common sense tells us they did this under a perfect conviction that they should receive ample encouragement from England in their linen trade: but what moonshine would such encouragement prove if England, departing from the letter and spirit of that compact, had encouraged her own linen manufacture to rival the Irish, after the Irish had destroyed their woollen fabrics to encourage those of England? Yet we did this in direct breach of the whole transaction, for the 23d of George II. laid a tax on sail-cloth made of Irish hemp. Bounties also have been given in England without extending fully to Irish linens. Checked, striped, printed, painted, stained, or dyed linens of Irish manufacture, are not allowed to be imported into Britain. In which, and in other articles, we have done everything possible to extend and encrease our own linen manufacture, to rival that of Ireland.

“I admit readily that the apprehensions of the Irish at the progress of British linens, are in the spirit of commercial jealousy, as well as our violence in relation to their woollens. But with this great difference; we forced them to put down a manufacture they were actually in possession of; and we being the controlling power, do not leave them that freedom of market which we possess ourselves—points which necessarily place the two nations, in this respect, upon very different footings. Give them, as they ought to have, a free woollen trade, and they will then have no objection to any measures

for the encouragement of our linens, which do not absolutely exclude theirs."

The commodities of Irish commerce and their annual value are thus stated by Chalmers and other writers. The earliest records of it reach only to the reign of James I. In 1626, among the imports from Ireland were 449 tons of iron, 557 tons of timber, the produce of the country, which was not yet cleared of its natural woods; namely, 398,400 barrel staves, 409,000 hogshead, 25,000 pipe staves. Besides agricultural produce and fish, some coarse manufactures were also imported in the beginning of the 17th century; and these and other branches of trade were improving as the timber trade declined. The civil war, which arose upon the rebellion against Charles I., swept away this trade. The confiscations of landed property by Cromwell, to punish those who did not accept his government, or to reward his military officers whom he placed to rule with the sword of terror and blood, instead of placing there men of peace and commerce, suppressed the Irish trade internally and externally for several years.

After the restoration, trade rapidly revived, so that in the year 1665 the exports were estimated at L.358,077. Among them for the first time appear linen yarn to the value of L.17,385, and linen cloth to the value of L.590, the remainder consisted of agricultural produce, including, however, some woollen goods, L.309,808; fish L.24,107; skins of wild animals L.2687; wood L.2384; manufactured iron L.1116. Of the entire exports England took about a half, consisting principally of live cattle, sheep, wool, linen, and yarn, and about three-fourths of all the other articles.

The imports of Ireland for that year were, from England L.200,450; from foreign countries L.135,593, of which the tobacco amounted to L.70,000 and the wine to L.50,000.

By the year 1681 the Irish exports had risen L.582,814 and the imports to L.33,040, then came the revolution and the persecution of the Catholics, the enactment of the penal laws, as related by Arthur Young in the preceding section. Trade was again paralyzed; yet, despite the disastrous enactments against the Catholics, which restrained four-fifths of the Irish population from exercising the rights of property or industry, the commerce of the country gradually increased.

The entire gross revenue collected in Ireland was, in 1689, only L.11,814, and in 1690 only L.116,112; nor in 1694 was it more than L.297,149. But tranquil times gradually brought back the old prosperity; by the year 1697 the exports had again risen to L.525,004, the imports to L.423,182; and the next year, after the war with France had been terminated

by the peace of Ryswick, the exports at once bounded up to L.996,305, and the imports to L.576,863. The restrictions upon the rising woollen manufacture of Ireland, which were soon after this begun to be imposed by the English parliament, considerably affected the trade for 1700, 1701, and 1702; but still, for the three years ending with 1701, the average of the exports was L.779,109, and that of the imports L.726,559. But the very prospect of war in 1702 reduced the exports to L.493,435 and the imports to L.475,158; nor did they recover their former amount till after the peace of Utrecht. For the three years 1713, 1714, 1715, the average annual amount of the exports was L.1,280,810, of the imports L.882,829. From this date, however, the trade rather declined for some years upon the whole, so that for the three years ending with 1728, the annual average of the exports was L.1,035,575, and that of the imports L.916,895; making together only L.1,952,472, instead of L.2,163,639, the amount of the two thirteen years before. Chalmers conceives that this falling off was principally owing to the uncertain condition of political affairs, and to the extensive stockjobbing both in France and England, which had so shaken private credit. But in ten years more the trade of Ireland had recovered the point at which it stood at the beginning of the reign of George I. For the three years ending 1738, the last of the peace, the exports averaged L.1,232,446, imports L.951,548; making together L.2,183,994. And for the three years that followed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1749, 1750, 1751, the exports averaged L.1,858,606, the imports L.1,497,437; making a total of L.3,356,043. In the year 1755, again, the exports were L.2,047,660, the imports L.1,711,552; making an aggregate amount of L.3,759,212. Nor did even the war that broke out in the following year prevent the continuance of this advancing movement. For the three years ending with 1762, which were years of war, the average of the Irish exports was L.2,274,422, of the imports L.1,696,764; making together L.3,971,186. Much of this flourishing trade consisted in the exportation of beef, butter, and other provisions, the demand for which was rather augmented than otherwise by the war. But the peace that followed brought a still higher degree of prosperity; the average of the annual exports for the three years ending with 1772 having been L.3,302,576, that of the imports L.2,415,785; making a total of L.5,718,361. In the midst of the embarrassments of the colonial war, the Irish successfully demanded freedom of trade and industry, as well as legislative independence and

general political freedom.”—(*Knight's History of British Commerce.*)

The enactments which they obtained were, first—A law by which they were allowed to export directly from Ireland into the British plantations of America, and to the British settlements in Africa; and by which Irish-built ships were declared to be entitled to the same privileges as British. Second, The Roman Catholics were relieved from the disability of holding estates in Ireland. Third, Tobacco of Irish growth was allowed to be imported into Britain. Fourth, Bounties on the importation of Irish hemp were granted, (a questionable benefit.) Fifth, Restraints on the exportation of woollen drapery, and glass from Ireland were repealed. Sixth, A free trade with the British settlements in America, with the British West Indies, and the British settlements in Africa was allowed. Seventh, The Turkey trade was opened to the Irish people, and by the same statute (20, George III. c. 18) gold and silver were allowed to *be exported to Ireland.*

According to Chalmers, Irish commerce languished for want of capital during the years 1780, 1781, and 1782; but that in 1784 and 1785 it increased, after the “United States had opened their guilty ports to the Irish trade.” An excellent exculpation of the guilt of the ports which opened.

SECT. XI.—WILLIAM PITT AND FREE TRADE WITH IRELAND.

We have just seen that steps were taken to liberate the trade between Ireland and Britain during the last years of the difficulties arising out of the monopolist misgovernment of America. Those steps advanced not beyond the threshold. Yet, seeing that they comprised the abrogation of some of the penal laws which enforced idleness and want upon the Catholics, we might with propriety introduce the legislative authors of those first steps if we knew them. Lord North was primeminister, and was officially their author. Probably he was as closely allied personally to those measures as any other politician; but, again, it is more than doubtful, it is a certainty, that the policy of retaining office, the policy of keeping a political party together, was the cause of those liberal measures towards Ireland and the Catholics, and not a conviction of their imperial advantages. When Mr Pitt, who was pressed by no apprehension of rebellion in Ireland, who had nothing to urge him to commercial liberalism but his sincere convictions, founded on the doctrines of Adam Smith and Arthur Young, both of whom he personally consulted, brought forward his measures in 1785, he was opposed by those who, during the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781

and 1782, had been driven to make concessions to Ireland, under the apprehension that they would otherwise be driven from the government of England.

Mr Pitt is therefore the first British minister whom we find voluntarily advancing to the emancipation of commerce; and persevering in his advances against the almost universal voice of the British merchants and manufacturers. We might search history in vain for another statesman whose principles, at once liberal and lofty, were so obstinately and suicidally opposed by a blinded people, who deemed them destructive of the national interests—principles which the grandsons of those people have demonstrated to be the principles of national vitality. In a parliamentary age, when the chief popular orators seem to have used the House of Commons for a debating club, they taking their sides on almost every question which came before them, not according to the right or the wrong of their positions, the consistency or inconsistency of present with previous opinions on similar subjects, or on the same subjects, but according to the side of the house on which the subjects were originated, and whether or not Mr Pitt supported or opposed them; in that factious parliamentary age, when the popular voice applauded the popular orators, when their leading rule of conduct was opposition to Mr Pitt, it was to his honour, as it was to their shame, that he sought to promote the best interest of the largest number of the people. Exceptions must be taken to some of his measures which followed the occurrence of the French revolution, beginning about 1792. But had not his liberal policy for promoting the friendship of nations been factiously opposed up to that time, it is more than probable that he would not have submitted to be forced into a war with France. We say *forced*, for it must be now admitted (since the gradual publication of state secrets and family papers, such as the Memoirs of Lady Hester Stanhope his niece, prove the fact) that he was personally averse to a French war, against Fox and Fox's followers, who had contended in opposition to his Irish free trade policy in 1785, and against his liberal commercial policy with France in 1787, and who had in moments of political blasphemy declared that God and nature had set bounds to national intercourse, and made England and France natural enemies, he vindicated the benevolence of righteous Providence and the benignity of nature, and denied that nations could be naturally the enemies of one another. Nor did he vindicate God and nature and the righteous policy of nations only in debate; Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and the rest of the mere debators, uttered great thoughts occasionally, and, in the freedom of opposition, enunciated in language of eloquent

controversy, expressions and sentiments of true liberalism. But they only debated. They evinced no appreciation of a higher principle than that of opposition to an unpopular minister; they acted on no higher policy than that of making the minister unpopular. While he, in pursuance of the principles of the two greatest luminaries of his time, Adam Smith and Arthur Young, legislated on principles which were not popularly understood, encountered the opposition of the commercial, manufacturing, trading, and working classes of the people, and persevered against those erroneous prejudices, when he might have earned an easy popularity by submitting to be what other premiers, and especially his father, had been—the minister of commercial monopoly, of national jealousies, and the popular errors of his time.

Perhaps our nation never did such wrong to any public man as it has done to William Pitt, in its flattery of his parliamentary opponents and depreciation of himself. But posterity will do him justice. Let us begin the reparation.

We omit, at present, his first efforts in parliament in favour of economy in the civil list expenditure, and parliamentary reform, which, by history, have been permitted to him as meritorious. We begin with the second year of his premiership, when, according to history, he abandoned the liberalism of his early politics. We begin with those measures which obtained for him the martyrdom of the stake, by effigy, in almost every town in the kingdom, and brought more petitioners to the bar of parliament to be heard by counsel than ever appeared there by counsel against any ministerial propositions before or since.

THE IRISH COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS OF 1785.

Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of August 1784, and met again on the 25th of January 1785. During the period of its prorogation, the British cabinet, in concert with commissioners appointed on the part of Ireland, had formed a plan for regulating and finally adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms. On the 7th of February, Mr Orde, the secretary to the lord-lieutenant, announced this system to the Irish House of Commons, and, four days afterwards, a set of resolutions, which he had previously laid on their table, was moved and agreed to by that house without much discussion, and without any material alterations. The concurrence of the Irish House of Peers having been soon after obtained, these resolutions were immediately transmitted to England, as the proposed basis, on the part of Ireland, for

an equitable and final adjustment. Almost immediately after their arrival, the business was opened in the British House of Commons by Mr Pitt, who, on the 22d of February, moved "That this house will immediately resolve into a committee of the whole house, to consider of so much of his majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, upon the 25th day of January last, as relates to the adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland." This motion having been agreed to, the various papers on the table relative to the trade of Great Britain and Ireland were referred to the committee. The house having resolved itself into a committee, Mr Gilbert in the chair, the eleven resolutions agreed to by the Irish parliament were then read, and were in the following terms:—

"Resolved, 1, 'That it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and, for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.'

"2. 'That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, should be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.'

"3. 'That, for the same purpose, it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale, of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty, in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.'

"4. 'That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as

the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.'

"5. 'That, for the same purpose, it is also proper that, in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture; such further duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture, coming from the other kingdom, shall be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back or compensated on exportation.'

"6. 'That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.'

"7. 'That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, further, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and also except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms; in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.'

"8. 'That, for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid, or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid, and that no duty should be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of, or for duties paid over and above, any duties paid thereon in Britain.'

“9. ‘That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.’

“10. ‘That it is essential to the commercial interests of this country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; and therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenues of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expenses.’

“11. ‘That, for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties, granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce, over and above the sum of L. 656,000 in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expenses, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct.’”

As soon as the above resolutions had been read, Mr Pitt rose, and opened the system of commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms. He said he flattered himself he should be honoured with their indulgent attention, of which he should fully stand in need, while he endeavoured to state to them the important propositions on which he conceived an advantageous and honourable system of intercourse might be established between Great Britain and Ireland. In a business of such moment, he knew that it was equally unnecessary for him to desire the attention of gentlemen, as to entreat that they would enter into the consideration of the subject without prejudice, and with that earnestness which its political magnitude required. There was not a man in the house, of whatever party or description, however attached or connected, who would not agree that the settling of the commercial intercourse of the two countries, on a firm, liberal, and permanent basis, by which an end might for ever be put to jealousies and clamour; by which all future pretences to discontent might be removed, and by which the surest foundations of future strength and opulence might be laid, was one of the greatest topics which could be agitated in parliament, and one of the most desirable objects that they could accomplish. They would meet with one disposition as to the end, however they might differ about the means; and he only prayed that gentlemen would enter into the discussion of the subject without prepossession from what they might have heard, and without giving ear to the insinuations which had been so industriously circulated through

the metropolis, and distributed, perhaps, to every corner of the country. These insinuations applied to particular subjects of the discussion, and were founded on misconception of those great and necessary data in our relative situation, upon which, without bending our view to partial aspects, we must ultimately decide this great question. If gentlemen had adopted ideas from cases half stated, or from cases misrepresented by those who had made up their minds, without knowing whether the state of the question made it necessary that the line should be pursued which had been adopted, it would be more difficult for him to clear the way to the true consideration of the question than it otherwise would have been. It was incident to every proposition that, until it should be fully exposed, those who might have the interest or inclination to raise clamour by partial statements of it, had the advantage in the conflict for a time; but when the whole could be fairly elucidated, truth would always, as it ought, have its prevalence over misrepresentation, and the delusion, though extensive, would be but momentary.

With regard to the important question, he conceived it to be simply this: What ought to be the principles on which the relative commercial interests of the two kingdoms should be settled in the system of intercourse to be established between them? In answering this question, he had no difficulty in saying that the system should be founded on principles of expediency and justice; and he was confident in saying that, in the mode in which the king's ministers had pursued the object, they had paid regard to those principles. It had been a subject of insinuation, that the steps which they had taken were not conducive to the ultimate success of the measure, and that they had embraced notions which were hostile in every conception to the end in view.

He would not go minutely into the detail of the propositions which had been read by the clerk at the table, and which he confessed were the basis of the system which he meant to submit to their wisdom; because he was aware that the committee were not ripe to decide on them, and would not be competent to the discussion, until they had examined all the accounts which were already, or which might hereafter be, laid on their table.

It was his wish that those examinations should be full and minute; that time should be given them for the discussion; and that the whole should be fairly and fully investigated before they came to any determination. He did this in the confidence that, upon such mature consideration, they would find the general propositions to be founded on good sense and

substantial policy. He was sensible that the smaller parts might require much curious and minute investigation; they would stand in need of correction, and, perhaps, of change. He trusted that he should have the assistance of all the wisdom and information of the committee on those points; and he assured them that full time, and the utmost information, should be given for the discussion. In such a business, such a determination was essential; for it was of the greatest and most decisive importance to both kingdoms, since the end and object was no less than to establish a system that should be permanent and irrevocable.

He should confine himself to general principles in the exposition of the business of this day. The motion with which he should conclude, would fully explain the principles; it had a reference to the commercial regulations which had been read at the table, and which the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland had declared to be the basis of what they should consider as a proper and effectual system of intercourse. His motion did not tend to any direct point, but it led their attention to the general prospect of the scheme, accompanied with a provision which he conceived to be essential to the whole.

In treating this important question, he would beg leave to recall their attention to what had been, and what was, the relative situation of the two countries. They would recollect that, from the revolution to a period within the memory of every man who heard him, indeed until these very few years, the system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruel and abominable restraint had, however, been exploded.

It was at once harsh and unjust; and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive: for, however necessary it might be to the partial benefit of districts in Britain, it promoted not the real prosperity and strength of the empire. That which had been the system, counteracted the kindness of Providence, and suspended the industry and enterprise of man. Ireland was put under such restraint, that she was shut out from every species of commerce; she was restrained from sending the produce of her own soil to foreign markets, and all correspondence with the colonies of Britain was prohibited to her, so that she could not derive their commodities but through

the medium of Britain. This was the system which had prevailed; and this was the state of thralldom in which that country had been kept ever since the revolution. Some relaxations of the system, indeed, took place at an early period of the present century. Somewhat more of the restrictive laws were abated in the reign of Geo. II.; but it was not until a time nearer to our own day, and, indeed, within the last seven years, that the system had been completely reversed.

It was not to be expected but that when Ireland, by the more enlarged sentiments of the present age, had acquired an independent legislature, she would instantly export her produce and manufactures to all the markets of the world. She did so, and this was not all. England, without any compact or bargain, generously admitted her to a share in her colonies.

She gave her liberty to import directly, and to re-export to all the world, except to Britain, the produce of her colonies. Thus much was done some years ago; but to this moment no change had taken place in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland themselves. Some trivial points, indeed, had been changed; but no considerable change had taken place in our manufactures exported to Ireland, or in theirs imported to England. That, therefore, which had been done, was still viewed by the people of Ireland as insufficient; and clamours were excited, and suggestions published in Dublin and elsewhere, of putting duties on our produce and manufactures, under the name of protecting-duties.

Having thus far relaxed from the system which had been maintained since the revolution; having abandoned the commercial subserviency in which we had so long persevered; and having so wisely and justly put them into a state in which they might cultivate and profit from the gifts of nature; having secured to them the advantages of their arts and industry, it was to be observed that we had abolished one system and had established another; but we had left the intercourse between the two countries exactly where it was.

There were, he said, but two possible systems for countries situated in relation to one another like Britain and Ireland. The one of having the smaller completely subservient and subordinate to the greater—to make the one, as it were, an instrument of advantage, and to make all her efforts operate in favour, and conduce merely to the interests, of the other. This system we had tried in respect to Ireland. The other was a participation and community of benefits, and a system of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate

interests of the empire. Such a situation of commercial equality, in which there was to be a community of benefits, demanded also a community of burdens; and it was this situation in which he was anxious to place the two countries. It was on that general basis that he was solicitous of moving the proposition which he held in his hand, to complete a system which had been left unfinished and defective.

Under these circumstances, to discover the best means of uniting the two countries by the firmest and most indissoluble bands, ministers had, during the recess, employed themselves in inquiries, by which they might be able to meet parliament with a rational and well-founded system. That they might form the outline of such propositions, from the mutual ideas of both countries, and that they might join in the principles on which the basis of the intercourse was to be laid, they thought it their duty not to come into the parliament of Britain until they knew what additions to the relaxations which were lately made would be likely to give entire satisfaction to the people of Ireland; what commercial regulations they would think essential to commercial equality; and what proportion of the expense of supporting the common interests Ireland would be content to bear, on being thus made a common sharer in the benefits. They were now prepared to meet parliament with the system, founded on the intelligence of the sense of the Irish legislature on the subject, and, he believed, of the Irish people.

It was his wish to examine the system in two striking points of view, into which it naturally divided itself:—

1st, To examine what would be the effects of the commercial arrangements suggested in the propositions on the table, on our particular commerce and manufactures; and,

2d, To examine the effects of an extension of the trade of Britain, in the return which Ireland would make towards the common expense.

He would beg the indulgence of the house, while he went particularly into the consideration of these branches of the subject. The first branch, viz., the commercial arrangements, again should be divided into two parts. 1st, In so far as they regarded our navigation laws and the monopoly of our commerce with our colonies; and, 2dly, In so far as they regarded the intercourse between the two countries by the equalizing of duties.

The first branch of this subject, namely, the liberty of importing the produce of all countries importable into England, directly, from henceforth, through the medium of Ireland, was likely to attract most of the attention of the house. The

alarms of the people would also be excited to this measure, and excited under names which, from long habit, we were accustomed to reverence. It would be said that this measure would be destructive of our navigation laws, the source of our maritime strength and commercial opulence. Those who argued in this way merited, however, but little credit; for they did not seem to have taken much pains to make themselves acquainted by experience with those navigation laws. How far this measure would depart from the spirit of those laws would be seen from this short statement of the fact. Goods, the produce of Europe, might now be imported into Britain, through Ireland, by the express authority of the navigation act. The new proposition applied only to Africa and America, for Asia was excluded, as the East India Company had the monopoly of the trade to that quarter of the world. It was therefore to be asked whether it would be wise in this country to give to Ireland the liberty of importing, and afterwards of exporting to Britain, the produce of our colonies in Africa and America?

If we desired to give satisfaction to Ireland, and to put an end to all contention, by a system founded in equality and reciprocity, he conceived that this was a wholesome and proper measure.

Every man would agree that it was desirable to give them a complete participation, if it could be done without encroaching on our navigation laws and commercial system, which were so deservedly dear to us. It should be remembered that we had already given to Ireland our intercourse with our West India islands. In the late alteration of the system we had opened the way of Ireland to all foreign markets; and in doing that, we had conferred no favour, and made no concession. It was the natural right of Ireland, and the measure was a measure of justice, but not of grace. We, however, had gone farther than that; we had given them direct intercourse with our own colonies—with those colonies which we had acquired by our own treasure, and which we maintained by our own authority. This was liberal—it was a favour—it was certainly advisable to give this proof of our friendship; but it was given without reciprocity, without securing from Ireland any return, or receiving any proportionate aid towards the maintenance of trade or the protection of those colonies.

The question now was, therefore, whether, with so much given and so little received, it would be wise to destroy that much by a niggard detention of the little that was left; or whether, by adding the little to the much already given, we might not secure a valuable return?

He knew there might be persons who, with separate interests, or perhaps with personal interests, might start objections, and find pretexts for clamour against every national object that could be embraced; and while ear was given to such clamour, we must remain in the same unprofitable system as heretofore. But if they wished to pay respect to the advantages of quiet and security; if they desired to have a return proportional and adequate, it was his opinion that the little which was left ought to be given for a return, in addition to the much which was given without any return at all; and happy would it be for Britain, if, by a profitable use of what little was left, she could yet secure the advantages which might have been so much more certainly procured in the former season.

But it was requisite to proceed to inquire what would be the effects produced by giving this extension to Ireland? The committee would be the place for detail. He would confine himself, therefore, to the general view of the subject. They had heard in popular discussions, and in those publications which were propagated so freely through the metropolis, that this measure would strike a deadly blow to the navigation laws of this kingdom.

It would be said that, by this blow, that act, which was the palladium of our commerce, would be ruined. These were clamours to which he could not subscribe. He desired to know what was likely to be the extent of this boon? Would it be more than that Ireland would be able to send to Britain what she might have imported from the colonies above what was necessary to her own consumption? Was it likely that she was to become the emporium, the mart of the empire, as it was said she would? He could not believe that it would ever be the case. By emporium he supposed was meant, that Ireland would import the produce of Africa and America, afterwards to distribute it to all the world, and to Britain among the rest. If this liberty would strike a fatal blow to the commerce of England, he begged it might be remembered with whom the blow had originated. By the inconsiderate and unsystematic concessions which had been made four years ago the blow was struck. They would not have been inconsiderate, if accompanied with provisions of a return—not if the system had been finally settled; but those concessions were inconsiderate, because we had been inclined to hide our situation, both from ourselves and others, without examining the extent of what we were giving away, and without securing the general interests of the empire; so that, if there was any danger of Ireland's becoming the emporium, and of her supplanting us either in our own or in foreign markets, it was by

the advantages given by the noble lord* whom he had then in his eye; and he trusted the nation would know and feel from whence the calamity really sprung.

No such consequence, however, was likely to ensue. Ireland did not covet the supply of the foreign markets, nor was it probable that she would furnish Britain with the produce of her own colonies in any great degree. Ireland was to have the liberty of bringing to Britain, circuitously, what she herself had the liberty of bringing directly. It must be proved that Ireland could afford this circuitous voyage cheaper than Britain herself could give the direct supply, before any idea of alarm or apprehension could be raised in any bosom. That fact would be inquired into. It would be inquired whether there was anything in the local situation of the ports of Ireland, which would enable her to make this circuitous voyage cheaper than we could make the direct one; whether the nearest way to England was through the ports of Ireland.

He had no reason to believe that the freight was cheaper from Ireland to the West Indies than from England. Then there was to be super-added to this equal freight, the freight between Ireland and Britain, which would operate as a very great discouragement; for he had reason to believe that this super-added freight would be, on the average, a fourth of the original freight. He wished to avoid figures and unauthorized assertions; but all this would be subject of inquiry, and to this he must add the double insurance, double commission, double port duties, and double fees, &c., all of which would operate most severely against Ireland.

There was one other observation on this part of the subject. It was not merely a question, whether Ireland should be able, by local advantages and resources, to become the carriers, but we were to compare the contest between ourselves and them. Ireland could now send a cargo to the West Indies, and bring a cargo directly to Britain; or she could invoice a part of her cargo to Britain and part to Ireland. The question was, therefore, whether her original cargo was to be afforded cheaper, whether her shipping and navigating were cheaper, and whether, with all these advantages, it could be possible that this circuitous trade could be cheaper than the direct trade?

All this would be searched to the bottom; and in this view of the subject the discussion would be fair; but nothing would be more unfair than to contend that this new commerce would be contrary to the act of navigation. It ought to be a question, how much of the wealth of this nation might centre in

* Lord North.

Ireland by this measure; but in looking into the spirit and meaning of the navigation act, nothing could be more absurd than to say that it was contrary to that act. The principle of that act was the increase of the British shipping and seamen. Here, then, this principle was out of the question; for in several acts, and in one passed so lately as 1778, Irish shipping and seamen were to be considered as British. There was not then that degree of danger in adding this to the other concessions which had been made to Ireland.

The other great and leading principle in this branch of the measure was the equalizing of the duties on the produce and manufactures of both countries; and this he would explain very shortly. On most of the manufactures of Ireland, prohibitory duties were laid in Britain; linen, however, was a liberal exception. On the contrary, our manufactures had been imported into Ireland at low duties. It was now the question whether, under the accumulation of our heavy taxes, it would be wise to equalize the duties, by which a country free from those duties might be able to meet us, and to overthrow us in their and in our own markets. Upon this he would state some general observations as shortly as possible. A country not capable of supplying herself, could hardly meet another in a foreign market. They had not admitted our commodities totally free from duties; they bore, upon an average, about ten per cent.; but it was very natural that Ireland, with an independent legislature, should now look for perfect equality. If it be true that, with every disadvantage on our part, our manufactures were so superior that we enjoyed the market, there could be no danger in admitting the Irish articles to our markets on equal duties. What strong objections could be started? Every inquiry had been made; and the manufacturers with whom he had conversed had not been alarmed at the prospect. On our side, on account of our heavy internal duties on some articles, port duties must be added on the equalizing principle; and he trusted that all little obstacles would be overruled.

It was said that our manufactures were all loaded with heavy taxes: it was certainly true; but with that disadvantage they had always been able to triumph over the Irish in their own markets, paying the additional ten per cent. on the importation to Ireland, and all the charges. But the low price of labour was mentioned. Would that consideration enable them to undersell us!

Manufacturers thought otherwise: there were great obstacles to the planting of any manufacture. It would require time for arts and capital, and the capital would not increase without the demand also; and in an established manufacture,

improvement was so rapid as to bid defiance to rivalry. In some of our manufactures, too, there were natural and insurmountable objections to their competition. In the woollens, for instance, by confining the raw material to the country, the manufacture was confined also.

There might be some branches in which Ireland might rival, and, perhaps, beat England; but this ought not to give us pain; we must calculate from general and not partial views; and, above all things, not look on Ireland with a jealous eye. It required not philosophy to reconcile us to a competition which would give us a rich customer instead of a poor one. Her prosperity would be a fresh spring to our trade.

One observation more on this branch, and that was, that the price of labour, proportionably lower now, was an advantage which would be constantly diminishing. As their manufactures and commerce increased, this advantage would be incessantly growing less. For these reasons, he did not think that England had anything to fear in the proposed scheme for equalizing the duties on the admission of their mutual produce.

Having said so much about what was to be given by England, he should pass next to the other part of his proposition, without which the former would be an improvident surrender of advantages belonging, at this moment, to Great Britain: he meant the return that was to be made for them by Ireland. He could not, at the outset of this business, expect that any specific sum should be proposed by the Irish parliament towards defraying the expense of protecting the commerce of the empire; because it was impossible for them to ascertain, at present, or for some time to come, the amount of the advantages that the Irish would derive from this system: on the other hand, it would have been improper not to stipulate for something. He had, therefore, thought it best for this country that she should have some solid and substantial provision for what should be stipulated in her favour, and that should keep pace with benefits that the system would produce to the Irish; for this purpose it had been agreed that the provisions should consist of the surplus of the hereditary revenue, whenever there should be a surplus; and this fund, the committee would perceive, from what he was going to state, was precisely that from which it could be best collected to what degree the Irish should have been benefited by the commercial regulations.

The hereditary revenue in Ireland was that which was inseparably annexed to the crown, and left to the king, to be disposed of at his discretion, for the benefit of the public. It was pretty much like the hereditary revenue that was formerly

annexed to the crown in this country, and which was given up by his present majesty for a certain annuity. Above four-fifths of the Irish hereditary revenue was raised in such a way that the whole must necessarily increase with an increase of commerce. It was raised from three several objects: from customs, the produce of which must necessarily be greater when the customed goods imported into Ireland should be more in value than they had hitherto been; from 10 per cent. on other kinds of goods entered, which must, of course, bear always a proportion to the extent of the trade; from hearths—an increase of population would produce an increase of houses, and an increase of houses would necessarily produce an increase of hearths, and, consequently, of this branch of the revenue; from an inland excise, which, depending always upon consumption, must always rise with population and property, and, consequently, should the trade and population of Ireland exceed in future what they are at present, the hereditary revenue would be benefited by both. This revenue had not, indeed, for many years back, been equal to the ends for which it had been granted to the crown; and the deficiencies had been made up by new taxes imposed by the Irish parliament: it did not at present make above half of the whole. By the papers on the table it appeared that it produced, at the present, L.652,000 a-year. For some time back there had been an arrear incurred, the expenses of the state being greater than its income; but he understood that steps were to be taken to bring both to a level, and then a reasonable hope might be entertained that, if the trade of Ireland should grow more flourishing, there would be a considerable surplus on this revenue applicable to the protection of the common trade of the empire; and he indulged this hope the rather, that, for several years back, when government took care that the expenditure should not be greater than the income, the hereditary revenue produced L.690,000 a-year, though the commerce of the country was at the time shackled with innumerable restraints: what then might be expected from it when that trade on which it depended should be enlarged?

Then it would be found that our strength would grow with the strength of Ireland; and, instead of feeling uneasiness or jealousy at the increase of her commerce, we should have reason to rejoice at such a circumstance, because this country would then derive an aid for the protection of trade proportioned to the increase of commerce in Ireland. He did not mean that we should very soon experience any very great assistance from this revenue, because it would take some time before new channels of trade could be opened to Ireland; but, from the nature of this fund, it would appear that, if little

should be given to England, it would be because little had been gained by Ireland, so that, whether much or little should be got from it, England would have no cause to be dissatisfied; if much should be got, she would be a gainer; if little, it would be a proof that little of the commerce of England had found its way into Ireland; and, consequently, there could not be much room for jealousy. The parliament of Ireland had readily consented to the appropriation of the surplus out of the hereditary revenue to the defence of trade; but though he did not in the least doubt the intention of that parliament liberally to fulfil what had been so readily resolved, yet, in a matter of so much moment to Great Britain, he felt that he ought not to leave anything to the generosity or liberality even of the most generous and liberal. As it was his object to make a final settlement in this negotiation, and to proceed upon a fixed principle, he wished it to be understood that, as he meant to ensure to Ireland the permanent and irrevocable enjoyment of commercial advantages, so he expected, in return, that Ireland would secure to England an aid as permanent and irrevocable.

The resolution of the Irish parliament on that point was not worded in so clear a manner as he could wish. It stated, "That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce annually, over and above, the sum of _____ should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such a manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct." Now this did not plainly hold out the prospect of this surplus being irrevocably applied to this purpose; and as this was with him a *conditio sine qua non*, he would not call upon the committee to pledge itself to anything on the subject, till the parliament of Ireland should have re-considered the matter, and explained it more fully.

SECT. XII.—FREE TRADE WITH IRELAND: MR PITT FOR IT;
MR FOX, MR SHERIDAN, AND THE WHIGS AGAINST IT.

A fortnight elapsed before the subject was again introduced. In the meantime, a report, prepared by the committee of the Board of Trade and Plantations, was laid by Mr Pitt upon the table of the house, to assist its deliberations. The report was stated to be founded on the opinions and declarations of some of the principal manufacturers and merchants in the kingdom, who had been examined by the committee; and its

particular object was to prove the expediency of that part of the system expressed in the third and fourth resolutions, which proposed to reduce the duties payable upon the importation of Irish produce and manufactures into Great Britain. In the meantime, also, the opposition members of parliament, and the merchants and manufacturers, including those who had been examined by the committee of the Board of Trade, held meetings, and declared that the proposed system of commercial intercourse with Ireland was contrary to the evidence of the manufacturers, and directly destructive of the commerce and manufactures of Britain. Petitions to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house were urged upon the commons. Deputations arrived in London from all the principal towns, and subscriptions were collected to retain barristers to plead for the petitioners at the bar. Mr Erskine was one of the counsel employed for Manchester, in support of whom a petition was sent from that town, signed by 120,000 persons. The deputation of manufacturers who conveyed it to London were met on their return by the inhabitants of the town, there being a universal holiday, with processions of all the trades, an effigy of Mr Pitt being hung on a gallows, and burnt in St Ann's Square, amid the tumult of the manufacturers of all classes. So popular did Mr Fox, and the other members of parliament who led the movement in favour of *protection to trade* become, that on the 15th of September following, Mr Fox, Lord Robert Spencer, Mr Grenville, and Sir Frank Sandish, were feted at Manchester.

By *The Morning Chronicle* of May 7, 1785, we find that the following petitions, praying to be heard by counsel at the bar, had been presented to the House of Commons between the 3d of March and the 3d of May:—

- March 3. From merchants, &c., of Liverpool.
- ... 8. Members of the Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow; Paisley, &c.
- ... 11. Merchants, &c., of Manchester, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 14. Calico manufacturers and printers of Lancashire, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 15. Manufacturers and dealers in British manufactures in London, (counsel heard.)
- ... Merchants, &c., of Bristol.
- ... 18. Commercial committee of Birmingham.
- ... Cotton and calico manufacturers of Blackburn, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 21. Merchants, &c., of Wolverhampton.
- . Society of merchant venturers of Bristol, (counsel ordered.)

- Mar. 21. Sugar refiners of Bristol.
 ... Manufacturers of Nottingham.
- April 4. Weavers and inhabitants of Paisley, (heard by
 counsel.)
 ... Operative weavers of Glasgow, (heard by counsel.)
 ... Merchants and manufacturers of Dunfermline.
 ... Manufacturers and traders of Derby.
 ... Committee of merchants and manufacturers of
 Sheffield.
 ... Iron-masters, &c., of West Bromwich.
 ... Manufacturers of sail canvas in Warrington.
 ... Manufacturers of sailcloth in Lancaster.
 ... Manufacturers of fustians, cottons, velvets, &c., in
 Wigan.
- ... 5. Sailcloth manufacturers in Kirkham.
 ... Manufacturers and traders of Paisley.
- ... 6. Makers of pig and bar iron in the county of Salop.
 ... Nail ironmongers in and near Stourbridge.
 ... Manufacturers of earthenware in Staffordshire.
 ... Merchants, manufacturers, and traders of Walsall.
- ... 7. Merchants concerned in the corn and malt trade of
 Great Yarmouth.
 ... Nail ironmongers in Dudley.
 ... Glass manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Stour-
 bridge and Dudley.
 ... Merchants, manufacturers, &c., of Kidderminster.
 ... Mr Robertson and others, in behalf of the iron manu-
 facturers in Glasgow, Cramond, and Dalnottar.
 ... Merchants and manufacturers of Manchester.
 ... Gentlemen, clergy, and landowners in Rochdale.
- ... 8. Gentlemen, clergy, &c., of Ashton-under-Lyne.
 ... Operative weavers in the villages of Govan and
 Partick.
 ... Merchants and manufacturers in Bolton.
 ... Gentlemen, merchants, and inhabitants of Lancaster.
- ... 11. Merchants, manufactures, &c., of Glasgow.
 ... The provost, magistrates, and town council of
 Dunbar.
 ... Merchants, manufacturers, and others in Aberdeen.
 ... Justices of Norfolk.
- ... 12. Master silk weavers in London and Manchester,
 (counsel heard.)
 ... Glass manufacturers of Glasgow, Bristol, Newcastle,
 and London, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 14. Merchants and manufacturers of broad cloth in
 Gloucestershire.

April 14. Working silk weavers of Spitalfields, (heard by counsel.)

... 15. Manufacturers, &c., in the borough of Hamilton.

... 20. Master printers in Edinburgh.

... Ironmasters in the counties of Salop, Worcester, Stafford, and Warwick.

... 25. Manufacturers, and inhabitants of Coventry and adjacent parishes.

... 29. Merchants, manufacturers, &c., of Brechin.

May 3. Manufacturers and wool-staplers of the county of Southampton, (counsel.)

... Manufacturers of shoes, &c., in the town of Stafford, (counsel ordered.)

Similar petitions continued to be presented. We give an extract from that of the manufacturers of Manchester. After relating specially how their own trade would be injured by competition with Ireland, they proceed to condemn the free trade principle:—

“But your petitioners do not confine their views to the danger arising immediately and directly from those resolutions as affecting the manufacturers of Manchester only, but feel themselves equally entitled, as subjects of this country, to protest against all the propositions, taken aggregately, as a *new and destructive system of commercial policy*; particularly the 2d, 3d, and 6th resolutions, which, by *universally undermining the interest of Great Britain*, must consequently affect every trade and manufacture within it, the prosperity of which depends evidently upon the general wealth, commerce, and prosperity of the whole nation.”

The formidable opposition manifested between the 22d of February and the 12th of May, induced Mr Pitt to introduce a new set of resolutions on that day; they were as follow:—

“Resolved, 1. ‘That it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

“2. ‘That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision equally permanent and secure shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expenses, in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

“3. ‘That, towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth

or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies or America, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

“4. ‘That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made or shall be made in Great Britain for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonists and plantations, shall be in force in Ireland in the same manner as in Great Britain; and that proper measures should from time to time be taken for effectually carrying the same into execution.

“5. ‘That it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonists, in America or the West Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain.

“6. ‘That, in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be put, by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject, in passing from one port of Great Britain to another; and that all goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, be accompanied with a like certificate, as is now required by law, on the importation of Irish linens into Great Britain.

“7. ‘That, for the like purpose, it is also expedient that, when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India islands, shall be shipped from Ireland for

Great Britain, they shall be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the British sugar-colonies as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain ; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel ; and, to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what port.

“ 8. ‘ That it is essential, for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies or America, should, from this time, be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

“ 9. ‘ That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should be importable into Ireland from any foreign European country ; and that, so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it advisable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain, and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.

“ 10. ‘ That it is necessary, for the general benefit of the British empire, that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, (except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits,) and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary, in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

“ 11. ‘ That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are differ-

ent on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as any similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

“ 12. ‘ That it is also proper that, in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, except in the case of beer imported into Ireland; such further duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed; and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom greater than the duty on the like raw material in the other, or where the whole or part of such duty on the raw material is drawn back or compensated, on exportation of the manufacture from one kingdom to the other, such manufacture may, on its importation, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same so imported to the same burdens as the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufactures so imported shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

“ 13. ‘ That, in order to give permanency to the settlement intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

“ 14. ‘ That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, further, that no prohibition, or new or additional duty, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other; except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, to impose upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

“ 15. ‘ That, for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except

such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, beer and spirits distilled from corn, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be payable on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any paid thereon in Britain.

“16. ‘That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated, from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

“17. ‘That it is expedient that the copyrights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to the copyrights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

“18. ‘That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expenses of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.’”

Mr Pitt opened the business to the committee in a speech which we need not repeat here, as in its general arguments it was only a repetition of that delivered by him on the 22d of February. We shall make room for one of the opposition speeches, and have selected that of Mr Fox, spoken after Lord North had moved as an amendment on Mr Pitt’s resolutions the adjournment of the debate. Mr Erskine’s speech at the bar of the House of Lords as counsel for the Manchester petitioners, delivered on the 21st of June, may be looked to

as the ablest of the pleadings of counsel. A full and corrected report of it is printed in the *General Advertiser* of the 23d of June 1785; but it deals so little with facts or with principles, is so full of rambling declamation, vague prophecy, and invective against Mr Pitt, that it would not repay the reader's patience were it inserted and perused here. Mr Fox's speech is more noticeable, as he was the parliamentary leader of the liberals, and the leader who most effectively defended monopoly and opposed the removal of the trading restrictions between England and Ireland. Mr Gilbert being chairman of the committee, Mr Fox rose and spoke as follows:—

“ Mr Gilbert, though I now rise to submit my sentiments on the present important subject, yet I beg it may be understood by the committee that I shall cheerfully give way to any gentleman on the other side who may be authorized to declare that it is not meant to press us to a vote this night. I do not conceive it possible, indeed, that any objection can be made to the motion of my noble friend. The vast variety of matter perfectly new, as well as the numerous alterations of that which we had previously before us, demanding the most minute and accurate discussion, surely the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not force the committee, at an hour so unseasonable, to come to a decision upon so difficult and so perplexed a subject. I have paused, sir, to give an opportunity for discovering if such be the intention of gentlemen; but from their continued silence, it is evident they are determined, at all events, to precipitate the committee to this extraordinary and unparalleled decision. I must, therefore, entreat a more than usual indulgence from the committee if compelled, as I find myself, to enter into this important discussion. I shall, even at so late an hour, intrude for a considerable length of time on their patience. The committee will recollect that, in addition to the eleven original propositions, no less than sixteen new ones are now, for the first time, submitted to parliament; so that, at one o'clock in the morning, I have to enter into the discussion of no less than twenty-seven of the most important and complex propositions that ever were the subject of parliamentary debate. Nor is this the whole of the difficulty: the sixteen supplemental propositions are not confined to verbal explanations, or to mere literal amendments of the former; on the contrary, they directly change the whole tenor, and absolutely subvert the main principle of the original system upon which the right honourable gentleman declared it to be his fixed intention to proceed; so that, in truth, they are altogether as unexpected as they obviously are new and contradictory. Surely, there-

fore, under circumstances so very novel and embarrassing, I may with less presumption entreat the committee to forgive that unavoidable intrusion on their time, which must be the consequence of compelling us to come to a vote on so interesting and so complicated a subject, before it is scarcely possible for gentlemen to form even any general ideas on the whole of the subject, as it is now modelled.

“But, first, with respect to this extraordinary system, most undoubtedly the claim of merit in being the author of it can admit of no question. My noble friend (Lord North) has waived all possible pretensions to it; but not, I am sure, more cheerfully than I concur with him, *in declaring it to be the sole and entire possession of the right honourable gentleman who has officially produced it. With him let the whole credit of it reside, undisputed and unenvied. He, indeed, who contends with him for its honours must be instigated by unjustifiable motives; for surely never did there appear a work more completely, more indivisibly, the sole and genuine composition of its author, than the present system evidently demonstrates itself to be exclusively the work of the right honourable gentleman. No necessity can be alleged to have given rise to it, for it flows from the mere will of the proposer. No urgent, no pressing calamity bore a share in its introduction. It is the offspring of peace and domestic tranquillity. Surely, therefore, it would be false and injurious to allege that the people of Ireland had forced the British minister into a tame surrender of the manufactures and commerce of our country. The fact is directly the reverse. The British minister has proffered this surrender from his own mere motion, his own sound will, his own unbiassed judgment. Unquestionably, therefore, he, and he only, is clearly entitled to enjoy all the merits and all the honours of a system so completely and so perfectly his own.*

“Perhaps, indeed, from the examples which the right honourable gentleman has so frequently afforded us of a wonderful perseverance in the defence of his own opinions, and at the same time as complete an adoption of the amendments which we suggest, and he himself disapproves, we ought not to be very much astonished at any new and sudden appearance that his present system may have assumed; but I confess, however, it was with considerable astonishment that I heard the right honourable gentleman state his new propositions. For these, sir, are at once directly, totally, and vitally in contradiction to the whole of that system on which he set out, and from which, if we had trusted merely to his own solemn declarations, we must have believed it impossible that he could deviate in the minutest degree. In saying this, the committee

must be sensible that I speak merely from the impression which the resolutions have made on my mind as they were cursorily read over and explained by the right honourable gentleman. I have not had time, and the committee are not to be permitted to have time, to read and weigh these propositions before they determine upon their merits; but such is the impression which, on the first blush, they have made upon my mind.

“Sir, I have all along understood that the basis of the right honourable gentleman’s original system was reciprocity in correspondent duties, and reciprocity in the prohibition of the export of raw materials. Now these principles, in my mind, the right honourable gentleman has completely abandoned in his new propositions; for, particularly in the article of beer, an exception is made to the reciprocity in correspondent duties, and in the seventh resolution a change is made with respect to prohibitions. The right honourable gentleman has, therefore, retracted and recanted his original principles; he has abandoned the ground on which he set out, and on which he so frequently pledged himself that the whole of his propositions should stand or fall. He has abandoned the reciprocity in correspondent duties; he has abandoned the reciprocal prohibition of raw materials. In these instances—which, if they are said to be trifling in themselves, are not trifles when considered as departures from principle—he has abandoned his ground; and, by doing this, he opens a new system, and comes forward with a set of propositions so far forth diametrically opposite to, and fundamentally different from, that system which he himself has most repeatedly assured us could not possibly admit of the slightest change, and was, indeed, to be wholly inviolable.

“Sir, the right honourable gentleman reprobates the charge which has been imputed to him, of rashness in the original propositions. Was there ever a charge made with more truth, or demonstrated with more clearness? Has not the right honourable gentleman’s conduct on this day given the most unequivocal testimony to the original rashness of his system? What can be a more decisive proof of original rashness than subsequent retraction? The right honourable gentleman brings forward a set of resolutions, as the basis of a system for the intercourse between the two countries; he pledges the government of this kingdom for the literal establishment of his system; he proudly resists inquiry and scorns deliberation; but, when circumstances arise which he has not ability to overcome, and time, in spite of his opposition, is procured for inquiry and discussion, he is constrained to

acknowledge the errors of his first opinions, and he comes forward with a set of propositions directly the reverse of the former. Whether this does not exhibit the rashness of the right honourable gentleman in colours more warm and durable than any with which we on this side the house are able to characterise his conduct, I submit to the committee and the public. The rashness of the right honourable gentleman is proved by the right honourable gentleman himself; and it is singularly striking that, by the whole of his behaviour, the rashness of one day is to be proved by the rashness of another. He now brings forward to the committee a set of propositions directly contradictory to those on which he first proceeded; and having thus himself demonstrated the rashness of his own conduct in the first instance, he becomes enamoured of this boasted weakness, and yet most liberally determines that we also shall be admitted to a full participation of it, by a rash, premature adoption of these his latest notions, which, however, may as suddenly and as consistently be abandoned as the former. So hostile is he to deliberation, such an avowed enemy to everything that looks like inquiry and reflection, that, even on this day, when he is suffering the shame of rashness, he calls upon us to be rash. Although his propositions have been but once cursorily read over, and in that reading embellished, and set off with all the lustre of his eloquence, although they are perfectly new, and although he has not submitted them to the committee till after midnight, he demands and compels us to come to a vote on them. The decency of this conduct I will not insist upon; but, thus driven, thus forced to a division, I must, however unwilling to give a hasty negative, *vote directly against his propositions, as conceiving them to be, at the best, unnecessary, most probably pernicious, but, undoubtedly, so productive of an entire revolution in our commercial system, as to involve a train of consequences, against which the wisest and best characters of this country might despair of providing any adequate security.*

“But, sir, I must congratulate the committee—I must congratulate the country—on the happy escape which we have had from the system proposed by the right honourable gentleman but two months since. That system, the ruin of which has been this day so ably demonstrated, was then within four-and-twenty hours of being carried through this house; so that, when we look back on all the circumstances of the case, we have, indeed, good reason to rejoice in our fortunate escape. The first propositions, when they were originally opened in this house, were pronounced to be so pure and beneficial, so clearly and demonstrably perfect, that not a moment

was to be wasted in a useless discussion of their merits. The right honourable gentleman, therefore, inveighed against the strange, uncandid opposition which was made to those his first propositions. He attributed the opinions of this side of the house to mere faction and disappointment; he called our solemn appeals to the legislature and to the nation illiberal artifices to excite unnecessary clamour; he gave a haughty defiance to the manufacturers and merchants, to exhibit any reasonable argument against a system so replete with every beneficial consequence to themselves; and he triumphed in the circumstance that, for some days, not a single petition was brought to the house from any part of the country against those propositions. Afterwards, indeed, he was forced to abate his triumph; he found no want of petitions, nor of argument; but his language was still lofty, and his mind implacable. His system was so superior to the petulance and faction of those who opposed it, that he declared his resolution of carrying it into a law, even to the letter of the specific resolutions. *Convinced, however, as we always were, that these resolutions were fraught with injury and ruin to the manufacturers and commerce of this country, we warned, we conjured the house to deliberate, to call for information, to examine those who, from their situations, were the most likely to be possessed of intelligence. We called for the commissioners of customs, and the commissioners of excise, that the house might learn from them whether from the operation of these resolutions the revenues of the country were not instantly exposed to insurmountable dangers. The right honourable gentlemen reprobated the proceeding. He asserted that we called for these commissioners merely to gain time; that our purpose was insidious delay, in order to inflame the public, and stir up factious clamours. But what has been the issue of all this? Will the right honourable gentleman now dare to attribute our conduct to those unworthy motives? The commissioners, whose opinions on the subject he considered of so little avail, have declared by their report that material and alarming injury would unavoidably arise from these resolutions, fraught, as they conceive them to be, with innumerable dangers. But still more strongly has the right honourable gentleman himself, on this day, described, in his own beautiful language, the variety of ruinous consequences that must have attended his original system. He himself has enumerated to the committee the long train of evils we have escaped by opposing his propositions; he himself has emphatically described the destruction we should have incurred by adopting his own*

exploded system. Let the committee recollect the detail of fatal consequences thus authoritatively admitted.

“ *First, it has been now admitted that, if the original resolutions had passed, we should have lost for ever the monopoly of the East India trade.* It has been admitted that we could no longer have renewed the exclusive charter of the company ; but the sister kingdom, having once an equal power with ourselves to trade to Asia, we must wholly have depended on the will of Ireland for a renewal of the charter, by which the monopoly could alone have been maintained.

“ If these resolutions had passed into a law, it has equally been admitted that we must have hazarded all the revenue arising from spirituous liquors, no distinction having been made between our own and foreign liquors, nor any provision thought of to prevent their admission into this country.

“ If these resolutions had passed into a law, we should equally have sacrificed the whole of the navigation laws of this country. These laws, the great source of our commercial opulence, the prime origin of our maritime strength, would at once have been delivered up in trust to Ireland, leaving us for ever after totally dependent on her policy and on her bounty for the future guardianship of our dearest interests.

“ If these resolutions had passed into a law, we should have opened the door to a more extensive contraband trade than ever yet was known to exist in this country ; for not a shadow of protection was provided against every species of smuggling, not even the means which we think it necessary to use in our own traffic from port to port—*that of requiring bonds, cockets, and other instruments, on goods sent coastwise.*

“ If these resolutions had been carried into a law, we should have endangered the loss of the colonial market to the manufacturers of Great Britain ; for no care was taken to prevent Ireland from giving bounties, or allowing drawbacks, on goods exported to the colonies ; so that it was left in their power to give so decisive an advantage to their own manufactures as must have ascertained to them the market, or, which would have been equally ruinous, have forced us to enter into a warfare of bounties to the extinction of our revenues.

“ If these resolutions had been carried into a law, dangers as extensive must have equally been incurred by our colonies ; for not a single provision was stipulated for laying permanent high duties on the produce of foreign colonies imported into Ireland ; so that, at any future time, Ireland might have taken off the annual high duties, and given admission to the produce of foreign colonies, on terms which must completely

have ruined our West India islands. I need not state to the committee a fact so universally known as that the produce of our colonies is dearer than that of the foreign islands. But we have, nevertheless, preferred the home market, on account of the natural interest which we have in them; and, undoubtedly, we must continue to do so. Ireland has no such obligation: on the contrary, her interest would as forcibly lead her to the foreign colonies.

“If these resolutions, therefore, had passed into a law, we should have been irretrievably bound to our part of the bargain, whereas Ireland would by no means have been confined to hers.

“If these resolutions had passed into a law, by the monstrous incongruity of the fifth, it would have been in the power of Ireland to draw a revenue from our consumption. They had only to lay an internal duty in Ireland on the articles of our consumption, equal to the internal duty that might exist on such articles in this country, and it must have followed that they, of course, would have drawn the revenue from the country that was to consume the goods. This astonishing absurdity is done away by the removal of the latter part of the fifth resolution. This also, if these resolutions had passed into a law, the leather trade must as certainly have been ruined; for though we were bound, in all future time, to send our oak-bark to Ireland duty free, Ireland was not bound to prohibit the exportation of raw hides to Great Britain, without which the trade could not subsist.

“These, sir, are some few of the evils which, confessedly, would have taken place if the original resolutions which the right honourable gentleman proposed but two months ago had unfortunately passed into a law. All these menaces, these fatal consequences of his own rash system, the right honourable gentleman has on this day himself acknowledged, at the same moment that he introduces, for the first time, a new set of complicated propositions, in remedy of the detected mischiefs of the former. In doing this, he has at once completely changed the ground on which he first set out; for, having originally declared that the very spirit and soul of his system was to square and finally determine the relative situation of the two countries, he then maintained that this salutary, this grand, this primary object, could only be accomplished by a complete and perfect reciprocity; yet that essential, that vital principle, he has now totally and directly abandoned, as well in the remarkable change which he has introduced in the seventh resolution, as in the article of beer, the export of which is of infinite consequence. Reciprocity, therefore, which

was the vital principle, the spirit, the quintessence of his system, is now completely abandoned.

“Sir, that these alterations are for the better, I most cheerfully admit. Undoubtedly they tend to make the present system far more palatable to Englishmen. Why, then, it may be asked, do I now state them? Clearly for this reason: to manifest to the house the important benefits of deliberation. I mentioned them to shew that the alarm given by gentlemen of this side of the house was a most fortunate alarm for this country. By that fortunate alarm, the manufacturing communities in every corner of the kingdom have been apprised of their danger; they have had time to come forward; they have had time to give those lights to the committee which have been the happy means of producing the alterations of this day. I mention them to shew what must have been the consequences to the empire if the committee had implicitly fallen into the system which the rashness of the right honourable gentleman, I will not say his ignorance, but which, to give it an easier term, his extraordinary confidence in his own abilities, induced him so peremptorily and so authoritatively to propose.

“There is also another and even more powerful reason for my enlarging on these important alterations. It is, sir, to convince the committee that there is still a powerful appeal to our equity, our benevolence, and even our common sense, for affording the merchants and manufacturers of this country a much longer period of deliberation, and surely as strong a claim on the justice of the minister, to suspend the vote of the committee on a question of such infinite magnitude to all our just and dearest interests. The committee will be taught, by a due estimation of the benefits already acquired from salutary delays, that most important advantages are to be derived from fair inquiry and impartial discussion. If in two months such serious and consequential errors have been discovered, what may we not expect from longer time and more careful investigation? If in two months the right honourable gentleman has gleaned so much from this side of the house, and from gentlemen whose ideas he certainly is not much disposed avowedly and ingenuously to adopt, however willing he may be to benefit in secret by them, what may we not expect when his bright talents have had more time to work on the suggestions with which we may have furnished him? That he has largely profited from this side of the house, the committee will readily perceive; neither will they, I believe, consider it extremely presumptuous if I arrogate some degree of honour to myself, in having contributed a little to the amendments of

this day. From my right honourable friend (Mr Eden) the minister has certainly collected many more of his new opinions. Surely, therefore, from the excellent use which the right honourable gentlemen has already made of our discoveries and suggestions, it will more and more be the wish of all impartial men that he should have time to mature the many other matters which he has not yet so far honoured us as entirely to adopt. For what must be the fruits of those ideas—how ample, how rich must be the harvest they produce—when his protecting hand shall raise them from obscurity to a richer soil: when he himself shall ‘transplant them to his own fair garden where the sun always shines!’ Nothing, surely, can be more beneficial than to wait for their mature production. I speak for myself, and I am sure I may speak also for my right honourable friend and the other gentlemen round me, that we shall be happy to trust our progeny to his care. If he is a plagiary, he is a plagiary uncommonly endowed; for he decorates that which he steals in apparel so gay and luxuriant, he enriches whatever he takes with such additions of flowers and embroidery, that, though as their legitimate parents we recognise our own offspring, we view them with no small degree of wonder in their strange and sumptuous attire. On this day, indeed, we may be proud to contemplate the predominating efficacy of our own suggestions; and on this day alone has the right honourable gentleman, for the very first time, condescended to depart from his usual stateliness and overbearing sense of his own superiority. Upon this day, with new and unaccustomed affability, he neither reprobates nor reviles the opinions to which he has deigned to accede. It is to us a strange and unexpected triumph, not, indeed, to have our ideas received by the right honourable gentleman, (in that acceptance he is courtesy itself,) but to hear them, even in the moment they are admitted, unstigmatized by the receiver, nor, as usual, traduced in words while they are approved in fact, and vilified at the very moment of their adoption.

“The right honourable gentleman, whom my noble friend (Lord North) most truly painted, when he asserted that ‘he had a mind which found gratification in invective,’* has this

* Lord North said, in the course of his speech, “There are some men, Mr Gilbert, who seem to be organized for slander; there are some men who, by the peculiar temperament of their nature, find gratification in invective, and, so eager are they for the enjoyment of their lust, that they go about to seek for blemishes, in order to expose them; and, in pursuit of their game, they will sometimes pretend to find them where they are not. Such men, if they propose any measure, are infinitely more desirous to make it stand upon the faults of

day alluded to a letter written by a noble lord* as a dispatch from Ireland, during the administration of which I had the honour to make a part, and he has insinuated that the letter manifested an intention in that administration to have gone the lengths of the present system, 'if they had had energy sufficient for so great an adventure.' I did not expect that, even from him, such a construction would have been put upon that dispatch. From his colleagues in office I am confident of meeting with more candour. But the letter has been read: I submit to the committee the terms of that letter, and call upon them to say if the English language could furnish expressions more decisive of the contrary opinion than those in which we declared to the lord lieutenant that we could not encourage him to make a promise to Ireland which, if fulfilled, would be destructive to Britain. In that opinion we were then unanimous, and to that opinion we firmly adhere. But, are these the arts by which the noble lord and I are to be degraded in the eyes of Britain? Let the minister persist in these unworthy insinuations: he shall not deter us from what we know to be our duty—he shall not overcome that deliberate firmness which, after healing the calamities of Ireland, and happily establishing both her commercial and constitutional liberty, had sufficient spirit, sufficient justice, to withhold what it were ruin to relinquish, and what, indeed, was as little expected or sought by Ireland, as it was safe or just for an administration here to bestow. That letter, which was written by the noble lord in his official capacity, was of too much consequence to be written under the sanction of any individual department. Every one of his majesty's confidential servants was privy to the measure; nor was any dispatch ever made up on a more decided and unanimous opinion. Let the right honourable gentleman refer to some of his present colleagues for information on the point. As to the 'want of energy—the temporizing spirit—the half measures—and the expedients of getting over a session by a post office or an admiralty court:—all these are insinuations which my noble friend has completely refuted. Neither the post office nor the admiralty court were conceded as expedients to get over a session: they were neither given nor accepted as boons; they were the natural consequences of the previous change of system; they flowed naturally from the new situation in which Ireland stood by the independence of her legis-

others than on its own merits; and such a man I take the right honourable gentleman to be."—Parl. Hist., vol. xxv., p. 590.

* The Earl of Northington, who held the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the coalition administration.

lature. What occasion had we for expedients to get over a session? The lord lieutenant of that day enjoyed as high a degree of confidence, and deserved it as well, as any nobleman that ever filled the station. We were guilty of no violences, and there existed no clamour.

“I cannot help stopping here for a moment, to make a remark on a curious distinction to which the right honourable gentleman appears most remarkably attached: a distinction which betrays a feeling that I cannot well describe—a sort of self-complacency—a kind of over-pleasure with his own situation. In speaking of the noble lord in the blue ribbon, at different periods, he is ever solicitous of distinguishing between the First Lord of the Treasury and the mere Secretary of State. In the one character he ascribes to him all the dignity of sovereign rank, of superintendence, and of sole authority—in the other, he considers him as rather acting under or with a ministry, than as a minister possessed of either power or responsibility. He says of him, at one time, ‘When the noble lord was the minister of the country;’ at another, ‘When the noble lord held a subordinate situation in the cabinet.’ By these distinctions, the right honourable gentleman takes a juvenile pleasure in glancing at his own elevation. He considers the personage who fills the united offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury as a character so lofty and exalted, so super-eminent in his station, that he must on no account be confounded with inferior persons. In like manner, when he talks of coalitions, and reprobates them, he is moved by the same feeling. His charge against me and others is for coalescing with the minister, the great superintending minister of the American war! His own coalitions he can readily defend by the very same distinction. ‘I own,’ he says, ‘I have certainly coalesced with some of the ministers who were concerned in the patronage and conduct of the American war: they, however, were inferior characters: Lords Chancellors of England, and such like persons of no account; but never have I been so infamous and abandoned as to form a coalition with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Treasury, the great superintending minister of the crown, who was the soul of the system.’* I do not, sir, enlarge upon this feeling of the right honourable gentlemen as a charge against him: it is a feeling, in the enjoyment of which I am by no means inclined to disturb him:

* Lord Thurlow and Earl Gower, who held office in Mr Pitt's administration, the former as Lord Chancellor, and the latter as Lord President of the Council, held the same offices in the administration of Lord North.

a feeling, in the enjoyment of which I know of no person that has any interest to disturb him; unless, indeed, there may be some of his immediate colleagues who may think it would be somewhat more decent in him to gratify his passion or his pride in a mode less publicly offensive both to their spirit and their dignity.

“But, to return, sir, to the propositions on the table. I must now renew the observation that I made in the outset of this business; namely, that there was a gross and fundamental error in originating these propositions in the Irish parliament. Independent of the insult to the parliament of this country, in not submitting, for their consideration, a great and extensive innovation in the whole system of our commerce, till after it had been determined upon in Ireland—surely the experience of this day sufficiently demonstrates the impolicy of so strange a measure. For, is it not evident that after the parliament and people of Ireland have been suffered to cherish the belief that the resolutions which the ministers of that kingdom assured them would be religiously adhered to as the basis of the new system, the ministers of England come forward, and change the spirit, principle, and tendency of these resolutions? Is it to be imagined that, after the solemn pledge which the people of Ireland have received from their ministers, and which, undoubtedly, was held out to their parliament as a sufficient ground for an immediate extension of their revenue—is it to be imagined, I say, that, by any private tampering with the individual leaders of a party, the whole body of that nation will as rapidly acquiesce in the supplemental resolutions now brought forward as they at first did in the original propositions; and when, too, the latter are directly framed to weaken and diminish the effect of the former, which those who proposed them in Ireland had peremptorily insisted should never undergo the slightest or most minute infringement. Nothing can be more absurd than the state of this proceeding. First, the original propositions were made in Ireland—now the amendments are made in England. The Irish thus exposed what alone would content them, and they were offered it without knowing whether it was what England would grant. Now, England is called upon to say what she will give, without knowing whether it is what Ireland would take. Thus, a double inconveniency and dilemma arises from the strange and incoherent proceeding. Nor is this the only impolicy in the mode of conducting this extraordinary measure.

“His majesty’s ministers have erected a board of trade, under the name of a Committee of the Privy Council,

which, certainly, with proper regulations, I should consider as a wise and wholesome institution; but this board was appointed—not to prepare materials for the system with Ireland; not to supply government with information upon which they might deliberately proceed to the adjustment of the intercourse between the two kingdoms. On the contrary, this board was appointed to inquire rather into the propriety of what ministers were actually doing, than what they ought to do. For, at the precise time when Mr Secretary Orde first agitated the business in the Irish House of Commons, this committee of the privy council was employed in the examination of evidence and the discussion of points on which the merits of the proposed arrangement were ultimately to be estimated. Never, surely, was a board of privy council so perverted, so degraded as this! Not appointed to investigate and examine all the necessary evidence as a preliminary to an important measure—not constituted to deliberate on the various effects of a great national change, the outline of which was merely in idea, unsettled, and unadopted by the minister; but, in truth, to provide a posthumous defence for a plan already fixed, and to fabricate a vindication for mischiefs too far advanced to admit of qualification or amendment. With such views, and for such purposes, was this board of privy council at first convened. A right honourable gentleman, (Mr Jenkinson,) whose feelings, on being studiously excluded from all the ministerial departments of state, it was found not wholly inexpedient to console and soothe by some temporary delegation of insignificant eminence, was prudently appointed to the presidency of this mock committee. No higher mark of confidence was then bestowed on the now avowed associate of the great superintendent minister. On the report, however, of such a board, thus constituted and thus directed, did the Chancellor of the Exchequer call upon this house to depend with unreserved confidence for the complete justification of his plan. In other words, we were to trust the most important rights of British commerce to the opinion of a board of the king's privy counsellors, appointed by the king's ministers themselves, to inquire whether the measure that they had adopted was wise or the contrary. Can the committee imagine anything more frivolous, more absurd, than so partial an appeal? Do we not all know that, when his majesty's ministers are committed on any one point, the servants whom they employ must be careful not to deliver an opinion hostile to that measure? The board of council are selected by the minister, not as deliberate judges of his conduct; it were the extreme of folly to consider them in such a light; on the contrary, it was their object

to afford every possible support to measures which they were called upon directly to countenance. This always was, and ever must be, the case; and so the committee of privy council in the present instance seem entirely to have considered it. At first, indeed, before the minister had thought it safe to communicate his plan to the right honourable president of this board, some opinions, far from favourable to the plan, did appear upon their minutes, and of course are still to be discovered in their report; but this was a transient gloom: from the moment that the present complete intelligence and intimacy was established between the right honourable president and the ministers, a new light seemed to flash at once on the whole board of council; the happiest means were instantly pursued to effect the concealment of ministerial error; the most decisive mode of examining witnesses was systematically observed: not only the most apt and artful questions were propounded, but, with equal skill, the most fortunate answers were generally provided; all, however, was carried on with much plausibility and stateliness of deportment. 'It was an open court: it was accessible to witnesses of all descriptions, and, accordingly,' (as was repeatedly asserted,) 'gentlemen attended them of their own accord, and voluntarily offered their impartial testimony on the various articles of their respective manufactures.' But how has this description been verified? We have it in proof, that every individual witness who attended that board was expressly sent for—and that questions were put of an abstract nature, and on premises unexplained. We have found, too, that the answers so obtained were reserved, to be brought in contradiction to opinions which, when the premises were fully examined, and the consequences weighed, it was obvious could not fail to be stated in testimony at the bar of the House of Commons. The right honourable gentleman who is at the head of this board (Mr Jenkinson) has thought proper, however, to inform us that the manufacturers were voluntary attendants on the committee. But to this more than one gentleman of eminence and respect has directly answered that, in truth, the witnesses were expressly sent for; Mr Rose of the treasury having repeatedly entreated them to attend the committee. 'Ay,' says the right honourable gentleman, 'but we have nothing to do with Mr Rose, nor with the treasury: we did not send for you.'

"It is said in praise of simplicity of action, that 'the right hand knoweth not what the left hand doeth.' Perhaps this may be the case here? but which, sir, is the right hand, and which the left, of the present administration, it is not so easy

to ascertain. Certainly the Chancellor of the Exchequer has, till of late, been fond of disclaiming all connexion with certain obnoxious characters. He has, generally, in high tone and pompous parade, disavowed and reprobated all intimacy all friendship, all connexion, with the right honourable gentleman (Mr Jenkinson) who has long been suspected of promoting an undue influence in the government of this country. But all this was the language of a period when the momentary popularity which the minister had obtained had placed him above the degradation of so obnoxious a connexion. When the conduct of the popular branch of the constitution was bestowed upon the present minister, under the description and character of a popular statesman, it would, indeed, have been madness in the extreme to have held any other language of one whose habits, whose principles, whose avowed prejudices, marked him out as utterly disqualified for a situation which, even in common prudence, ought never to be subject to the direct control, or to the disguised influence, of prerogative. When the scene, however, began to change, when the Irish resolutions excited alarm, and the minds of men were irritated at so lavish a surrender of everything that was dear; when the right honourable gentleman began to feel himself weak and insecure, his language was less inflated, his proud rejection of obnoxious characters was heard no more;

‘Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque,
Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba.’

‘Misery makes us acquainted with strange companions.’ For my own part, sir, though I have always considered the right honourable gentleman alluded to as an objectionable character for mixing in the conduct of the British government, yet I must do him the justice to say that, in this singular instance, his cautious temper, his patient laborious habits, have undoubtedly been well employed in correcting the strange incoherent levities of the original propositions. And, therefore, it would be wholly unfair to withhold the merit of some of the alterations of this day from the instruction and advice so generously administered by the right honourable gentleman in the hour of danger and necessity.

“But, to return, sir, to the committee of privy council. I cannot suppress my indignation at the petty, miserable plan, which I am sorry to find they have pursued, of first entrapping witnesses, by inducing them to give hasty answers to questions unexplained, and afterwards endeavouring to detect contradictions in their evidence, when they came, at the distance of six weeks, to speak at the bar of this committee. Upon such

conduct, very ill-becoming a board of privy council, I cannot but observe that, undoubtedly, it would have been far more graceful for the right honourable gentleman to have lent his utmost aid to the manufacturers of this country, when they were forced to the bar of this committee in support of their dearest privileges: surely upon such an occasion, he ought himself to have manfully declared, 'I rejoice to see you here: eager as I am for the discovery of truth, I am happy that you are come to explain all those points in which you have been either misquoted or misrepresented by the committee of council. You have now an opportunity to correct those errors; improve it with all the sincerity and zeal that are the best characteristics of Englishmen.' Such, sir, ought to have been his language; for surely it is by no means discreditable for a man of the strictest honour to explain his opinions, when more mature reflection and greater light on the subject have convinced him that he was wrong. And yet, in pursuing a line of conduct diametrically opposite to that which I have described—in adopting the poor and miserable expedient which the minister preferred to the plain feeling of justice and honour—I pledge myself to prove that, with all their sinister industry to confuse and to prevent, they have completely and utterly failed; for not a single instance have they been able to offer of glaring and material contradiction in any one of the numerous witnesses who have been the constant objects of their illiberal attacks.

"I have said, sir, that so far as I have been able to comprehend the alterations, by hearing them once read over, I am ready to acknowledge they are infinitely more palatable than at first; but I desire to be understood, that I still insist they are by no means what they ought to be. Much of my objection remains, and I have no doubt but, when gentlemen come to discuss the amended resolutions, they will yet exhibit weighty arguments against their acceptance, as the basis of the future intercourse between the two countries.

"The right honourable gentleman has now removed the objection which originally existed against the first resolutions: namely, that we thereby sacrificed the monopoly of the Asiatic trade. How the right honourable gentleman could originally overlook that most important concern, unless he meant to abolish the monopoly, is a point for which I am utterly at a loss how to account. Surely the peculiar services which the company have rendered to his administration might well have claimed a more serious attention to their particular interests than the right honourable gentleman seems to have paid them at the present important crisis: but, roused to the

performance of his duty, by the zeal of gentlemen on this side of the house, he has at length, indeed, made some provision for the security of the East India trade. Certainly I do not grudge to the people of Ireland the benefits which he has allotted to them in this branch of commerce: it is by no means improper that they should have a share of the outfit of the East India ships, as they consent to a part of the return. Excluded from the commerce of Asia, it seems but barely equitable to permit them to supply some proportion of the export trade. On the contrary, if, at any time, either the necessities or the mere will of the East India Company should resort to Ireland for such supplies, in preference to the established trade with their own native dealers, I am sure there is no Englishman of sense or spirit who would debar Ireland from every fair participation of those benefits which may be safely and justly divided.

“The right honourable gentleman has made use of the most unfortunate argument that I ever heard delivered by the most unfortunate speaker in this or in any assembly. He says that, giving to Ireland the English market for the issue of colonial produce, though it will not enable the Irish to enter into any dangerous competition with us at home, will yet be of great avail to them, for they will thereby be more capable of taking advantage of the foreign market. This he explains by saying that, having the issue of the English market to depend upon in the last resort, they will have a greater spur to adventure; they will import more of the produce of the colonies; and, trusting to the power which they will now have of coming, in the end, to England with their commodities, they will strive to increase their foreign trade, and necessarily make their country a sort of commercial *dopôt*. If this argument is true of the colonial produce, it is equally true of their own manufactures. If they have the advantage of having the English market as an issue to enable them to push their foreign trade to a considerable increase in the colonial produce, then, with precisely the same ground, may we contend that, having the issue of the English market, they will be able to advance their foreign trade for their manufactures.

“Here, then, is an end to all the invective which was thrown on the manufacturers for having asserted that those resolutions would affect the manufactures of Great Britain in the foreign market: they were told, with petulance, that they did not understand the matter; and that, if there was any danger of meeting a powerful competitor in the Irish manufactures at the foreign market, that danger existed before; that the foreign market had always been open to the Irish

manufacturer: true, and of this they were not ignorant; but Ireland had not till now the sure issue of the English market as a collateral security for enterprise, and as a spur to speculation. I thank the right honourable gentleman for this argument; but I must apprise him that it refers more to manufactures than to colonial produce. Does he not know that, in colonial produce, the home market is everything and the foreign market nothing? In manufactures it is the reverse, or nearly so. This was good ground, therefore, for the manufacturers to state that they should now find a dangerous competitor in Ireland at the foreign market.

“With respect, sir, to the Navigation Act, upon which I have said so much in the course of this discussion, do we not now find that all my apprehensions were well founded? The right honourable gentleman has, at length, acknowledged that the Navigation Act was in danger, notwithstanding his repeated declarations to the contrary. This conviction may be collected from the nature of the remedy he has thought it expedient to adopt. Strong must have been the apprehensions which suggested such a relief: it is a relief which, in the peculiar circumstances of the two kingdoms, will require very particular consideration indeed, as its tendency is no less than this, that, notwithstanding the independence of Ireland, she must still, in commercial laws and external legislation, be governed by Britain. That she shall agree to follow whatever regulations we may think it right to pursue, from time to time, for securing privileges to our shipping, or for restraining the trade with our colonies, and that such laws shall be in full force in Ireland, is a remedy certainly of a very hazardous kind; but, sir, though it goes so far, it does not satisfy me; it is dangerous, indeed, but not efficacious; nor do I think that, strong and bitter as it is, it will be attended with the effects of preventing the various and radical evils which are attached to this pernicious system. I am of opinion that, even if Ireland should agree to this provision, we shall deliver up into the custody of another, and that an independent nation, all our fundamental laws for the regulation of our trade, and we must depend totally on her bounty and liberal spirit for the guardianship and protection of our dearest interests.

“Now, sir, although I feel as strong a disposition of partiality and favour towards the Irish nation as any man in this house: although I believe them to be a people as distinguished for liberality as any people upon earth, yet this is not of all others the particular point in which I would choose to trust to their liberality. I think the guardianship of the laws which I have

mentioned can be deposited in no hands so properly as in our own. It would be the interest of Ireland to evade those laws, and I ask you what security there is for the due performance of a commercial contract when it is the interest of a nation to evade it? He who trusts to the vague and rash notions of abstract right in preference to the constant and uniform testimony of experience, will find himself miserably deceived in his calculations on all subjects of commercial or political discussion. When it is the interest of a nation to evade a law, that law will be evaded: it always was so, and it always will be so. Perhaps there is no instance of a country more tenacious of engagements than our own; but, do we not all know that, finding the illicit trade which was some time ago carried on to the Spanish main highly beneficial to the country, that trade was connived at, though in the very teeth of our national engagements? Now, sir, when it shall be felt that Ireland will be materially benefited by evading our laws, and that the introduction of foreign sugars will be so much more valuable to them than the legal importation of our colonial produce, is it to be imagined that the people of Ireland will, out of mere love and liberality, shut their eyes against their own immediate interest, or that the laws which may be made in conformity with this new system will be enforced with vigour and with efficacy? Interest is the leading impulse with nations, and it supposes nothing unfavourable to the Irish, to suppose that the common feelings which actuate all mankind in their public character as states may prevail also with them. When it shall be found that foreign sugar may be introduced fifteen or twenty per cent. cheaper than our own; and when it shall be found that they can be introduced in American bottoms cheaper than in shipping navigated according to the law of Great Britain, it is idle to suppose that they will not be so introduced, that this sinister advantage will not be so obtained: that is, in other words, that the commerce of England will not be so affected and diminished.

“Mr Orde, on opening his system to the Irish parliament, if we may trust to the reports of the newspapers—and that we may do so, is evident from this circumstance, that, though Mr Orde was in London several days, he never came down to the house to contradict the reports, though argument was daily founded upon them—stated that Cork would become the emporium of the empire. This expression, to be sure, he afterwards changed to a term more prosaic and modest, affirming that his original phrase had been that Cork would become the medium of trade to the empire. The difference is imma-

terial, except in the sound of the word ; for by medium I can understand nothing else than that the produce of the western world will, in the first instance, be imported into Ireland, be deposited there as the magazine of the empire, and be subsequently dealt out to Britain as her wants may make such application necessary. We have a less sounding and less intelligible phrase, but the real meaning remains still the same, and the measure of oppression and injury unchanged or unabated. That Ireland will be this medium I have no doubt, and its being so will produce an evil beyond the mere loss of the direct trade to our colonies ; for there is every reason to believe that, by this means, the produce of the French and other foreign colonies will find their way into the country, to the ruin of our West India planters and merchants. ‘But,’ says the right honourable gentleman, ‘it is not to be believed that a circuitous voyage, as this will be, can be preferred to a communication with our colonies ;’ and, in a whisper across the house, he says ‘that Britain even now supplies the Irish market with colonial produce.’ This, sir, in my opinion, strengthens my argument ; such is the decided benefit resulting from having two markets instead of one, that now we are able, with all the disadvantage of the circuitous voyage, to supply Ireland. What, then, must be the consequence to Ireland when she shall enjoy the double market, added to all the advantages arising from harbours so admirably accommodated by the hand of nature for the intercourse in question, from cheap labour, and from an almost total exemption from national burdens ? She will, indeed, become the emporium, or, if the right honourable gentleman, out of compliment to his friends in England, likes it better, the medium of trade to the general empire, and, indeed, almost exclusively so with respect to the produce of our colonies.

“The right honourable gentleman has been anxious to set up an argument in favour of this country, that great capital would, in all cases, overbalance cheapness of labour. I know this to be the fashionable position of the present times, and of the present government ; but general positions of all kinds ought to be very cautiously admitted ; indeed, on subjects so infinitely complex and mutable as politics and commerce, a wise man hesitates at giving too implicit a credit to any general maxim of any denomination ; and, with this conviction in my mind, I am prepared to controvert the position of the right honourable gentleman, at the same time that I do not desire to be understood as wishing to establish the contrary. I do not think that great capital will always counterbalance cheapness of labour, nor that cheap labour will always over-

balance great capital ; as general theorems I dispute both, at the same time that I am clearly of opinion that, under certain circumstances, both may be true ; we have known several instances in which the cheapness of labour has triumphed over greatness of capital. In the rapid transitions of fortune in this country, do we not daily perceive the triumphs of industry over wealth ? Have we not abundant precedents to shew that our manufactures have changed their positions in this country merely on account of the cheapness of labour and provision ? Have they not, within these thirty years, travelled into Scotland, and is it not likely that, precisely for the same reason, together with other incitements, they will migrate to Ireland ? ‘But,’ says the right honourable gentleman, ‘the difference is not so great as is imagined in the price of labour : it is only rude labour which is cheap in Ireland, and the finer parts of work are much dearer there than in England.’ In proof of this assertion he brings Captain Brook to the bar of the House of Commons—a gentleman who has established a very considerable manufactory of cottons in Ireland. Whether it is perfectly proper to bring gentlemen from Ireland to give evidence before the House of Commons, on a subject that is to benefit Ireland and not England, I will not take up much time to inquire.

“The Irish are, beyond all question, greatly interested in the conclusion of this bargain, and exclusively so as to hopes of benefit ; their evidence, therefore, as parties influenced and prejudiced, may, perhaps, be deemed improper when brought forward to support the system, and to persuade this house. I know it may be said that Messrs Richardson, Walker, Peel, and others, who gave evidence on the other side, are also interested in the termination of this compact. I admit the fact ; but on which side does their interest lie ? and to which ought we in this house to incline ? They are interested for England, of which we are the delegated guardians ; Mr Brook is interested for Ireland, who is on the other side negotiating for himself. Taking it, therefore, in that point of view, I cannot hesitate a moment as to the path it becomes me, as a British member of parliament, to pursue, in the credit which I am to bestow on the evidence adduced. But, on this point of the cheapness of rude labour, hear what the intelligent Mr Peel says :—‘The finer parts of work cannot be carried on without the ruder. It is on the rude work that the hand is qualified in its art, and every man who is employed in the finer branch was first employed in the coarser.’ The cheapness of rude labour is, therefore, an advantage which in manufactures of the finer kind must be highly favourable ; but in those which

are in their quality coarse, must give to the country a decisive superiority. In one instance this has been proved. A manufacturer of Norwich gives it in evidence that he can buy in Norwich Irish worsted yarn cheaper than he can buy English, although it is subject to five or six duties before it reaches him, and subject also to the expense of the voyage and of the carriage, as well as of the internal duties in Ireland; so that, upon a fair and just calculation, it is demonstrable that they can manufacture worsted yarn in Ireland forty-five or fifty per cent. cheaper than in England. 'But,' say the witnesses from Ireland, 'it is by no means likely that Ireland will ever establish a cotton manufactory to rival that of Manchester: it would not be her interest to do so, and there are many stubborn inconveniences which she has to surmount.' I will admit the supposition for the sake of argument, though I by no means think it founded in probability. But, admitting even that she shall not think of establishing a cotton manufactory, she may still, by these new resolutions, effectually cut off the Irish market from ours; for, having a manufacture of her own to substitute in the room of this, she may lay a duty on cottons, which, by the principle of countervailing duties, might amount to a prohibition of ours, and, by a side blow, annihilate the Manchester manufacture in the Irish market at once.

"And this leads me to an argument which has been much insisted on in favour of these resolutions, that, by means of the new system, the right honourable gentleman would have the merit of putting an end to all idea of protecting duties. On what rational ground does he claim to himself this merit? By the power which is thus left to each country to lay internal duties on such manufactures as they may covet to crush for the sake of advancing a substitute, he gives rise to a countervailing duty that will act as a complete, though indirect, prohibition; and that this is in favour of Ireland and inimical to England is evident from this circumstance, that by the fatal ninth resolution we have for ever given up the only remaining hold which could have operated as a protection against so obvious and alarming an inconvenience. Protecting duties, however threatened, would never have been imposed under the old intercourse; for the good sense of Ireland would not have suffered the danger of retaliation on their staple commodity: that danger they will now no longer be exposed to. But the right honourable gentleman says that we shall by this means bind the two nations together in indissoluble bands; that between nation and nation the intercourse should be regulated by principles of equality and justice; and that this ought to be more particularly studied, between na-

tions that are sisters, as it were, and are so connected in interest and in blood as Great Britain and Ireland. To such principles as these, if acted upon with wisdom or the chance of mutual harmony, far be it from me to object ! My objection is, that the intercourse is not to be regulated by principles of equality and justice. Let us suppose a fair and equal admission of manufactures into each country free of all duties— which of the kingdoms would shudder most at such a freedom ? The Irish, undoubtedly. We are to give them an intercourse infinitely more beneficial than throwing open our ports entirely ; and in doing this, we have given to Ireland the power of offending us without reserving the means even of retaliation, much less of prevention.

“By the seventh resolution we bind ourselves in no future time to prohibit the export of raw materials to Ireland. This is a measure which may be found highly prejudicial to our manufactures. In the course of this session we have passed an act to prevent the export of rabbit skins for the benefit of our hat manufactory. May not other occasions arise in which it would highly affect us to suffer raw materials to go out of our hands into those of foreign states, under the name of Ireland ; for such is the danger that I apprehend. A cargo of raw materials may be entered at our custom-house for Ireland ; but what security shall we have, either for their being carried thither, or for their stay in the country if they reach it ? Never let us be so weak as to trust to generosity when interest is at stake.

“The ninth resolution, sir, is that which I reprobate the most, and in that no alteration has been made. By that resolution we for ever surrender the only power which we had of enforcing the due performance of all the parts of the bargain obligatory on Ireland. By giving up a legislative control over the admission of her staple into Britain we for ever throw ourselves on the mercy of Ireland, and have no means of protecting ourselves against her future caprices. It is by such means that the right honourable gentleman hopes to produce a lasting amity between the two kingdoms. He provides ill for peace who deprives himself of the weapons of war. True policy suggests that, with a disposition to be amicable ourselves, we should be prepared against the effects of a contrary disposition in others.

“In regard to the compensation, I hardly know in what view of it to express my particular reprobation. The exaction of a permanent provision from Ireland is what I consider as a measure pregnant with the most alarming consequences to the liberties and to the constitution of both countries. As

an Irishman I would never consent to grant it, and as an Englishman I cannot accept it. What Ireland cannot concede with safety, England cannot receive with grace. It has always been the leading and characteristic privilege of our legislature—and when I speak of ours in this instance, I may include the legislature of Ireland also—to limit all grants of supplies to the period of one year. Thus, the supplies for the army are voted annually, for the navy annually, for the ordnance annually; and so also in every description of public expenditure that may any way tend to produce an undue control over the subject: to make them perpetual, even though the application of them is to be left to the disposal of parliament, is a measure to which I cannot give my consent: it establishes a precedent for diminishing the sole security which the domestic branch of the constitution possesses against the encroachments of the executive. Annual supplies are the vital source of the influence and authority which the representative body have, and ought to have, in the respective legislatures of the two countries, and I can accede to no regulation that has the operation of impairing so invaluable a privilege in the smallest degree. I object to this compensation on another account; and that is, that I do not think it worth our acceptance; for, even if the surplus of the hereditary revenue should amount to a sum which might be valuable when applied to the maintenance of our navy, what security have we that the Irish nation may not withdraw the sum which they now appropriate to the army? They now maintain a very considerable part of our army. I wish to know if it will not be in their power to withhold that sum whenever they shall deem it expedient, after the establishment of this new system: therefore, what we gain in the one way we may lose in the other. We may lose from our army what we are to gain in our navy, with this material difference still existing between the two cases, that the supply which is now granted on the part of Ireland for the support of our army, is granted in a manner truly and perfectly congenial with the practice and spirit of our own constitution; whereas the proposed expedient for the service of our navy originates in a violation of both, and cannot operate but to the obvious disadvantage of the popular department of the Irish government. The right honourable gentleman says the surplus of the hereditary revenue would be appropriated to the purchase of provisions for the navy, and that thus it would be beneficial to Ireland. To this I have no objection; I think it would be reasonable and advantageous: but to the permanency of the grant I must enter my most cordial and determined protest. The right honourable

gentleman says that he would not trust to the generosity of Ireland for compensation, which he considers as founded in justice. He will implicitly trust to her generosity and kindness for the due and rigorous execution of the trade laws, but he will not trust to her generosity for the return which she shall make for his present benevolence towards her. In this I completely differ with the right honourable gentleman. I would trust to Ireland in the case where he would not, and I would not trust where he is inclined to do so. If there be any nation upon earth in whom, on a point of honourable compensation, I would have implicit confidence, it is Ireland; but in the due performance of commercial regulations, where the laws stand for ever in the way of interest and adventure, I would not trust to any people existing. In the case of the compensation, the voice of all Ireland would be heard in her parliament. In the instance of sinister trade, it would be confined to the intrigues between smugglers and custom-house officers; and neither the generosity nor the manliness of the more enlightened and polished part of the nation would be at all concerned in the discussion.

“The right honourable gentleman has insinuated that there is an immediate necessity for adopting the system which he has proposed; that is as much as to say, in plain English, he has held out the resolutions to Ireland, and the necessity for adopting them has arisen from his having done so. This is a mode of argument which merits a great share of countenance, whatever truth there may be in the fact. Ireland is not, however, I trust, so unreasonable as to insist upon the rash and intemperate transfer of privileges, demonstrably ruinous to England. ‘But,’ says the right honourable gentleman, ‘this system will finally determine every question between the two nations, and nothing can arise in future to make a contest between them.’ I call upon the right honourable gentleman to say what security he can give us for the certain accomplishment of his presage. Does he speak from experience? Evidently not. Experience of the past, which I conceive to be the best criterion by which to determine the probability of the future, is against him. When the noble lord in the blue ribbon, in the year 1780, opened to the Irish the trade of our colonies, the parliament of that country declared themselves fully gratified, and thanked his majesty in terms of the utmost gratitude and apparent satisfaction. In a few months, however, their voice was heard again. During the administration of which I formed a part their legislature was declared to be independent; and, in addresses from both houses of parliament, they professed themselves so entirely

content, as not to consider it possible that any subsequent question of political division could arise between the two kingdoms. Yet, in the very next session, they gave indications of new dissatisfaction, and further concessions were made. How are men to argue from these facts? One would imagine that the most effectual and satisfactory method of quieting the apprehensions or relieving the exigencies of a distressed country would be that of appealing to their own testimony for a knowledge of their circumstances; to collect information from themselves; to desire them to state, in their own persons, the measure of their calamities, and the best expedient for the relief of them. This was precisely the way pursued heretofore. The concessions were granted on the declarations of the best informed men in the land—men the best qualified to know the state, the wants, and the expectations of the kingdom. Mr Hussey Burgh and Mr Grattan—names which no man could mention but with the sincerest and most cordial respect, were the authorities on which England proceeded, and on which she relied. But this, it seems, however specious and natural, was not the proper method of ascertaining the wants and wishes of another kingdom. The true and only means of finally concluding all disputes with Ireland is to send a stranger there, and order him to address himself to their senate in such language as this: ‘Hear me, ye men of ignorance and credulity! You know nothing of what you want, what you wish, or what would be good for you—trust yourselves to me—I am perfect master of all your infirmities—here is the specific that will cure you, the infallible nostrum for all ailments.’ It seems that this is the only conciliatory expedient for administering to the relief of a disordered state—not to suffer the inhabitants to speak, but to send a man amongst them ignorant at once of their exigencies, their grievances, and their policy, to propose wild schemes of extravagant speculation, and prescribe for the disorder without the painful tediousness of trying to understand it. In compliance with this new idea, Mr Orde, an English gentleman, the secretary to an English nobleman, the Lord-Lieutenant for the time, rises up and proposes a set of resolutions which he pledges himself to carry into complete execution. These resolutions are brought to England, and, after two months’ discussion, are completely and fundamentally altered. Upon these resolutions the right honourable gentleman thinks himself warranted to say that the system will be final. The right honourable gentleman said that he must have a fund of credulity who believed all the evidence which the manufacturers had given at the bar. In like manner, I say that he must

have a fund of credulity indeed who can believe on such premises that the Irish will be content with this system, or that the general interests of both countries can be promoted by its establishment.

“ ‘It is possible,’ says the right honourable gentleman, ‘that one country may lose what another may gain.’ I am ready to agree with the right honourable gentleman that, in similar manufactures, or even in the same manufacture, one country might open channels of commerce unknown to another, the one acquire riches without the other suffering diminution; but it so happens that between England and Ireland, under these resolutions, this cannot be the case. Their channels of consumption are precisely the same, and a mutual participation in all markets is the leading principle of the agreement. Ireland, therefore, cannot make a single acquisition but to the proportionate loss of England. I defy the right honourable gentleman to mention any one article—and he has not mentioned one—in which Ireland may gain without England suffering a loss. This, sir, constitutes the distinct and prominent evidence of the impolicy of the system. It is this which will stir up jealousy between the two countries, and make English and Irishmen look at one another with cold hearts and suspicious eyes. If any one thing demands more than another the cautious deliberation of the committee, it is that of guarding against insidious competition; to take care that the new system shall not make the countries rivals instead of friends.

“ Another objection requires a more satisfactory answer than it has yet obtained. We have gone great lengths for the suppression of smuggling, and have loaded our constituents with a commutation tax of a most heavy and unequal kind, merely to crush the contraband trade on our coasts. Upon the very heel of a most oppressive and inequitable expedient for the prevention of smuggling, we are preparing to adopt a new system, that will give to every species of this indirect and contraband commerce ten times the vigour and the generality that it ever possessed in the country. This is the right honourable gentleman’s consistency. In one year he loads the subjects with the most intolerable imposition to which they were ever exposed, and the single motive, as well as the only possible excuse, for it is this, the prevention of smuggling. The next year he introduces a new measure, the obvious and undeniable tendency of which is to encourage all illicit trade to an extent hitherto unknown in any period of our history; for, by means of this new intercourse, no laws, no watchfulness, no penalties will have power enough to pre-

vent the revival of every sort of contraband trade. I shall mention only a single article or two, to shew the facility which these new resolutions will give to the exercise of smuggling. At present, so anxious are we to guard against the illicit importation of French gloves, that we have had recourse to a prevention of unexampled severity. Besides the penalty, which is uncommonly high, the person in whose custody suspected gloves are found is obliged to prove that they were made in this country. The *onus probandi* lies upon the person accused; an instance of severity unknown to the general penal provision of our statutes. When this communication with Ireland is opened, what will be the consequence? The person has only to say that they are Irish. It will be in vain that you call upon him to prove that they are manufactured there; and thus you will have articles of every kind poured in upon you. Silk stockings are another article of the same kind. Distinctions will be impracticable; and every species of light goods, of small package and easy transfer, will flow in upon us, to the ruin of our manufactures.

“I shall conclude, sir, with supplicating the committee to take time to deliberate, and to inquire fully before they decide on this measure, which must make an entire revolution in the whole system of British commerce. We have seen the benefits of delay. Let us be wise from experience. It is impossible that Ireland can object to our desiring a sober deliberation on a subject so infinitely important. It is said that Ireland is out of temper, and that she has been irritated almost beyond her bearing. Ministers are answerable for this irritation, if such irritation exists. The violence which they committed in Ireland deserves the most marked and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the press; their endeavours to prevent the legal and quiet meetings of counties to deliberate on the best peaceable means of amending their deficient representation; their proceeding against men by summary attachment; all were violences which, perhaps, may have inflamed Ireland, and now ministers are desirous of avoiding the consequences of imprudent insult by imprudent concession. But let us be cautious how we assist them in a design which may eventually turn out as insidious to that country as it would be ruinous to this: a design which may, perhaps, involve in it another commutation, and that a more pernicious one, even than that well-known and universally-execrated measure which now bears that name—a commutation of English commerce for Irish slavery.

“Let us remember, that all the manufacturing communities of Great Britain are avowedly against the system. So general

an union never took place as on this occasion. So large a number of petitions never were presented from the manufacturers on any former occasion ; and, what is still more remarkable, there is but one solitary instance of any manufacturing body having expressed a syllable in its favour. The voice of the whole country is, therefore, against the resolutions. It is within the memory of all men, that some time ago the right honourable gentleman was an advocate for the voice of the people ; ‘ What,’ said he, when a number of petitions were presented against the India Bill which I had the honour to move, ‘ will you persist in this bill against the voice of the people ? Will you not hearken to the petitions upon your table ?’ It was ever my opinion, sir, that petitions should be heard, and most seriously attended to ; but it was not my opinion that they should always be implicitly complied with. A distinction should be made between petitions, as temporary circumstances, or the casualties under which they are presented shall suggest ; and I should certainly be at all times more inclined to pay respect to them when they applied to subjects of which the petitioners could, from their habits or otherwise, be considered as competent judges—much more so, beyond all question, than when they spoke merely from vague representations, and on topics with which they had no means of being conversant. The right honourable gentleman is of a contrary opinion. It is only when they come against the India bill that he thinks them worthy of notice. When hundreds of thousands come to our bar, deprecating the countenance of a system which, from their own knowledge, they pronounce to be ruinous to the manufactures of England, he treats them with something that merits a severer term than disdain. Mr Wedgwood, Mr Richardson, Mr Walker, and the other great manufacturers, and who, from opulence and every other consideration, are worthy to be ranked with the best men in this house, have received from the right honourable gentleman every species of ill treatment and indignity that the lower or most degraded characters could receive, or the most contemptuous and violent could bestow. Their intelligence on their respective manufactures ought to give weight to their petitions as well as to their evidence, and to ensure them, not only a decent hearing, but a most attentive regard. The right honourable gentleman, however, considers the voice of the people only as sacred and commanding where it is exerted against things upon which the petitioners are not competent to decide. For instance : if these gentleman—who, I dare say, during the rage of opposition to the India bill, also signed petitions against it—were at the bar, they had been asked if

they objected to that bill, and they had answered in the affirmative, would their testimony in the one case have been deserving of the same notice as on the interests of their particular manufactures? Surely not. In the one case they spoke from what they had heard, or from what they conjectured; in the other, from what they knew. Can the committee think that they know more of the Manchester manufacture than Mr Richardson and Mr Walker?—of the iron manufacture, than the gentleman that we have heard this day?—and of every other manufacture, than the persons who have spent their lives in the study, and embarked their fortunes in the progress? If we do know better, let us, in the name of heaven discharge our consciences, and speak as we think, against those manufacturers; but, at any rate, let us deliberate; let us take time to think before we act. Our decision will not be less efficacious for being the result of inquiry; nor is it possible that any evil can arise from a delay which affords some interval for decent discussion.

“Before I sit down, Mr Gilbert, it may not be amiss to suggest to gentlemen, that the present is a subject from which, above all others, private partialities or personal attachments ought to be totally excluded. This is not a question of personal struggle between man and man, a contest for power, nor the mere war of individual ambition. It is a question of life and death for the country—not for the official existence of this or that minister, but for the political existence of Great Britain herself. In the consideration of such a question, therefore, let gentlemen strip themselves at once of prejudices and predilections: let them guard their minds equally against an undue bias of every denomination, whether of political sympathy with the minister or of attachment to opposition—whether of individual respect for gentlemen on that side of the house or on this—let them recollect that the minister has, by his conduct this day, demonstrated to the house, that implicit confidence in him is as dangerous as it is absurd; that infallibility is no more the prerogative of the right honourable gentleman than of the rest of the world. He has introduced sixteen new propositions, the general object of which is to correct and to qualify his original system, and the particular aim of some of which is to change the very essence or vital nature of his previous plan. Let us suppose, then, that this principle of implicit confidence had prevailed in the minds of gentlemen when this system was originally proposed to the house, if they had acceded to the propositions, in the shape and formation in which they were at first presented—and that it was for a long time the minister’s inten-

tion to obtrude them upon this house with all their original infirmities upon their head, is well known to us and to the world—what would have followed? Why, evidently this—that this confidence, so reposed, would have led gentlemen to do that which, in the opinion of the minister himself, would have been wrong. Let this example, therefore, of the demonstrated and acknowledged peril which results from blind predilection and the total resignation of personal judgment, warn gentlemen how they fall into the same error a second time. The minister himself tells them this day that they would have been in the grossest and most pernicious error in which the legislators of a great country were ever involved, if they had trusted entirely to him on a former occasion. I will take upon me to tell them that their error will not be less gross, nor less pernicious, if they trust him too implicitly on this.

“I shall only add, sir, that he who can understand so complicated and so extensive a subject upon so slight and transitory a view of it, possesses an intellect not common to the general body of mankind, and which certainly cannot be the general characteristic of this house. For one, I can truly say, he must possess an understanding of infinitely more quickness and acumen than any to which I pretend. He that votes for the propositions without understanding them, is guilty of such a desertion of his duty and his patriotism as no subsequent penitence can possibly atone for: he sacrifices the commerce of Great Britain at the shrine of private partiality, and sells his country for the whistling of a name. The minister who exacts, and the member who submits to, so disgraceful an obedience, are equally criminal. The man who, holding the first seat in his majesty’s council, can stoop to so disgraceful and fallacious a canvass as to rest his ministerial existence on the decision of a great national question like this, must be wholly lost to all sense of dignity, of character, or manly patriotism; and he who acquiesces in it from any other inducement but that of cautious and sincere conviction, surrenders every claim to the rank and estimation of an honest and independent member of parliament, and sinks into the meanness and degradation of a mere ministerial instrument, unworthy the situation of a senator, and disgraceful to the name of an Englishman.”

After a debate, which lasted till five o’clock in the morning, the committee divided on the question of adjournment moved by Lord North; Yeas, 155; Noes, 281. The first resolution was then agreed to.

May 30. The report of the committee of the whole house

on the Irish propositions was this day taken into consideration. When the fourth resolution was put, Mr Sheridan opposed it. Mr Pitt said, "that when he considered the language that had been held, and the quarter it came from; when he reflected on the designs of those who had presented themselves in so conspicuous a manner as the enemies of the resolution then before this house, and saw with how much artifice and zeal those designs were supported, and when he weighed the motives, as well of those who had been silent as of those who had spoken to the question, he could not remain an idle spectator in a transaction that so essentially concerned the interest of the two kingdoms which composed the remaining part of the British empire. If a chain of recent events, and the whole tenor of the conduct that had been adopted by persons of a certain description had not exhausted and anticipated his surprise at anything that could come from them, he could scarcely believe his senses when he beheld a gentleman, (Mr Sheridan,) who for many weeks had concealed his intentions so effectually as to leave it a doubt whether he was friendly or hostile to the arrangement now depending, stand forth the avowed enemy of a part of the system which was necessarily connected with the whole, and take up a ground of opposition the most dangerous and inflammatory that could possibly suggest itself. But it was not to be wondered at that the conduct of the honourable gentleman should be so inconsistent, when it was remembered how inconsistent all the measures of the party of which he was the mouth were in themselves, and how inconsistent the persons who composed that party were with one another. Still the pursuits of that party, however various and however contradictory, had one uniform tendency. Whether they reprobated on this day what they had approved on the preceding, or whether they abandoned a principle which they had before admitted; whether one individual differed from or coincided with the rest of his associates, still the effect of all their efforts, of all their perseverance, and of all their tergiversation was to be the same—to embarrass and confound the measures of administration, to embroil and disunite the affections of their fellow-subjects, to excite groundless alarms, and on those groundless alarms to foment the most dangerous discontents. The noble lord in the blue ribbon, in assenting to the resolution, and the honourable gentleman in opposing it, had taken care to support their several opinions by the same argument, and that argument was, of all others, best calculated to promote the ultimate design of both, however different the modes they took to accomplish it—the jealousy and resentment of the sister king-

doni. The resumption of legislative supremacy over Ireland was the ground of acquiescence in the one, of dissent in the other; and thus they divided between them the two features of the character which their right honourable friend, Mr Fox, had shewn himself so ambitious to assume, that of an English and an Irish patriot. How gentlemen could think themselves warranted in setting up an opposition to measures in favour of which they had borne more than a silent testimony (for they had expressly acknowledged the several amendments to be such as not only were in themselves unexceptionable, but had also the positive merit of correcting, in a great degree, the objectionable qualities of the original propositions,) was a circumstance only to be accounted for by those who, from a close attention to the conduct of the party, and a congeniality of sentiment with them, had brought themselves to understand and to adopt the whole of their system, and were thence enabled to see that it was a double game that they were playing, and that their appearing to oppose the resolutions by arguments directly contrary to each other, was merely with a view to secure the same end and to compass the same design."

Mr Fox began with remarking that, "in the personal and political character of the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there were many qualities and habits that had often surprised him, and, he believed, had confounded the speculations of every man who had ever much considered or analyzed his disposition; but that his conduct on that night had reduced all that was unaccountable, incoherent, and contradictory in his character in times past to a mere nothing. That he shone out in a new light, surpassing even himself, and leaving his hearers wrapt in amazement, uncertain whether most to wonder at the extraordinary speech they had just heard, or the frontless confidence with which that speech had been delivered. Such a farrago of idle and arrogant declamation, uttered in any other place, and by any other person, upon the subject in question, would naturally fill the members of that house with astonishment; but, spoken by that right honourable gentleman within those walls, in the presence of men who were witnesses of all the proceedings upon this business, every one of whom could bear testimony to the gross and unblushing fallacy of the right honourable gentleman: it was," Mr Fox said, "an act of boldness, a species of parliamentary hardihood, certainly not to be accounted for upon any known or received rules of common sense or common reason.

"I cannot," continued Mr Fox, "help remarking the vast disparity in the tone, the temper, and the style of expres-

sion exhibited by the right honourable gentleman upon this night, from those which he deemed it expedient to adopt when he opened the eighteen propositions to this house. On that night I quoted a passage :

‘Telephus et Pleus, cum pauper et exul uterque,
Projicit umpullas, et sesquipedalia verba ;’

and quoted it to exemplify the change occasioned by the deplorable situation in which his rashness, his ignorance, or what is not more reputable than either, his servile adoption of other men’s fancies, and thrusting forward the crude heap of discordant and dangerous materials which form this miserable project, had involved the right honourable gentleman. Upon that occasion I could not help observing that the *ampullæ* and the *sesquipedalia verba*—that the right honourable gentleman’s magnificent terms, his verbose periods, and those big, bombastic sentiments, which constitute, in general, the principal part of his orations, had for once forsaken him, or been relinquished, for language and for manners better accommodated to his disastrous condition. Then we saw the avowed confederacy of the right honourable gentleman with those about him, whose co-operation in the general system of his government he is commonly so anxious to disavow, but whose opinions he so uniformly propagates and asserts ; then we saw that preposterous ambition, that gaudy pride, and vaulting vanity, which glare upon the observer beyond all the other characteristic features of the right honourable gentleman, and which prompt him to look down with contempt on his political co-adjutors, to fancy himself the great overseer, the surveyor-general of the British government ; we saw this glittering assemblage melt away, and that right honourable gentleman descend to a curious and most affecting sympathy with the other supporters of this system, as well as into something like a modest and civil demeanour towards those who oppose it. But, alas ! the right honourable gentleman’s deviation into a moderate and humble course of argument, into a course befitting a man detected in ten thousand instances of folly, precipitancy, rashness, weakness, and consummate ignorance of the subject in discussion, was but transient and temporary. The hopes of a reform in his conduct were as fallacious even as the many hopes of other reforms which that right honourable gentleman has gulled a variety of persons in this country to entertain upon points of more importance. Upon this night, the right honourable gentleman has relapsed into his own favourite and darling habits ; the *ampullæ* and *sesquipedalia verba* are again resumed, with additional redundancy. Nerved with new rancour, and impelled with fresh vehemence, the

right honourable gentleman rushes blindly forward; but, surely, it cannot escape observation, that the display of these passions, and the resumption of that mode of reasoning, are the best proofs that the right honourable gentleman is, indeed, reduced to the last extremity; and, by the use of such arguments, that he shews himself destitute of any that better become a real statesman or a great orator."—And so forth.

Seldom has there appeared in the parliamentary conflicts of parties, either before Mr Fox or after him, such a reckless sacrifice of reason, principle, honour, truth, everything most worthy of a statesman, as his sacrifice of those qualities to oppose Mr Pitt on the Irish propositions, and the other liberal measures of commercial legislation which followed.

The Irish parliament, which had passed the eleven resolution as at first proposed, refused to adopt the eighteen which supplacced them. The ground of opposition in Ireland was that of independence of English legislation. It was at once seen by Mr Pitt, and all other practical men, that an independent legislature in Ireland would not work harmoniously with that of England, nor for the good of either country; and from this time he turned his face to the prospect of uniting the two countries under one legislature.

SECT. XIII.—MR PITT AND THE TREATY OF COMMERCE WITH FRANCE.

This Treaty of Commerce, commonly called the *Eden Treaty*, from Mr William Eden, (afterwards Lord Auckland,) the British ambassador, through whom it was negotiated, was a more marked, decided, important step in liberal and sound legislation than even the Irish propositions. The treaty was signed at Versailles, on the 26th of September 1786, and ratified by parliament early in the year 1787. The *History of British Commerce* states that "this treaty was founded upon principles more liberal than had ever *before or since*" (the historian, Mr Craik, is writing before the enactment of the liberal tariff of Sir Robert Peel in 1846) "been recognised in any similar compact between England and France.

"It commenced with a joint declaration of his Britannic majesty and his most christian majesty of their desire to establish a system of commerce on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which, *by discontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have existed for almost a century* between the two nations, might procure the most solid advantages on both sides to the national productions and industry,

and put an end to contraband trade, no less injurious to the public revenue than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled to protection.' In the spirit of this profession it was stipulated, in the first place, that there should be 'a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party, in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories subject to their majesties in Europe, for all and singular kinds of goods in those places;' and by the second article it was declared that, even in the case of a rupture breaking out between the two crowns—'which rupture,' said the treaty, 'shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective ambassadors and ministers'—the subjects of either power residing in the dominions of the other should be allowed to remain and continue their trade, without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behaved peaceably and committed no offence against the laws of the country; 'and in case,' it was added, 'their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove with their effects and property whether intrusted to individuals or to the state.'

"The third article bound the subjects of either party to abstain from all acts of hostility against those of the other, either by sea or land, and to accept of no patent or commission for privateering from any princes or states enemies to the other party; either government, as often as required by the other, engaging to visit transgressors with the severest penalties in its power to inflict. If such an agreement as this had subsisted between the two countries during the peace that succeeded the Seven Years' War, the private adventurers who flocked from France to assist the Americans at the commencement of their rebellion could not have been permitted by their government to gratify their peculiar sympathies in that manner; and the insertion of the article in the present treaty may be regarded as a condemnation, or renunciation at least, by the French court, of the policy which it had then pursued.

"By the next article liberty was secured to the subjects of either sovereign, 'without license or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, or any other way,' to enter, return from, pass through, or remain in, any dominions, towns, or other places whatsoever in Europe belonging to the other, therein to purchase whatever they pleased; 'and they shall mutually,' said the article, 'be treated with all kindness and favour.'

“The fifth article put English and French on the same footing as to the right of coming with ships and merchandises to all places belonging to either government in Europe, to hire houses, to warehouse their goods, &c. subject to no other impositions or duties than were provided by the treaty or were payable by the native-born as well as the foreign trader. ‘In matters of religion,’ it was added, ‘the subjects of the two crowns shall enjoy perfect liberty: they shall not be compelled to attend divine service, whether in churches or elsewhere; but, on the contrary, they shall be permitted, without any molestation, to perform the exercises of their religion privately in their own houses, and in their own way. Liberty shall not be refused to bury the subjects of either kingdom who die in the territories of the other, in convenient places to be appointed for that purpose; nor shall the funerals or sepulchres of the deceased be in anywise disturbed.’

“Then followed the tariff, or list of duties on certain goods and merchandises, of which the following were the chief items:—The wines of France, imported direct from France into Great Britain, to pay the same duties then paid by the wines of Portugal, (the same abandonment of the principle of the Methuen Treaty which had proved fatal to the treaty of commerce entered into by the two governments after the peace of Utrecht;) the duty upon French vinegars to be reduced by rather more than one-half (from L.67:5:3¹²/₂₀ per ton, to L.32:18:10¹²/₂₀;) the duty on French brandies to be reduced from 9s. 6¹³/₂₀d. to 7s. per gallon; olive-oil, direct from France, to pay no higher duty than that paid for the same from the most favoured nations; beer to pay reciprocally an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent.; the duties on hard-ware, cutlery, cabinet-ware, turnery, and all works of iron, steel, copper, and brass, not to exceed 30 per cent. *ad valorem*; all sorts of cottons, and also of woollens, manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, to pay in both countries an import duty of 12 per cent. *ad valorem*, (fabrics of cotton or wool mixed with silk, however, remaining prohibited on both sides;) French and English linens to pay reciprocally no higher duties than were then paid by those of Holland or Flanders imported into Great Britain; cambrics and lawns to pay reciprocally an import duty of 5s. per demi-piece of 7³/₄ yards; saddlery, a reciprocal *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent.; gauzes, one of 10 per cent.; and millinery, porcelain and earthenware, and glass, (including plate-glass,) one of 12 per cent. ‘The duties above specified,’ said a subsequent article, ‘are not to be altered but by mutual consent; and the merchandises not above specified shall pay,

in the dominions of the two sovereigns, the import and export duties payable in each of the said dominions by the most favoured European nations at the time the present treaty bears date; and the ships belonging to the subjects of the said dominions shall also respectively enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages which are granted to those of the most favoured European nations.'

"In case either government should afterwards grant any additional advantages in navigation or trade to any other European nation, it was stipulated that the subjects of the other should participate therein; without prejudice, however, to advantages which they might reserve, France in favour of Spain, in compliance with the family compact signed 10th May 1761; England in conformity to her convention of 1703 with Portugal, (the Methuen Treaty.) Then followed various regulations which need not to be quoted.

"By the 16th article it was agreed that foreign privateers, not being subjects of either crown, who had commissions from any other prince or state at enmity with either nation, should not be allowed to arm their ships in the ports of either of the two kingdoms, or to sell or exchange what they had taken, or even to purchase victuals, except only such as should be necessary for their going to the nearest port belonging to the power by whom they were commissioned. On the other hand, the subjects of either of the two contracting powers were to have full liberty to sail with their ships to the ports of countries at war with the other; and it was stipulated that everything should be deemed free which should be found on board such ships, 'although the whole lading, or part thereof, should belong to the enemies of their majesties,' with the exception only of the following commodities, which were to be considered contraband or prohibited; namely, 'arms, cannon, harquebusses, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, saucises, carcasses, carriages for cannon, musket-rests, bandoleers, gun-powder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head-pieces, helmets, cuirasses, halberts, javelins, holsters, belts, horses and harness, and all other like kinds of arms and warlike instruments, fit for the use of troops.' But it is expressly added, after this curious enumeration of the military weapons and artillery of the day, 'these merchandises which follow shall not be reckoned among contraband goods; that is to say, all sorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials; all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are usually made; gold, silver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, brass, coals; as also wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn

and pulse; tobacco, and all kinds of spices; salted and smoked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oil, wines, sugar, all sorts of salt, and of provisions which serve for sustenance and food to mankind; also all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, sails, sailcloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar, and rosin, anchors and any parts of anchors, ship-masts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships. Nor shall any goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of an instrument or furniture for warlike use, by land or by sea, be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpose."

This was giving as limited a definition to warlike stores as the thing could well bear, and as large an interpretation to the rights of neutrality (only, however, between the two nations) as could be allowed without extinguishing all distinction between a neutral power and an enemy's ally. It may interest readers of the present day to quote the regulation established for the exercise of the right of search by any man-of-war or privateer of the one country meeting a ship belonging to the other, "either on the coast or on the high seas"—a previous article having provided that all merchant-ships in war time should be furnished with "sea-letters or passports, expressing the name, property, and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of abode of the master or commander," and, if laden, "also with certificates containing the several particulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ship sailed, and whither she is bound;" the 26th article says, "the said men-of-war and privateers, for preventing any inconveniences, are to remain out of cannon-shot, and to send their boats to the merchant-ship which may be met with, and shall enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall shew his passport containing the proof of the property of the ship, made out according to the form annexed to this present treaty; and the ship which shall have exhibited the same shall have liberty to continue her voyage, and it shall be wholly unlawful any way to molest or search her, or to chase or compel her to alter her course." Ships going to an enemy's port, "concerning whose voyage, and the sort of goods on board, there may be just cause of suspicion," were to be obliged, both on the high seas and in ports and havens where they might put in, to exhibit not only their passports, but their certificates. Contraband or alleged contraband goods, if discovered in the certificate, were not to be seized. "It shall be unlawful," says the 28th

article, "to break up or open the hatches, chests, casks, bales, or other vessels found on board such ship, or to remove even the smallest parcel of the goods, . . . unless the lading be brought on shore, in the presence of the officers of the court of admiralty, and an inventory made by them of the said goods; nor shall it be lawful to sell, exchange, or alienate the same in any manner, unless after due and lawful process shall have been had against such prohibited goods; and the judges of the admiralty respectively shall, by sentence pronounced, have confiscated the same, *saving always as well the ship itself as the other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be accounted free*; neither may they be detained on pretence of their being mixed with prohibited goods, much less shall they be confiscated as lawful prize; and if, when only part of the cargo shall consist of contraband goods, the master of the ship shall agree, consent, and offer to deliver them to the captor who has discovered them, in such case the captor, having received those goods as lawful prize, shall forthwith release the ship, and not hinder her by any means from prosecuting her voyage to the place of her destination." In short, in regard both to this and to all other matters, everything was arranged, as far as possible, upon the principle of a perfect reciprocity of rights and advantages, or of the subjects of either government being entitled to the same treatment from the other as from their own. The treaty was to last, without revision or alteration, for the space of twelve years.

It lasted only until the beginning of the revolutionary war, taking effect in 1787 and ending with 1792. But in those years the trade between the two countries advanced rapidly—wonderfully. From the years of open trade in the historically calumniated reign of James II., which were ended by the revolution of 1688, there had been no such profitable intercourse and prosperity as now. Had not the revolutionary troubles of France begun in 1789, only two years after the reciprocal opening of the trade, it is but reasonable to suppose that the increase would have been much greater than it was.

It is worthy of note to refer to the British and French trade as it was at the restoration of peace with France in 1782 and in the last year of peace 1792. The figures of exports and imports are a homage alike to peace and to an open commerce:—

In 1783 the imports from France were L.87,119; the exports thither were L.98,166.

In 1784 the imports were L.141,568; the exports L.495,572.

In 1785 the imports were L.211,791; the exports L.604,313.

In 1786 the imports were L.266,121 ; the exports L.612,519.

In 1787 (the first year under the treaty) the imports were L.577,012 ; the exports L.986,906.

In 1788 the imports were L.452,986 ; exports L.1,259,672.

In 1789 the imports were L.556,060 ; exports L.1,290,171.

In 1790 the imports were L.605,371 ; exports L.872,323.

In 1791 the imports were L.546,057 ; exports L.1,131,376.

In 1792 the imports were L.717,634 ; exports L.1,228,165.

“Comparing, therefore, the last year of the peace with the first,” says the authority last quoted, “it may be said that the commercial intercourse between the two countries was not doubled, but decupled in the course of that interval ; or if, discarding the first twelve months after the cessation of hostilities, we start from 1784, we find our imports from France to have become, in 1792, five times as great as in that year, and our exports thither between twice and three times as great. The commercial treaty may be said to have doubled both the imports and the exports within a year after it came into operation. After 1789 the convulsed or uncertain state of things in France, no doubt, tended to check the further development of the trade ; but still it maintained itself at the height to which it had grown ; if there was a falling off in the exports in 1790, they recovered their former amount in the course of the next two years. In 1792 the exports to France from Great Britain consisted of British merchandise to the value of L.743,280 and foreign produce to that of L.484,885. This amount of goods was carried out in 1317 British vessels, measuring 107,821 tons, and navigated by 7912 men ; and in 166 foreign vessels of the burthen of 8421 tons, and carrying 1010 men. The imports from France in that year were brought in 1413 British ships of the burthen of 91,428 tons, and manned by 7659 sailors ; and in 330 foreign ships of 12,362 tons burthen, and carrying 2195 men. So that altogether the French trade at this time employed 2730 British vessels, measuring 199,249 tons, and manned by 15,571 seamen ; besides 496 foreign vessels of the burthen of 20,783 tons, and manned by 3205 hands. In this account, however, repeated voyages of the same vessel are reckoned as voyages by different vessels ; the actual quantity of shipping engaged in the trade, therefore, was, no doubt, considerably less than it is here made to appear.”

The debates in both houses of parliament were frequent before the address to the crown passed which ratified the treaty. The ground of opposition occupied by Fox, Lord North, Burke, Sheridan, Francis, and the whigs whom they led, was that of *protection to British manufactures*, and the

natural enmity of nations. The following is part of one of Mr Pitt's speeches in support of reciprocity: (he dared not speak of absolute free trade, though it is more than probable, almost certain, that he contemplated its future achievement.) This speech also vindicates the common sense of mankind—the benevolence of nature—providence of God against the impious doctrine that nations are *natural* enemies. Seldom has a statesman in political controversy, perhaps at no other time has a minister in the House of Commons, occupied a position so dignified as that of William Pitt on this occasion. And when he was taunted in the debate by Mr Francis and Mr Flood with the patriotism of his father, the Earl of Chatham,—that the father would never have betrayed England to her natural enemy, France, nor have made an inroad upon the protective policy of his own country,—he but stood the higher as a statesman. Believing his father to have been in error, and all who followed him in error; believing that the true interest of Britain for herself, and the peace and progress of the world, was to open her shopkeeping doors to her neighbour nations, and to ask them to open their doors to her, that they might buy and sell, and be friends, and supply the wants of each from one another, he did his father's patriotism no irreverence (if his father was a patriot) in departing from family and adhering to country. In the debates on the commercial treaty, as in those on the Irish propositions, Mr Pitt found it necessary to allay the apprehensions of his opponents, by representing some of the principles involved as of less importance than they really were; for instance, that France had less to send to Britain than Britain had to send to her. His new system of legislation was undermining the absurd mercantile theory, that a nation, to derive benefit from foreign commerce, must sell more than it buys; still he was not beyond the necessity, if beyond the conviction, of paying some deference to that theory.

Mr Pitt said:—"France had the advantage in the gift of soil and climate, and in the amount of her natural produce; that, on the contrary, Great Britain was, on her part, as confessed, superior in her manufactures and artificial productions. Undoubtedly, in point of natural produce, France had greatly the advantage in this treaty. Her wines, brandies, oils, and vinegar, particularly the two former articles, were matters of such important value in her produce, as greatly and completely to destroy all idea of reciprocity as to natural produce; we, perhaps, have nothing of that kind to put in competition, but simply the article of beer. But, on the contrary, was it not a fact as demonstrably clear, that Britain,

in its turn, possessed some manufactures exclusively her own, and that in others she had so completely the advantage of her neighbours, as to put competition to defiance? This then was the relative condition, and this the precise ground, on which it was imagined that a valuable correspondence and connection between the two might be established. Having each its own and distinct staple—having each that which the other wanted; and not clashing in the great and leading lines of their respective riches, they were like two great traders in different branches, they might enter into a traffic which would prove mutually beneficial to them. Granting that a large quantity of their natural produce would be brought into this country, would any man say that we should not send more cottons by the direct course now settled, than by the circuitous passages formerly used—more of our woollens, than while restricted in their importation to particular ports, and burthened under heavy duties? Would not more of our earthen ware, and other articles, which, under all the disadvantages that they formerly suffered, still, from their intrinsic superiority, force their way regularly into France, now be sent hither? and would not the aggregate of our manufactures be greatly and eminently benefited in going to this market, loaded only with duties from twelve to ten, and in one instance, with only five per cent.? If the advantages in this respect were not so palpable and apparent as to strike and satisfy every mind interested in the business, would not the house have had very different petitions on their table than that presented this day? The fact was apparent. The article (saddlery) charged the most highly in the tariff, gave no sort of alarm. The traders in this article, though charged with a duty of fifteen per cent., knew their superiority so well, that they cheerfully embraced the condition, and conceived that the liberty would be highly advantageous to them. A market of so many millions of people—a market so neat and prompt—a market of expeditious and certain return—of necessary and extensive consumption, thus added to the manufactures and commerce of Britain, was an object which we ought to look up to with eager and satisfied ambition. To procure this, we certainly ought not to scruple to give liberal conditions: we ought not to hesitate, because this which must be so greatly advantageous to us must also have its benefit for them. It was a great boon procured on easy terms, and as such we ought to view it. It was not merely a consoling, but an exhilarating speculation to the mind of an Englishman, that after the empire had been engaged in a competition, the most arduous and imminent of any that ever threatened a nation, after struggling for its existence, still it

maintained its rank and efficacy so firmly, that France, finding they could not shake her, now opened its arms, and offered a beneficial connection with her on easy, liberal, and advantageous terms.

“ We had agreed by this treaty to take from France, on small duties, the luxuries of her soil, which, however, the refinements of ourselves had converted into necessaries. The wines of France were already so much in possession of our markets, that, with all the high duties paid by us, they found their way to our tables. Was it then a serious injury to admit these luxuries on easier terms? The admission of them would not supplant the wines of Portugal nor of Spain, but would supplant only an useless and pernicious manufacture in this country. He stated the enormous increase of the import of French wines lately, and instanced the months of July and August, the two most unlikely months in the year, to shew the increase of this trade. The committee would not then perceive any great evil in admitting this article on easy terms. The next was brandy; and here it would be inquired whether the diminution of duty was an eligible measure. He believed they would also agree with him on this article, when they viewed it with regard to smuggling. The reduction of the duties would have a material effect on the contraband in this article; it was certain that the legal importations bore no proportion to the quantity clandestinely imported; for the legal importation of brandy was no more than 600,000 gallons, and the supposed amount of the smuggled, at the most rational and best founded estimate, was between 300,000 and 400,000 gallons. Seeing then that this article had taken such complete possession of the taste of the nation, it might be right to procure to the state a greater advantage from the article than heretofore, and to crush the contraband by legalizing the market.

“ The oil and vinegar of France were comparatively small objects, but, like the former, they were luxuries which had taken the shape of necessaries, and which we could suffer nothing from accepting on easy terms. These were the natural produce of France to be admitted under this treaty. Their next inquiry should be to see if France had any manufactures peculiar to herself, or in which she so greatly excelled as to give us alarm on account of the treaty, viewing it in that aspect. Cambric was the first which stared him in the face, but which, when he looked around him, and observed the general countenance of the committee, he could hardly think it necessary to detain them a moment upon. The fact was, it was an article in which our competition with France had ceased, and

there was no injury in granting an easy importation to that which we should have at any rate. In no other article was there anything very formidable in the rivalry of France. Glass would not be imported to any amount. In particular kinds of lace, indeed, they might have the advantage, but none which they would not enjoy independent of the treaty; and the clamours about millinery were vague and unmeaning, when, in addition to all these benefits, we included the richness of the country with which we were to trade; with its superior population of twenty millions to eight, and, of course, a proportionate consumption, together with its vicinity to us, and the advantages of quick and regular returns, who could hesitate for a moment to applaud the system, and look forward with ardour and impatience to its speedy satisfaction? The possession of so extensive and safe a market must improve our commerce, while the duties transferred from the hands of smugglers to their proper channel would benefit our revenue—the two sources of British opulence and British power.

“Viewing the relative circumstances of the two countries then in this way, he saw no objection to the principle of the exchange of their respective commodities. He saw no objection to this, because he perceived and felt that our manufactures were unrivalled, and in the operation must give the balance to England. But it was said that the manufacturers dreaded the continuance of this superiority. They were alarmed at the idea of a competition with Ireland, and consequently they must be more under apprehensions at the idea of a rivalry with France. He always did think, and he must still continue to think, that the opinions of the manufacturers on this point were erroneous. They mixed in the clamour in respect to Ireland chiefly, he imagined, because they perceived no certain and positive advantage by the intercourse to counterbalance this precarious and uncertain evil. In this instance, their consent to the treaty did not proceed from a blind acquiescence, for they never would be blind to their interest; but now that they saw so certain and so valuable an advantage to be reaped, the benefits being no longer doubtful, they were willing to hazard the probability of the injury.

“Some gentlemen thought proper to contend that no beneficial treaty could be formed between this country and France, because no such treaty had ever before been formed, and, because, on the contrary, commercial intercourses with her had always been injurious to England. This reasoning was completely fallacious, though it sounded largely. For, in the first place, we had not, during a very long series of years, experienced any commercial connexion with France, and could

not therefore form a rational estimate of its merits ; and secondly, though it might be true that a commercial intercourse founded on the treaty of Utrecht would have been injurious, it did not follow that this would prove the same ; for at that time the manufactures, in which we now excelled, had hardly existence, but were on the side of France instead of being against her. The tariff did not then, as now, comprehend all the articles in which we comparatively excelled, but, in addition to the produce of France, which at all periods must be the same, she had the balance of manufactures also in her favour. At that period also the prejudices of our manufacturers against France were in their rage, and corresponded with party violence of the day in reprobation of the measure ; but so far was the parliament from entertaining the opinion of no treaty being otherwise than detrimental which could be made with France, that they went up with an address to her majesty, praying her to renew commercial negotiations with the court of France. It was not correctly stated, neither, that we had invariably considered it as our policy to resist all connection with France. She had been more jealous of us than we of her—prohibitions began on the part of France, and we only retaliated in our own defence.

“Considering the treaty in its political view, *he should not hesitate to contend against the too-frequently advanced doctrine that France was, and must be, the unalterable enemy of Britain. His mind revolted from this position as monstrous and impossible. To suppose that any nation could be unalterably the enemy of another was weak and childish. It had neither its foundation in the experience of nations nor in the history of man. It was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the original frame of man.* But these absurd tenets were taken up and propagated ; nay, it was carried farther—it was said, that, by this treaty, the British nation was about blindly to throw itself into the arms of this constant and uniform foe. Men reasoned as if this treaty was not only to extinguish all jealousy from our bosoms, but also completely to annihilate our means of defence ; as if by the treaty we gave up so much of our army, so much of our marine ; as if our commerce was to be abridged, our navigation to be lessened, our colonies to be cut off or to be rendered defenceless ; and as if all the functions of the state were to be sunk in apathy. What ground was there for this train of reasoning ? Did the treaty suppose that the interval of peace between the two countries would be so totally unemployed by us as to disable us from meeting France in the moment of war with our accustomed strength ?

Did it not much rather, by opening new sources of wealth, speak this forcible language—that the interval of peace, as it would enrich the nation, would also prove the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hostility should come? It did more than this; *by promoting habits of friendly intercourse, and of mutual benefit, while it invigorated the resources of Britain, it made it less likely that she should have occasion to call forth those resources.* It certainly had at least the happy tendency to make the two nations enter into more intimate communion with one another, to enter into the same views even of taste and manners; and while they were mutually benefited by the connection, and endeared to one another by the result of the common benefits, it gave a better chance for the preservation of harmony between them, while, so far from weakening, it strengthened their sinews for war.

“May I not,” exclaimed Mr Pitt, “be led to cherish the idea that, seeing the durable and steady character of our strength, and the inefficiency as well as the ruin of hostility, France would eagerly wish to try the benefits of an amicable connection with us? It was a singular line of argument which he had heard, and which he saw was also propagated out of doors, that the treaty would prove objectionable, if it should be found that, though advantageous to ourselves, it would be equally so to them. It was ridiculous to imagine that the French would consent to yield advantages without an idea of return; the treaty would be of benefit to them; but he did not hesitate to pronounce his firm opinion, even in the eyes of France, and pending the business, that though advantageous to her, it would be more so to us. The proof of this assertion was short and indubitable. She gained for her wines and other produce a great and opulent market; we did the same, and to a much greater degree. She procured a market of eight millions of people, we a market of twenty-four millions. France gained this market for her produce, which employed in preparation but few hands, gave little encouragement to its navigation, and produced but little to the state. We gained this market for our manufactures, which employed many hundreds of thousands, and which, in collecting the materials from every corner of the world, advanced our maritime strength, and which, in all its combinations, and in every article and stage of its progress, contributed largely to the state. France could not gain the accession of L.100,000 to her revenue by the treaty; but England must necessarily gain a million. This could easily be demonstrated. The high price of labour in England arose chiefly from the

excise, and three-fifths of the price of labour were said to come into the exchequer. The produce of France, on the contrary, was low in the staple, and less productive to the state in the process. Even the reduced duties were so proportionably high, that France could not send to us L.500,000 of brandies, but we must gain cent. per cent. by the article. In this view, then, though France might gain, we must be, comparatively, so much more benefited, that we ought not to scruple to give her the advantages; and surely ought not to fear that this very disproportionate gain could be injurious to us in case of a future contest. It was in the nature and essence of an agreement between a manufacturing country blessed with peculiar productions, that the advantages must terminate in favour of the former; but it was particularly disposed and fitted for both the connections. Thus France was, by the peculiar dispensation of Providence, gifted, perhaps, more than any other country upon earth, with what made life desirable in point of soil, climate, and natural productions. It had the most fertile vineyards and the richest harvests; the greatest luxuries of man were produced in it with little cost, and with moderate labour. Britain was not thus blest by nature; but, on the contrary, it possessed through the happy freedom of its constitution, and the equal security of its laws, an energy in its enterprise, and a stability in its exertions, which had gradually raised it to a state of commercial grandeur; and not being so bountifully gifted by Heaven, it had recourse to labour and art, by which it had acquired the ability of supplying its neighbour with all the necessary embellishments of life in exchange for her natural luxuries. Thus standing with regard to each other, a friendly connection seemed to be pointed out between them, instead of the state of unalterable enmity which was falsely said to be their true political feeling towards one another."

Mr Fox contended that France was the natural foe of Great Britain, and that she wished, by entering into a commercial treaty with us, to tie our hands and prevent us from engaging in any alliance with other powers. He answered that part of Mr Pitt's speech, in which he had said that at one time France and Great Britain were friends, and had carried on a commercial intercourse with each other. The reason he said, was, this country had at that time a natural enemy, and that was Spain.

"The right honourable gentlemen (Mr Pitt) had dwelt a good deal on the benefit which individuals would reap from the treaty being carried into execution; that was one good reason with him (Mr Fox) for disliking it. Connections of

such great political importance ought not to rest on the advantage that would accrue to them from interested individuals," (the individuals spoken of by Mr Pitt were the merchants, manufacturers, and all whom they employed.) In the reign of Charles II., we had a connection with France—why? for the good of an individual, because of the corruption of the crowned head.

It is hardly possible to conceive a greater perversion of argument than to compare the manufacturers and merchants of Britain seeking markets for the national products with Charles II., who accepted a pension from France, which, however, originated when he was an exile in that country.

"Oliver Cromwell, it was true," continued Mr Fox, "notwithstanding the wisdom and vigour of his measures, was also in connection with France. The only reason that could be assigned, was probably for the sake of his own personal situation, having to dread that France might lend her aid to the family of the abdicated prince."

Next he proceeded to remark on that hostility to France which began the national debt; which despoiled the trade that grew up under James II., which gave us taxes on newspapers, windows, letters, soap, starch, and most other commodities, and penal laws in Ireland. He spoke of it thus:—

"In King William's time a more glorious policy was pursued, and also in the subsequent reign, until the people were led away by the false notions of their interests, and were not only persuaded that the victories and the triumphs of the wars they had carried on so successfully against France had been purchased at too dear a price of blood and treasure to this country; but that those who had planned those wars in the cabinet, and conducted them in the field, deserved execration and punishment. At that period it was that the treaty of Utrecht was thought of and negotiated; a treaty that deservedly met with the execration of all ranks of people!" (yet it was a treaty to give the nation trade and peace.) "Even that parliament—a parliament that had proved so servile, that it had disgraced itself in a variety of instances, would not consent to swallow the infamous treaty of Utrecht, but rejected it. They thereby proved, that though they were a tory, they were not a French parliament.

"He enlarged upon the argument that this country ought not, by any means, to connect herself too closely with France. Her true situation was that, he said, of a great maritime power, looked up to by the other powers of Europe as that to which the distressed should fly for assistance whenever France unjustly attacked them, with a view to the attainment of her

favourite object. Two things it behoved a wise ministry of this country to aim at with respect to France: the one was, to divert her attention from her marine, and turn it to land connections and fortifications; the other, to procure an alliance for Great Britain with some marine power that could assist her whenever France thought it a fit moment to attack her.

“As to the commercial part of the treaty, the first object that claimed his attention was the woollen manufactures. It had been argued that we had opened to ourselves a market containing twenty-four millions of people, while France had only obtained a market from us of eight millions. But, with respect of the number of persons in a market, he did not estimate the advantage to be derived on such a scale of computation. The advantages were to be estimated from the consumption of the national produce.” (Truly.) “The raw material, if grown in the country and then manufactured, was certainly the estimate of the profit of one nation with another in a commercial intercourse. Now, how stood the situation of this country with regard to our woollen manufactures? As far as the woollen articles we might export to France, by virtue of the treaty, were composed of English wool we should clearly have benefit; but, as we used at least L.350,000 worth of Spanish wool in our manufactures of woollen cloths, we clearly lost the advantage of the raw material. And this was not all, for this L.350,000, when manufactured into cloth, was estimated, by those most conversant in the trade, to amount to no less a sum than L.700,000, which would be clearly so much to our disadvantage.”

Mr W. W. Grenville followed Mr Fox. “He could not agree that this country ought to stand forth ready on all occasions to assist others in attacking France; but thought that every measure that could be adopted, that was likely to ensure the duration of peace, ought to be adopted by her. The best alliance, in his mind, was an alliance with our merchants and manufacturers. Encourage the spirit of adventure and of industry, and that would necessarily increase the means and furnish the resources to enable us to support a war, should a war unfortunately become necessary.”

Mr Francis (afterwards Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of *Junius*) went into the question at great length. He said, “The right honourable gentleman (Mr Pitt) not only admits, but triumphs in the novelty of the measure. He expressly allows that it militates against many ancient prejudices. Sir, this very language ought to guard us against the conclusion into which it endeavours to hurry us. It has been said that the wisdom of a nation has been expressed in its proverbs.

One of the oldest in our language says, that ‘ Evil communications corrupt good manners.’ I do not mean to apply it to the right honourable gentleman, (Mr Pitt;) far be it from me to say that his manners are within the reach of corruption; though I cannot help thinking, in this business, he partakes of the levity and precipitation of his new friend and favourite nation, which perhaps may have infected him. I hope the right honourable gentleman’s eagerness to learn French will not make him forget his English; that, while he imports the wit and genius of France, he will not prohibit or discourage the use of English common sense. My serious opinion is, that the more the two nations are drawn into contact, and the more successfully they are invited to mingle and to blend with one another, in the same proportion the remaining morals, principles, and vigour of the English mind will be enervated and corrupted. We shall be civilized out of our virtues, and polished out of our character. The judgment of a nation appears in its proverbs: the virtue, and possibly the vices, of a nation appear in its prejudices. To cure a whole nation of their prejudices, is to efface their distinct character. The French and English, we say, are natural enemies, not that there is any natural antipathy between them; on the contrary, no people agree better in private life. It is their relative position, their vicinity to each other, that furnishes a perpetual source of dispute, that makes them rivals in peace, as well as enemies in war. *Nations which border on each other never can thoroughly agree, for this single reason, because they are neighbours.* If their respective power be unequal, that very inequality is a source of enmity.” (Mr Francis referred to the olden policy of England, which was, always to be jealous and distrustful of her nearest neighbours, France and Scotland, and continued:—) “Such to this day has been the true English principle of English councils. But now it seems we are arrived at a new enlightened era of affections for our neighbours, and of liberality to our enemies, of which our uninstructed ancestors had no conception. The pomp of modern eloquence is employed to blast even the triumphs of Lord Chatham’s administration. The polemic laurels of the father must yield to the pacific myrtles which shadow the forehead of the son. Sir, the first and most prominent feature in the political character of Lord Chatham was anti-gallican. His glory is founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the House of Bourbon.” (The war against Spain and France.) “The present minister has taken the opposite road to fame; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of Lord Chatham, is the *gens amicissima* of his son.”

The committee divided. For Mr Fox's motion, 118; against it, and in favour of Mr Pitt and the treaty, 252. On the 15th of February the subject was resumed. Mr Charles Grey, member for Northumberland, afterwards Earl Grey, and Prime Minister, made his parliamentary *debut* in speaking against the treaty; but his opposition was moderate. Mr Flood spoke vehemently, and at great length, against the treaty. Mr Wilberforce followed in its support, repudiating the doctrine that nations were natural enemies. After some animated debates in the House of Lords, the question was settled. Its favourable results we have already cited in this section.

SECT. XIV.—MR PITT'S BIOGRAPHY.

William Pitt was the second son of the first Earl of Chatham. His mother was Hesther Grenville, sister of Richard Earl Temple. He was born at Hayes, in the county of Kent, on the 28th of May 1759. His education was commenced under the immediate eye of his father, who took great delight in personally superintending his studies.

At the age of fourteen he was sent to Pembroke college, Cambridge, where he made rapid progress in the classics. "He seemed," said Mr Wilson, his tutor, "not to *learn*, but only to read and *recollect*. He took great pleasure in the philological disquisitions of critics and commentators, he became deeply versed in the niceties of construction and peculiarities of idiom, both in the Latin and Greek languages. He had also read the first six books of Euclid's Elements, Plane Trigonometry, the elementary parts of algebra, and the two quarto volumes of Rutherford's Natural Philosophy, a work in some degree of repute while Mr Wilson was a student at Cambridge, but afterwards laid aside. Nor was it in learning only that Mr Pitt was so much superior to persons of his age. Though a boy in years and appearance, his manners were formed, and his behaviour manly. He mixed in conversation with unaffected vivacity; and delivered his sentiments with perfect ease, equally free from shyness and flippancy, and always with strict attention to propriety and decorum. Lord Chatham, who could not but be aware of the powers of his son's mind and understanding, had encouraged him to talk without reserve upon every subject, which frequently afforded opportunity for conveying useful information, and just notions of persons and things. When his lordship's health would permit, he never suffered a day to pass without giving instruction of some sort to his children; and seldom without reading

a chapter of the Bible with them. He must indeed be considered as having contributed largely to that fund of knowledge, and to those other advantages, with which Mr Pitt entered upon his academical life."

On leaving his alma mater, young Pitt entered Lincoln's Inn nearly at the same time with Mr Addington. At the end of three years he was called to the bar, and—as is customary with junior counsel—selected one of the circuits as the scene of his first professional efforts. A gentleman who was very intimate with Pitt on the western circuit, and afterwards till they were separated in 1792 by a difference of political opinions, thus writes of him at this stage of his career—"Among lively men of his own time of life, Mr Pitt was always the most lively and convivial in the many hours of labour which occur to young unoccupied men on a circuit; and joined all the little excursions to Southampton, Weymouth, and such parties of amusement as were habitually formed. He was extremely popular. His name and reputation of high acquirements at the university commanded the attention of his seniors. His wit, his good humour, and joyous manners, endeared him to the younger part of the bar. In some bribery causes from Crickdale, he was retained as junior counsel; but even in that subordinate character he had an opportunity of arguing a point of evidence with extraordinary ability. I remember also, in an action of crim. con. at Exeter, as junior counsel, he manifested such talents in cross examination, that it was the universal opinion of the bar that he should have led the cause. During his short stay in the profession he never had occasion to address a jury; but upon a motion in the court of king's bench, for a habeas corpus to bring up a man to be bailed, who was charged with murder, Mr Pitt made a speech which excited the admiration of the bar, and drew down very complimentary approbation from Lord Mansfield. When he first made his brilliant display in parliament, those at the bar who had seen little of him expressed surprise; but a few who had heard him once speak in a sort of mock debate at the Crown and Anchor tavern, when a club, called the Western Circuit Club, was dissolved, agreed that he had then displayed all the various species of eloquence for which he was afterwards celebrated. Before he distinguished himself in the House of Commons, he certainly looked seriously to the law as a profession. The late Mr Justice Rooke told me that Mr Pitt dangled seven days with a junior brief and a single guinea fee, waiting till a cause of no sort of importance should come on in the court of common pleas. At Mr Pitt's instance an annual dinner took place for some years at Richmond Hill, the

party consisting of Lord Erskine, Lord Redesdale, Sir William Grant, Mr Bond, Mr Leycester, Mr Jekyll, and others; and I well remember a dinner with Mr Pitt and several of his private friends, at the Boar's Head, in Eastcheap, in celebration of Shakspeare's Falstaff. We were all in high spirits, quoting and alluding to Shakspeare the whole day; and it appeared that Mr Pitt was as well and familiarly read in the poet's works as the best Shaksperian present. But to speak of his conviviality is needless. After he was minister, he continued to ask his old circuit intimates to dine with him, and his manners were unaltered."

But he was soon called to a different sphere of life. He had been bred a statesman from his boyhood; and he always contemplated the House of Commons as the goal whence he was to start in his political career. At the request of many of his friends, he first offered himself to represent the university of Cambridge, but was unsuccessful. Sir James Lowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale, then procured his return for Appleby, on the solicitation of the Duke of Rutland, and with the express understanding that the young commoner should enter parliament totally unfettered. On the 26th of February 1781, the future premier made his maiden-speech. The subject of debate was Mr Burke's bill for economical reform in the civil list. Lord Nugent was speaking against the bill; and Mr Byng, member for Middlesex, knowing Mr Pitt's sentiments upon the measure, asked him to reply to his lordship. Mr Pitt gave a doubtful answer; but, in the course of Lord Nugent's speech, he determined not to reply to him. Mr Byng, however, understood that Mr Pitt intended to speak after Lord Nugent; and the moment his lordship sat down, Mr Byng, and several of his friends, to whom he had communicated Mr Pitt's supposed intention, called out, in the manner usual in the House of Commons, Mr Pitt's name as being about to speak. This probably prevented any other person from rising; and Mr Pitt, finding himself thus called upon, and observing that the house waited to hear him, thought it necessary to rise. Though really not intending to speak, he was from the beginning collected and unembarrassed. Before Mr Pitt had a seat in parliament he had been a constant attendant in the gallery of the House of Commons, and near the throne in the House of Lords, upon every important debate; and whenever he heard a speech of any merit on the side opposite to his own opinions, he accustomed himself to consider, as it proceeded, in what manner it might be answered; and when the speaker accorded with his own sentiments, he then observed his mode of arranging and enforcing his ideas, and considered whether

any argument had been omitted. We quote part of his speech delivered on this occasion, with a voice rich and deep. It made a great impression:—

“ He said that he gave the most hearty consent to what had fallen from his honourable friend on the other side of the house—that a proposition for the retrenchment of the civil list revenue ought to have come from his majesty’s ministers. He gave his entire approbation to this sentiment. It would have come with more grace, it would have come with more benefit to the public service, if it had sprung from the royal breast. His majesty’s ministers ought to have come forward and proposed a reduction in the civil list, to give the people the consolation of knowing that their sovereign participated in the sufferings of the empire, and presented an honourable example of retrenchment in an hour of general difficulty. They ought to have consulted the glory of their royal master, and have seated him in the hearts of his people, by abating from magnificence what was due to necessity. Instead of waiting for the slow request of a burthened people, they should have courted popularity by a voluntary surrender of useless revenue.

“ Far more agreeable would it have been to that house to accede than to propose; much more gracious to have observed the free exercise of royal bounty than to make the appeal, and point out what was right or what was necessary. But if ministers failed to do this; if they interfered between the benignity of the sovereign and the distresses of his people, and stopped the tide of royal sympathy; was that a reason why the House of Commons, his majesty’s public counsellors, should desist from a measure so congenial to the paternal feelings of the sovereign, so applicable to the wants and miseries of the people? The natural beneficence of the royal heart would be gratified by the seasonable remittance. And surely it was no reason, because ministers failed to do their duty, that the house should cease to attend to theirs.

“ Acting as the faithful representatives of the people, who had trusted them, they ought to seize on every object of equitable resource that presented itself; and surely none were so fair, so probable, or so flattering, as retrenchment and economy. The obligations of their character demanded from them not to hesitate in pursuing those objects even to the foot of the throne; and, actuated by duty, to advise the crown to part with useless ostentation, that he might preserve necessary power; to abate a little of pomp, that he might ascertain respect; to diminish a little of exterior grandeur, that he might increase and secure authentic dignity. Such advice

would become them, as the counsellors of his majesty and as the representatives of the people; for it was their immediate duty, as the Commons' House of Parliament, to guard the lives, the liberties, and the properties of the people.

“The last obligation was the strongest; it was more immediately incumbent upon them to guard the properties, because they were more liable to invasion by the secret and subtle attacks of influence than either their lives or liberties; it would not derogate from the real glory of the crown to accept of the advice. It would be no diminution of true grandeur to yield to the respectful petitions of the people. The tutelago of that house might be a hard term; but the guardianship of that house could not be disgraceful to a constitutional king. The abridgment of useless and unnecessary expense could be no abatement of royalty. Magnificence and grandeur were not inconsistent with retrenchment and economy; but, on the contrary, in a time of necessity and of common exertion, solid grandeur was dependant on the reduction of expense. And it was the general sentiment and observation of the house, that economy was at this time essentially necessary to national salvation. But it had been said that the saving was immaterial—it was a matter of trifling consideration, when measured by the necessities or the expenses of the time. It proposed to bring no more than L.200,000 a-year into the public coffers; and that sum was insignificant, in the public account, when compared with the millions which we spend. This was surely the most singular and unaccountable species of reasoning that was ever attempted in any assembly. The calamities of the crisis were too great to be benefited by economy! Our expenses were so enormous, that it was ridiculous to attend to little matters of account! We have spent so many millions, that thousands are beneath our consideration! We were obliged to spend so much, that it was foolish to think of saving any! This was the language of the day, and it was by such reasoning that the principle of the bill had been disputed.

“Much argument had been brought to prove the impropriety and the injustice of resuming a parliamentary grant; and it had been even said that they had not a right to do so. It would be needless to attempt an answer to such a doctrine. It contained its refutation in its weakness. But it ought to be remembered that the civil list revenue was granted by parliament to his majesty for other purposes than those of personal gratification. It was granted to support the power and the interests of the empire, to maintain its grandeur, to pay the judges and the foreign ministers, to maintain justice, and

support respect ; to pay the great officers that were necessary to the lustre of the crown ; and it was proportioned to the dignity and the opulence of the people. It would be an ungracious task to investigate the great difference that there was between the wealth of the empire when that revenue was granted and the wealth at the present time. It would serve, however, to shew that the sum of revenue which was necessary to the support of the common dignity of crown and people, at that time, ought now to be abated, as the necessities had increased. The people who granted that revenue, under the circumstances of the occasion, were justified in resuming a part of it, under the pressing demand of an altered situation. They clearly felt their right ; but they exercised it with pain and regret. They approached the throne with bleeding hearts, afflicted at the necessity of applying for retrenchment of the royal gratifications ; but the request was at once loyal and submissive. It was justified by policy, and his majesty's compliance with the request was inculcated by prudence as well as by affection.

“ He confessed that when he considered the obligations of the house, he could not cherish the idea that they would dispute the principle of the bill before them. He could not believe it possible that the principle of economy would be condemned, or the means of accomplishing it abandoned. For his own part, he admitted the plan proposed. He felt himself, as a citizen of this country and a member of that house, highly indebted to the honourable author of it ; and as he considered it essential to the being and the independence of his country, he would give it the most determined support.”

On a division, the motion for the reading was negatived. Ayes 190, Noes 233.

The young statesman seemed to have been pleased himself with his first essay. On the next day he wrote to his tutor at Cambridge, that “ he had heard his own voice in the House of Commons, and had reason to be satisfied with the success of his first attempt at parliamentary speaking.” On the 31st of May, he spoke again on a motion relative to the commissioners of public accounts ; and, for the third and last time during the session, on the 12th of June, in a debate respecting the American war. He expressed himself, on this occasion, in the most indignant terms, reprobating “ the cruelty and impolicy of the contest with our colonies. It was conceived,” he said, “ in injustice ; it was nurtured and brought forth in folly ; its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution, and devastation. In short, everything that went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude were to be

found in it. It was pregnant with mischief of every kind, while it meditated destruction to the miserable people who were the devoted objects of the black resentments which produced it." Strong to violence as such language was, his speeches elicited the following encomium from Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville: "I cannot say to Mr Pitt's face what truth would extort from me were he absent; yet even now I must declare that I rejoice in the good fortune of my country, and my fellow-subjects, who are destined to derive the most important services from so happy a union of first-rate abilities, high integrity, bold and honest independency of conduct, and the most persuasive eloquence." At the close of the session, some one having observed that Pitt promised to be one of the first speakers ever heard in the House of Commons, Fox instantly replied, "He is so already." Some time afterwards, in allusion to a speech delivered by Pitt in support of a motion against the lords of the admiralty, Dunning confessed "that nearly all the sentiments which he had collected in his own mind on the subject, had vanished like a dream on the bursting forth of a torrent of eloquence from the greatest prodigy that ever perhaps was seen in this or in any other country—a gentleman, possessing the full vigour of youth, united with the wisdom and experience of the maturest age."

Notwithstanding his success in parliament, Pitt still continued at the bar. On the following circuit he held briefs in several election causes of considerable importance at Salisbury; and had the satisfaction of being spoken of in high terms, as well by Mr Justice Buller as the famous Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton. In the ensuing session he voted with Fox and the opposition; strongly censuring the conduct of ministers, Lord North and his friends particularly, with regard to the American war.

Lord North and his friends were at length compelled to resign; but Pitt, as he was not offered a seat in the cabinet, declined taking office under Lord Rockingham, who succeeded to the premiership. On the 22d of May 1782, he made an unsuccessful motion for a committee to inquire into the state of the representative system. On this occasion he spoke to the following import:—

"The representation of the commons in parliament," he observed, "was a matter so truly interesting, that it had at all times excited the admiration of men the most enlightened; while the defects found in it had given them reason to apprehend the most alarming consequences. That it had lately undergone material alterations, by which the Commons' House of Parliament had received an improper and dangerous bias,

he believed it would be idle for him to attempt to prove. That beautiful frame of government, which had made us the envy and admiration of mankind, and in which the people were entitled to hold so distinguished a share, was so far dwindled and departed from its original purity, that the representatives ceased in a great degree to be connected with the people. It was not his intention to enter into any inquiry respecting the proper mode of reform, or to consider what would most completely tally and square with the original frame of the constitution; this he left to a committee: but he still felt it his duty to state some facts and circumstances which, in his opinion, made this object of reform essentially necessary. He believed, indeed, that there was no member of that house who would not acknowledge that the representation was incomplete. It was perfectly understood that there were some of the boroughs under the influence of the treasury, and others totally possessed by them. It was manifest that such boroughs had not one quality of representation in them. They had no share or concern in the general interests of the country; and they had in fact no stake for which to appoint guardians in the popular assembly. The influence of the treasury in some boroughs was also contested, not by the electors of those boroughs, but by some powerful man, who assumed or pretended to an hereditary property in what ought only to be the rights and privileges of the electors. There were other boroughs, which had now, in fact, no actual existence but in the return of members to that house. They had no existence in property, in population, in trade, or in weight of any kind. Another set of boroughs and towns claimed to themselves the right of bringing their votes to market. They had no other market, no other property, and no other stake in the country, than the property and price which they procured for their votes. Such boroughs were the most dangerous of all others. So far from consulting the interests of their country in the choice which they made, they held out their borough to the best purchaser; and in fact some of them belonged more to the nabob of Arcot than they did to the people of England. They were towns and boroughs more within the jurisdiction of the Carnatic than the limits of the empire of Great Britain; and it was a fact pretty well known, and generally understood, that the nabob of the Carnatic had no less than seven or eight members in that house. There was no man in that house who possessed more reverence for the constitution and more respect even for its vestiges than himself; but he was afraid that the reverence and enthusiasm which Englishmen entertained for the constitution

would, if not suddenly prevented, be the means of destroying it; for, such was their enthusiasm, that they would not even remove its defects for fear of touching its beauty. But so great was his reverence for the beauties of that constitution, that he wished to remove those defects, as he clearly perceived that they were defects which altered the radical principles of the constitution. That a reform of the present parliamentary representation was indispensably necessary was the sentiment of some of the first and greatest characters in the kingdom; and he should also observe that he well knew it to be the sentiment of his much honoured father, the late Earl of Chatham, who was firmly of opinion that a reform of the representation was absolutely requisite for the security of the liberties of the people of this country." He concluded with moving "that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation in parliament, and to report to the house their observations thereon." This proposition was seconded by Alderman Sawbridge and supported by Sir George Saville. Mr Fox, although then a minister, spoke in favour of reform; and instanced the county of Middlesex, which, he said, was so little represented, that although it contained one-eighth part of the whole number of the electors of Great Britain—although it paid one-sixth part of the land-tax, and a full third of all other taxes—yet it had not more than a fifty-fifth part of the representation. The motion, however, on a division, was rejected; but the majority was small, for it only consisted of 40, the numbers being 161 to 121.

When Lord Shelburne became premier, Pitt, then only twenty-three years of age, was called to the office of chancellor of the exchequer; and when, in the course of a few months, the coalition of the Fox and North parties—whigs and tories—drove his lordship from office, the premiership itself was offered by the king to the youthful chancellor, but declined. Bishop Tomline praises this act, and regards it "as sufficient to refute the charge of inordinate ambition which has been sometimes urged against Mr Pitt;" but it may fairly be asked whether this act was not one quite as much of mere prudence as self-denial? What chance could he and his party have had at this juncture, in resisting a coalition so powerful and indefatigable as that which had just prevailed against Shelburne, a coalition, too, against which, as has been well observed, after Fox's East India bill had trebled its unpopularity, he himself with so much difficulty kept his ground. The coalition, however, would have gladly availed themselves of Pitt's talents by retaining him in the office of chancellor; but he peremptorily declined any negotiation with the party. When the ill-fated

India Bill of Mr Fox was brought before the house, it experienced a systematic and determined opposition from the ex-chancellor of the exchequer, Mr Pitt, who chiefly insisted upon two objections: the one founded in the infringement, or rather the violation, of the charter; the other on the new and unconstitutional influence it was calculated to create. He allowed that the government of India wanted reform; but he contended that this was a tyrannical alteration that broke through every principle of justice and integrity. By the bill before the house an attack was made on the most solemn charters; it also pointed a fatal blow against the integrity and the faith of parliament; and, in addition to this, it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. The charter in question, he argued, was not indebted for its birth or its pretensions to the foolish prepossession, or the mad prodigality of a Plantagenet, a Tudor, or a Stuart; it was a fair purchase made of the public, an equal compact for reciprocal advantages between the proprietors and the nation at large. The coalition having wrecked itself upon this bill, and the king being determined to shake off his ministers whatever the effort might cost, Pitt was again solicited to accept the premiership, and at last consented to make the bold experiment. He was now only in his twenty-fifth year; the opposition he knew he would have to encounter was headed by men of the highest talents; and the coalition party was still paramount in the house. Yet, in the face of all these obstacles, the young statesman undertook the premiership, and ultimately triumphed by an appeal to the people in a general election, in which upwards of 160 of his opponents were unseated, and he gained the original object of his ambition in being returned for Cambridge, although but a few months before, on his repeating his attempt to stand for that university, some of the heads of houses had almost shut the door in his face, and expressed great astonishment "at the young man's impudence in daring so to disturb the peace of the university!" He now passed an India bill, differing in several points from that which he had unsuccessfully proposed in the preceding parliament. But the new minister was placed in a very delicate and embarrassing situation by a motion of Mr Alderman Sawbridge, (June 16th, 1794,) "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the commons of Great Britain in parliament." The alderman affected to be desirous of resigning this business to the chancellor of the exchequer, who had on a former occasion brought forward questions upon the same subject, and in whose hands, he conceived, it would assuredly be attended with a greater prospect of success. Mr Pitt,

however, declined the proposal on account, he said, of the pressure of public business, which did not leave his mind sufficiently at leisure to enter on the disquisition and arrangement of a subject so peculiarly complicated and extensive. He added that "this was not, in his opinion, the proper time for bringing forward the question, and that it might be urged with a greater probability of success on some future occasion." He declared his own resolution to offer something on the subject early in the next session; and although the precipitate discussion had not his approbation, the business itself should have every support he was able to afford it.

On the 15th of April, Mr Pitt, in conformity with a notice of motion, called the attention of parliament to the necessity which existed for reform of the House of Commons. Mr Fox, and the other professed reformers, cavilled at the procedure. The opponents of all reform, and the factious opposition of Mr Fox and his adherents, gave the numbers against Mr Pitt thus:—for leave to bring in a bill to reform parliament, 174: against leave to bring in a bill to reform parliament, 248. The Irish propositions were also the work of 1785.

On the 29th of March 1786, he proposed his scheme of a sinking fund for paying off the national debt. He proposed to invest one million annually in the hands of commissioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchase of stock, so that no sum should ever lie within the grasp of the chancellor of the exchequer large enough to tempt him to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually discharged were to be added to, and incorporated with, the original fund, so that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity. This fund was also to be assisted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would, from time to time, fall in within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which he calculated that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum! The commissioners to be nominated under the act, were the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker of the House of Commons, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of England, and the accountant-general of the High Court of Chancery. Strange to say, this scheme was received with approbation by all parties. The only amendment of any material consequence suggested on Pitt's plan was, in the progress of the bill, offered by Fox, "that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it, as should be equal to the cash then in their hands; the interest and *douceur* annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund." This amend-

ment was readily and candidly accepted by Pitt, and the bill finally passed with great approbation. The merest tyro in political arithmetic of our own days would have told the minister that, as in the family so in the state, the excess of income above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which any debt, whether private or public, can be discharged.

In 1787 the commercial relations with France was the great subject of the session, as detailed in the preceding section. In 1788 the famous regency question was brought on by the illness of his majesty. A motion was made by Pitt for the appointment of a committee to inspect the journals for precedents. "With respect to precedents, there were," said Fox, "notoriously none which applied to the present instance; and he affirmed that all that was requisite to their ultimate decision was now embodied in a report upon their table. By that report they had ascertained the incapacity of the sovereign; and he advanced, as a proposition deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary succession, that whenever the sovereign was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir-apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise."* Pitt immediately, with much apparent warmth, declared, "that the assertion which had been made by Fox was little short of treason against the constitution; and he pledged himself to prove that the heir-apparent, in the instance in question, had no more legal right to the exercise of the executive power than any other of his majesty's subjects; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature to make such a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. To assert an inherent right in the Prince of Wales to assume the government, he said, was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasible authority of princes, which had so justly sunk into contempt, and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their power from the people; and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision." Thus, in this famous political question, Fox, the professed advocate of the people, appeared to lean to prerogative; while Pitt, who had been loudly, though as yet un-

* When Fox first stated his opinion in parliament on this important subject, Pitt, it is said, exultingly slapped his thigh, and exclaimed, "I'll un-whig the gentleman for the remainder of his life!"

justly, accused of deserting the principles of liberty, stood forth their intrepid and zealous assertor. All those popular arguments and primary axioms of government on which the friends of liberty delight to dwell were upon this occasion urged by Pitt with energy and eloquence.

At the opening of the session of 1792, the table of the House of Commons was covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring the abolition of the slave-trade. On the 2d of April Wilberforce moved the question of abolition in a most eloquent speech, in which he declared "that, from his exertions in this cause he had found happiness, though not hitherto success. It enlivened his waking, and soothed his evening hours; and he could not recollect without singular satisfaction, that he had demanded justice for millions who could not ask it for themselves." Whitebread distinguished himself by the energy and animation of his remarks. He observed "that a fatality attended the arguments of those who defended this detestable and shocking trade. In an account of selling the stock of a plantation, one of the evidences in favour of the slave-merchants said, 'that the slaves fetched less than the common price, because they were damaged.' Damaged! what is this but an acknowledgment that they are worn down by labour, sickness, by every species of ill treatment. A trade attended with such dreadful evils ought not to be thought of; it cannot be mentioned without horror, nor continued without violating every moral and religious obligation!" Dundas, now advanced to the dignity of Secretary of State by the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, recommended to the house the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, such as would reconcile the interests of the West India islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and concluded by moving 'that the word gradual might be inserted before abolition.' But Pitt declared his decided disapprobation of the amendment, and, in a speech fraught with argument and eloquence, conjured the house not to postpone even for an hour the great and necessary work of abolition. "Reflect," said he, "on the eighty thousand persons annually torn from their native land! on the connections which are broken! on the friendships—attachments—relationships that are burst asunder! There is something in the horror of this trade that surpasses all the bounds of imagination! How shall we repair the mischiefs we have brought upon that continent! If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britain!" On the 27th of the same month he thus expressed himself on the same subject:—"I do not understand complimenting

away the lives of so many human beings. I do not understand the principle on which a few individuals are to be complimented, and their minds set at rest, at the expense and total sacrifice of the interest, the security, the happiness, of a whole quarter of the world, which, from our foul practices, has, for a vast length of time, been a scene of misery and horror. I say, because I feel, that every hour you continue this trade you are guilty of an offence beyond your power to atone for; and by your indulgence to the planters, thousands of human beings are to be miserable for ever. I feel its infamy so heavily, I am so clearly convinced of its impolicy, that I am ashamed I have not been able to prevail upon the house to abandon it altogether at an instant—to pronounce with one voice immediate and total abolition. There is no excuse for us, seeing this infernal traffic as we do. It is the very death of justice to utter a syllable in support of it. Sir, I know I state this subject with warmth. I feel it is impossible for me not to do so; or if it were, I should detest myself for the exercise of moderation.”

In justice to Mr Pitt, though regretting the course he took with France after the Revolution, we must let him speak for himself.

On the 1st of February 1793, in moving the address on his majesty's speech, the member began by adverting to the execution of the French king, “that act of outrage to every principle of religion, justice, and humanity; an act which in this country, and throughout Europe, had excited but one general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence, and could not fail to excite the same sentiments in every civilized nation. He should, indeed, better consult his own feelings and those of the house, could he draw a veil over this melancholy event. It was in all its circumstances so full of grief and horror, that it must be a wish in which all united to tear it, if possible, from their memories—to expunge it from the page of history—and remove it for ever from the observation or comments of mankind.

‘Excidat ille dies ævo, nec postera credant
 Secula? nos certe taceamus, et obruta multa
 Nocte tegi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis.’

Such,” he continued, “were the words applied by an author of their own, to a transaction (the massacre of St Bartholomew) which had always been deemed the standing reproach of the French nation, and the horrors and cruelties of which had only been equalled by those atrocious and sanguinary proceedings which had been witnessed in some late instances. But whatever might be their feelings of indignation and abhor-

rence with respect to that dreadful and inhuman event to which he had set out with calling their attention, that event was now past; it was impossible that the present age should not now be contaminated with the guilt and ignominy of having witnessed it, or that the breath of tradition should be prevented from handing it down to posterity. They could only now enter their solemn protestation against that act, as contrary to every sentiment of justice and humanity, as violating the most sacred authority of laws and the strongest principles of natural feeling. Hence, however, they might derive a useful theme of reflection—a lesson of salutary warning; for, in this dreadful transaction they saw concentrated the effect of those principles pushed to their utmost extent, which set out with dissolving all the bonds of legislation by which society were held together—which are in opposition to every law, divine and human—and which, presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of revelation. While, therefore, he directed their attention to this transaction, he paid not only a tribute to humanity, but he suggested to them a subject of much useful reflection; for, by considering the consequences of these principles, they might be duly warned of their mischievous tendency, and taught to guard against their progress. Indeed he wished that this subject might, on the present occasion, be considered rather as matter of reason and reflection than of sentiment. Sentiment was now unavailing; but reason and reflection might yet be attended with the most beneficial effects; and while they pointed out the horrid evils which had disgraced and ruined another country, might preserve our own from becoming a scene of similar calamity and guilt. No consideration, indeed, could be of greater importance than what tended to avert in this country such transactions as had taken place in a neighbouring state; here, where a monarch, clothed with that inviolability which was essential to the exercise of the sovereign power, formed an essential part of the government; where the legislature was composed of a mixture of democracy and aristocracy; and where, by the benefits of this system, we had been exempted from those mischiefs which in former ages had been produced by despotism, and which were only to be exceeded by those still more horrid evils which in the present time had been found to be the fruits of licentiousness and anarchy. The situation of the country, he must, indeed, compare to the temperate zone, which was the situation in every respect best fitted for health and enjoyment; and where, enjoying a mild, bene-

ficial, regulated influence, the inhabitants were equally protected from the scorching heats of the torrid and the rigorous frosts of the frigid zones. Compared with this country, where equal protection was extended to all, and there existed so high a sum of national felicity, dreadful indeed was the contrast afforded in the present situation of France, where prevailed a system of the utmost licentiousness and disorder, and where anarchy through a thousand organs operated to produce unnumbered mischiefs. Such a system could surely never find its way into this happy country, unless industriously imported; and to guard against the introduction of such a system was their first duty and their most important care.

“ His majesty had declined taking any part in the internal government of France, and had made a positive declaration to that effect. When he took that wise, generous, and disinterested resolution, he had reason to expect that the French would in return have respected the rights of himself and his allies; and most of all, that they would not have attempted any internal interference in this country. A paper on the table contained, on their part, a positive contract to abstain from any of those acts by which they had provoked the indignation of this country. In this paper they disclaimed all views of aggrandizement; they gave assurances of their good conduct to neutral nations; they protested against their entertaining an idea of interfering in the government of the country, or making any attempts to excite insurrection, upon the express ground that such interference, and such attempts, would be a violation of the law of nations. They had themselves, by anticipation, passed sentence upon their own conduct; and the event of this evening's discussion would decide whether that sentence would be confirmed by those who had actually been injured.

“ During the whole summer, while France had been engaged in the war with Austria and Prussia, his majesty had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe, nor did he, by the smallest act, give any reason to suspect his adherence to that system. But what, he would ask, was the conduct of the French? Had they also faithfully observed their part of the agreement, and adhered to the assurances which, on the ground of his majesty's neutrality, they had given, to reject all views of aggrandizement—and to respect the rights of his majesty and his allies? What had been their conduct would very soon appear from a statement of facts. They had shewed how little sincere they were in their first assurances, by immediately discovering intentions to pursue a system of

the most unlimited aggrandizement. The first instance of their success in Savoy had been sufficient to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately adopted the course to annex it for ever to their own dominions, and had displayed a resolution to do the same wherever they should carry their arms. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal decree they had stated their plan of overturning every government, and substituting their own; they threatened destruction to all who should not be inclined to adopt their system of freedom; and, by a horrid mockery, offered fraternization, where, if it was refused, they were determined to employ force—and to propagate their principles, where they should fail to gain assent, by the mouths of cannon! They established, in the instructions to the commissioners whom they appointed to enforce the decree with respect to the countries entered by their armies, a standing revolutionary order; they instituted a system of organizing disorganization. And what was the reason they assigned for all this? ‘The period of freedom,’ said they, ‘must soon come; we must then endeavour, by all means in our power, to accomplish it now, for should this freedom be accomplished by other nations, what then will become of us? Shall we then be safe?’ It is a question indeed which they might well put, ‘What will become of us?’ for justly might they entertain doubts of their safety. They had rendered the Netherlands a province in substance as well as name, entirely dependant upon France. The system pursued by the Jacobin societies, in concert with their correspondents, had given a more fatal blow to liberty than any which it had ever suffered from the boldest attempts of the most aspiring monarch. What had been the circumstances which had attended the triumphal entry of General Dumourier? Demonstrations of joy inspired by terror! illuminations imperiously demanded by an armed force! And when the primary assembly met to deliberate, in what circumstances did they assemble? With the tree of liberty planted amidst them, and surrounded by a hollow square of French soldiers—a situation surely equally conducive to the ease of their own thoughts and the freedom of their public deliberations! And what had happened, even since the French had professed their intention of evacuating the territories which they had entered at the conclusion of the war?

“A deputation had been received from Hainault, requesting that it might be added as an eighty-fifth department. And how had this deputation been received? Had the request been rejected? No; it had only been postponed till a committee should be able to prepare instructions how those na-

tions, who should be desirous of the same union, should be able to incorporate themselves with France in a regular and formal manner; in other words, till the preliminaries should be settled by which it should be subject to its government, and add to its territories, every country which should be so unfortunate as to experience the force of its arms, and give to its wild and destructive ambition only the same limits with those of its power. It was matter of serious consideration how far such conduct not only ought to rouse the indignation, but might tend to affect the interests of this country. To shew how the French had behaved with respect to neutral nations, he need only refer to their decree of the 19th of November, which had already been so often mentioned and so amply discussed. Some pretended explanations had indeed been given of this decree, but of all these explanations he should say nothing but what had already been stated by the noble Secretary of State,—that they contained only an avowal and a repetition of the offence. The whole of their language, institutions, and conduct, had been directed to the total subversion of every government. To monarchy particularly they had testified the most decided aversion; and so violent was their enmity, that they could be satisfied with nothing less than its entire extermination. The bloody sentence, which the hand of the assassin had lately carried into execution against their own monarch, was passed against the sovereigns of all countries! Were not these principles intended to be applied in their effects to this government? No society in this country, however small in number, however contemptible, however even questionable in existence, had sent addresses to their assembly, in which they had expressed sentiments of sedition and treason, which had not been received with a degree even of theatrical extravagance, and cherished with all the enthusiasm of congenial feeling. Need he then ask if England was not aimed at in this conduct, and if it alone was to be exempted from the consequences of a system, the profession of which was anarchy, and which seemed to aspire to establish universal dominion upon the ruin of every government?

“On the subject of the violation of the rights of his majesty and his allies, he had already on a former occasion spoken at some length. He had stated that the only claim which the French could have to interfere in the navigation of the Scheldt must either be in the assumed character of sovereign of the Low Countries, or as taking to themselves the office of the arbiters of Europe. There were the most solemn engagements of treaties to protect the Dutch in their exclusive right of navigating the Scheldt. An infringement of treaties more

notorious and more flagrant perhaps never had occurred than that which now appeared in the instance of their conduct with respect to the Scheldt. For this infringement they had advanced some pretences, alleging that the exclusive privilege of navigating the Scheldt was contrary to certain principles with respect to the rights of rivers. Capricious and wild in their theory, and in entire contradiction to whatever had been sanctioned by established practice, they likewise pretend that the treaty on which was founded the exclusive right of navigating the Scheldt was antiquated and obsolete, and had become no longer binding; though they had, upon receiving the assurances of his majesty's intentions of neutrality, pledged themselves to an observance of all the subsisting treaties. The pretences which they alleged upon this occasion were indeed such as equally went to weaken the force of every treaty—to remove every obligation—and to destroy all confidence between nations. From what had passed in a former part of the evening, he understood that it would be urged that the Dutch had made no formal requisition for the support of this country, in order to resist the opening of the Scheldt by the French, and to enable them to maintain their right to the exclusive navigation of that river. He granted that no such formal requisition had been made. But might there not be prudential reasons for not making this requisition on their part, very different from those which should induce this country to withhold its support? When the French opened the Scheldt, the Dutch entered their solemn protest against that invasion of their rights, which left them at liberty at any time to take it up as an act of hostility. If, from the sudden progress of the French arms, and the circumstance of their forces being at their very door, they either from prudence or fear did not think proper to take it up as an immediate commencement of hostilities—because they had been timid—would England think itself entitled to leave its allies, already involved in a situation of imminent danger, to that certain ruin to which they were exposed in consequence of a system, the principles of which threatened also destruction to England, to Europe, and to the whole of mankind?

“Thus, in all those three assurances which they had given of their intention to reject any system of aggrandizement, to abstain from interfering in the government of any neutral country, and to respect the rights of his majesty and of his allies, they had entirely failed, and in every respect completely reversed that line of conduct which they had so solemnly pledged themselves to adopt. Whatever they had offered under the name of explanations contained nothing that either

afforded any compensation for the past, or was at all satisfactory with respect to the future. They had stated that they would evacuate the Netherlands at the conclusion of the war; upon a promise so illusory there could not be the smallest grounds of dependence. With respect to the decree of the 19th November, they had made no apology for the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from this country. They stated, indeed, that it was injurious to them to suppose that they would interfere in any government without a previous express declaration of the national will; but they had left themselves to judge what was sufficient to constitute that declaration of the national will; and thus allowed this decree—which in fact was nothing else than an advertisement for sedition in every country—to remain in full force. And what in their opinion was to constitute a declaration of the national will we could only judge of from the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from a minority in this country—so small, that those who were disposed to put the conduct of the French in the most favourable point of view, held them out as too contemptible for notice; these addresses they received as expressive of the sentiments of the people of Great Britain, the great majority of whom he was, however, happy to say, detested their principles—principles which, if once adopted, would involve in them the ruin of our happy constitution, and the destruction of our country, and introduce anarchy and all those scenes of horror with which the country which had hatched them was now afflicted.

“ But the patience of the house and his strength would fail him should he proceed to state all the facts connected with the propositions which he now meant to lay before them. On the 27th of December M. Chauvelin, on the part of the executive council, had presented the note complaining of the injurious construction of the decree of the 19th of November. On the 31st of December a member of that executive council (minister of the marine) addressed a letter to all the friends of liberty in the sea-ports; from which he would now read some passages:—‘ The government of England is arming, and the king of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots on their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us; but no—a people who have made themselves free—a people who have driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the Prussians and Austrians—the people of France will not suffer laws to be dictated to

them by a tyrant! The king and his parliament mean to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men shew their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French. Well! we will fly to their succour — We will make a descent on the island—We will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty—We will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren—the tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed!’ He called the attention of the house to this declaration, which distinguished the English people from the king and the parliament. While such declarations were made, what could be thought of any explanations which were pretended to be given, or what credit was due to the assertions that they entertained no intentions hostile to the government of this country? From all these circumstances he concluded that the conduct and pretensions of the French were such as were neither consistent with the existence or safety of this country—such as that house could not, and he was confident, never would acquiesce in. Their explanations had only been renewed insults, and instead of reverting to those assurances with which they had originally set out, they now shewed themselves determined to maintain the ground, such as it was, upon which they stood with respect to this country. In the last paper which had been delivered, they had given in an ultimatum, stating that, unless you accept such satisfaction as they have thought proper to give, they will prepare for war—unless you then recede from your principles, or they withdraw it, a war must be the consequence. As to the time—the precise moment—he should not pretend to fix it; it would be left open to the last for any satisfactory explanation; but he should deceive them if he should say that he thought any such explanation would be given, or that it was probable that a war could be avoided. Rather than recede from our principles, war was preferable to a peace, which could neither be consistent with the internal tranquillity nor external safety of the country.”

A war against the French republic of 1793 ensued. Its disastrous results to the national interest, in debt, taxes, and human life, are written in all histories, are pressing upon Britain to this day, and will press on generations to be born long hereafter.

But the fact is not to be overlooked that the politics of parties in Britain seeking fraternity with the revolutionists of France were so wild, and the intention of the French to join with them against all old governments was so undoubted,

that in blaming the minister which placed Britain in a state of war, and sunk her inextricably in debt, we should first blame the wild demagogues who trampled upon rational liberty, and, despising rational reform and progressive politics, rushed to the torch to set the world in a blaze. Nor should the lesson of 1793 be lost on us in the fifty-fifth year following.

From the year 1785, when the Irish propositions for free-trade between Britain and Ireland, and their being rejected by the Irish parliament because they were amended in that of Britain, demonstrated that two parliaments could not act independently under one sovereignty, Mr Pitt had never lost sight of the all-important project of a legislative union between the two countries. It is to be regretted that this union could not be effected without an extensive system of bribery. It seems, however, undoubted, that the corrupt men of politics could only be influenced by corruption. The emancipation of the Catholics was the chief promise of advantage, or hope, held out to the political leaders of that portion of the Irish people. But from the personal determination of King George III. not to yield equality of rights to the Catholics, Mr Pitt could not fulfil his engagement to them, and so resigned office in 1801. It is due to his memory to place the blame where it ought to rest. The following letter to the king on the 31st of January 1801, and the answer, will explain all:—

“ Mr Pitt would have felt it, at all events, his duty, previous to the meeting of parliament, to submit to your majesty the result of the best consideration which your confidential servants could give to the important questions respecting the Catholics and dissenters, which must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union. The knowledge of your majesty’s general indisposition to any change of the laws on this subject would have made this a painful task to him ; and it is become much more so, by learning from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, within these few days, the extent to which your majesty entertains, and has declared that sentiment.

“ He trusts your majesty will believe that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment, must make him look to your majesty’s ease and satisfaction, in preference to all considerations, but those arising from a sense of what, in his honest opinion, is due to the real interest of your majesty and your dominions. Under the impression of that opinion, he has concurred in what appeared to be the prevailing sentiments of the majority of the cabinet—that the admission of the Catholics and dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to parliament, (from which latter the dissenters are now excluded,)

would, under certain conditions to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom.

“For himself, he is, on full consideration, convinced that the measure would be attended with no danger to the established church, or to the protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland: that, now the Union has taken place, and with the new provisions which make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight in office, or in parliament, either to Catholics or dissenters, as could give them any new means (if they were so disposed) of attacking the establishment;—that the grounds on which the laws of exclusion now remaining were founded have long been narrowed, and are since the Union removed;—that those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining, and, among the higher orders particularly, they have ceased to prevail. That the obnoxious tenets are disclaimed in the most positive manner by the oaths which have been required in Great Britain, and still more by one of those required in Ireland, as the condition of the indulgences already granted, and which might equally be made the condition of any new ones. That if such an oath, containing (among other provisions) a denial of the power of absolution from its obligations, is not a security from Catholics, the sacramental test is not more so. That the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising either from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, from the apprehension of a Popish queen or successor, a disputed succession, and a foreign pretender, and a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things. That with respect to those of the dissenters, who, it is feared, entertain principles dangerous to the constitution, a distinct political test, pointed against the doctrine of modern Jacobinism, would be a much more just and more effectual security than that which now exists, which may operate to the exclusion of conscientious persons well-affected to the state, and is no guard against those of an opposite description. That with respect to the Catholics of Ireland, another most important additional security, and one of which the effect would continually increase, might be provided, by gradually attaching the popish clergy to the government, and for this purpose making them dependent for a part of their provision (under proper regulations) on the state, and by also subjecting them to superintendence and control:—that, besides these provisions, the general interests of the established church, and

the security of the constitution and government, might be effectually strengthened by requiring the political test, before referred to, from the preachers of all Catholic or dissenting congregations, and from the teachers of schools of every denomination.

“ It is on these principles Mr Pitt humbly conceives a new security might be obtained for the civil and ecclesiastical condition of this country, more applicable to its present circumstances, more free from objection, and more effectual in itself, than any which now exists, and which would at the same time admit of extending such indulgences as must conciliate the higher orders of the Catholics, and by furnishing to a large class of your majesty’s Irish subjects a proof of the good-will of the united parliament, afford the best chance of giving full effect to the great object of the Union—that of tranquillizing Ireland, and attaching it to this country.

“ It is with inexpressible regret, after all he now knows of your majesty’s sentiments, that Mr Pitt troubles your majesty, thus at large, with the general grounds of his opinion, and finds himself obliged to add, that this opinion is unalterably fixed in his mind. It must therefore ultimately guide his political conduct, if it should be your majesty’s pleasure that, after thus presuming to open himself fully to your majesty, he should remain in that responsible situation, in which your majesty has so long condescended graciously and favourably to accept his services. It will afford him, indeed, a great relief and satisfaction, if he may be allowed to hope that your majesty will deign maturely to weigh what he has now humbly submitted, and to call for any explanation which any parts of it may appear to require.

“ In the interval which your majesty may wish for consideration, he will not, on his part, importune your majesty with any unnecessary reference to the subject; and will feel it his duty to abstain himself from all agitation of this subject in parliament, and to prevent it, as far as depends on him, on the part of others. If, on the result of such consideration, your majesty’s objections to the measure proposed should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished to admit of its being brought forward with your majesty’s full concurrence, and with the whole weight of government, it must be personally Mr Pitt’s first wish to be released from a situation which he is conscious that, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage.

“ At the same time, after the gracious intimation which has been recently conveyed to him, of your majesty’s sentiments on this point, he will be acquitted of presumption in

adding, that if the chief difficulties of the present crisis should not then be surmounted, or very materially diminished, and if your majesty should continue to think that his humble exertions could, in any degree, contribute to conducting them to a favourable issue, there is no personal difficulty to which he will not rather submit than withdraw himself at such a moment from your majesty's service. He would even, in such a case, continue for such a short further interval as might be necessary, to oppose agitation or discussion of the question, as far as he can consistently with the line to which he feels bound uniformly to adhere, of reserving to himself a full latitude on the principle itself, and objecting only to the time, and to the temper and circumstances of the moment. But he must entreat that, on this supposition, it may be distinctly understood that he can remain in office no longer than till the issue (which he trusts on every account will be a speedy one) of the crisis now depending, shall admit of your majesty's more easily forming a new arrangement; and that he will then receive your majesty's permission to carry with him into a private situation that affectionate and grateful attachment, which your majesty's goodness, for a long course of years, has impressed on his mind—and that unabated zeal for the ease and honour of your majesty's government, and for the public service, which he trusts will always govern his conduct.

“He has only to entreat your majesty's pardon for troubling you on one other point, and taking the liberty of most respectfully, but explicitly, submitting to your majesty the indispensable necessity of effectually discountenancing, in the whole of the interval, all attempts to make use of your majesty's name, to influence the opinion of any individuals, or descriptions of men, on any part of this subject.”

To this statement the king returned the following answer :—

“QUEEN'S HOUSE, *February 1, 1801.*”

“I should not do justice to the warm impulse of my heart, if I entered on the subject most unpleasant to my mind, without first expressing that the cordial affection that I have for Mr Pitt, as well as high opinion of his talents and integrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occasion; but a sense of religious as well as political duty has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, consider the oath that the wisdom of our forefathers has enjoined the kings of this realm to take at their coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony, with taking the sacrament, as so binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our constitution is

placed, namely, the church of England being the established one, and that those who hold employments in the state must be members of it, and consequently obliged not only to take oaths against popery, but to receive the holy communion agreeably to the rites of the church of England.

“This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy this groundwork of our happy constitution, and much more so that now mentioned by Mr Pitt, which is no less than the complete overthrow of the whole fabric.

“When the Irish propositions were transmitted to me by a joint message from both houses of the British parliament, I told the lords and gentlemen sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure, and without delay, forward them to Ireland; but that, as individuals, I could not help acquainting them, that my inclination to an union with Ireland was principally founded on a trust that the uniting the established churches of the two kingdoms would forever shut the door to any farther measures with respect to the Roman Catholics.

“These two instances must shew Mr Pitt that my opinions are not those formed on the moment, but such as I have imbibed for forty years, and from which I never can depart; but, Mr Pitt once acquainted with my sentiments, his assuring me that he will stave off the only question whereon I fear, from his letter, we can never agree,—for the advantage and comfort of continuing to have his advice and exertions in public affairs, I will certainly abstain from talking on this subject, which is the one nearest my heart. I cannot help if others pretend to guess at my opinions, which I have never disguised; but if those who unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at rest, I will, on my part, be silent also; but this restraint I shall put on myself from affection for Mr Pitt, but further I cannot go, for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration.

“Though I do not pretend to have the power of changing Mr Pitt’s opinion, when thus unfortunately fixed, yet I shall hope his sense of duty will prevent his retiring from his present situation to the end of my life, for I can with great truth assert, that I shall, from public and private considerations, feel great regret, if I shall ever find myself obliged, at any time, from a sense of religious and political duty, to yield to his entreaties of retiring from his seat at the board of treasury.”

This answer left the minister no resource but retirement. On the 3d of February he intimated that it was “his wish to

be released as soon as possible from his present situation." His majesty continuing inflexible, a new ministry was called into office, in which the appointments of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer were conferred upon Addington, the speaker of the house of commons. The secretaryship for foreign affairs, hitherto held by Lord Grenville, was given to Lord Hawkesbury. Earl St Vincent was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the place of Earl Spencer; Lord Eldon, chief justice of the common pleas, formerly Sir John Scott, succeeded Lord Loughborough in the court of chancery; Lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated secretaries of state, in the room of Dundas and the Duke of Portland; Yorke succeeded Windham as secretary-at-war; his brother, the Earl of Hardwicke, was destined to the vice-regal office in Ireland; and Lord Lewisham was placed at the head of the board of control. In this general change the Duke of Portland and Lord Westmoreland alone retained their stations in the cabinet,—the former as president of the council, and the latter as lord-privy-seal. The agitation of the king's mind had, however, so materially affected the state both of his bodily and mental health, that the new arrangements, although nearly completed, were not formally announced, and the former ministers continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices, until the recovery of the king, when the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed form, and on the 17th of March Addington was sworn into the two offices which Pitt had so long enjoyed. The ex-minister, however, supported most of the measures of his successor in office, until the renewal of the war in 1803, when he added his influence to the opposition maintained by Fox, and accused the admiralty board of imbecility. Mr Addington upon this retired, and Pitt resumed his former seat on the treasury-bench.

On the meeting of parliament, January 15th, 1805, Mr Pitt strenuously defended the war with Spain, and carried the motion for an address by a majority of 207. The next objects that engaged his attention were the Irish Habeas Corpus suspension bill, and the budget for 1805, two articles of which were contested with no common degree of warmth. One of these, the Salt Duty bill, was carried by a majority of 38; but the other, the Horse Duty bill, was combated with equal spirit and success on the part of its opponents; and at length lost on a division, by a majority of three. During the recess, the premier was surrounded with difficulties. But he employed his time and talents in forming a third coalition against France; which, in consequence of the capitulation of

Ulm, and the Battle of Austerlitz, proved more fatal and inauspicious than the two former. From that period the necessity of a change in the cabinet seemed to be generally allowed. In the meantime a gouty habit assailed a constitution never very strong. In addition to this, the total miscarriage of all his schemes, and the melancholy aspect of continental affairs, are said to have preyed upon his mind. He tried the Bath waters in December 1805, but without effect. On the 10th of January 1806 he returned to his seat at Putney, where his illness rapidly gained upon him. On the 19th he was able to give some little attention to public business, but he soon became so lethargic, that the awful intelligéce of his approaching death had scarcely any effect upon him. On the return of consciousness he was solicited to join with Bishop Tomline in devotion. "I fear," replied the expiring statesman, "that I have, like many other men, neglected my religious duties too much to have any ground for hope that they can be efficacious on a death-bed. But," added he, making an effort to rise as he spoke, "I throw myself entirely on the mercy of God!" His death took place on the 23d of January 1806. His last words, according to a statement made by Mr Rose, in the House of Commons, were, "Save my country, Heaven!"

Mr Pitt was the ablest debater that ever appeared in the British senate, though inferior to more than one of his contemporaries in mere oratory. "His eloquence was of a kind peculiarly adapted to the situation which he filled so long:—he was stately and dignified in manner; clear and distinct in unravelling the details of the most complicated subject; declamatory at once and argumentative, so as to furnish the best pretexts to those who wished to follow him, while he cheered and encouraged those who might be in dread of his adversaries; but, above all, he excelled in the use of both topics and language with a view to produce the effect he desired, and never commit himself.

Whatever exceptions may be taken to his foreign policy, and above all to his devices of taxation and finance, we must confess, in viewing his career of statesmanship as a whole—his efforts for reform and economy, his legislative assaults upon commercial prohibitions, his efforts to emancipate trade, to emancipate the Catholics, and protect the consciences of dissenters; thwarted as he was in everything he did, or attempted to do, by a parliamentary opposition, which for debating talent and unstable principles is without record in this or any nation, in that or any time—viewing the circumstances and the performances of his statesmanship as a

whole, all liberal minds, if they do not revere, must at least respect the name and memory of William Pitt.

SECT. XV.—CHARLES JAMES FOX, EDMUND BURKE, AND THE WHIGS OF THEIR TIME.

It is suggested by Lord Brougham, and somewhat forcibly argued in his *Lives of the Statesmen of the reign of George III.* that the opposition of the whigs to the war with France, was only an opposition to a ministry which was in office, and which, being in, kept them out. This is a question now past all solution. But, in searching parliamentary and historical records, we find nothing said or done by Mr Fox and his followers but what might have been said or done solely from hostility to a party which held office and held them out; while in most of the reports of the debates we see that narrow spirit of personal and party opposition characterising all the conduct of the Fox politicians, as to make us doubt their genuine liberality in anything. When they could not carry liberal measures they proposed them. When Mr Pitt who, with their assistance, had they been in earnest, could have carried liberal measures, and proposed them, they opposed him. That Mr Fox was an accomplished debater all testimony proves. Had the great national court of parliament been a debating club, and that only, Mr Fox would have been its most illustrious member. Burke, Sheridan, Francis, and their party would have also made the club famous. But in the business parliament of a business people, what were they, the best of them? the wasters of time, and the hinderers of business.

A writer in the *Eclectic Review* asks of Fox, "How came it to pass that a man of such overwhelming powers after all effected so little for the good of his country? Why did he seem so emphatically 'to labour in vain, and spend his strength for nought?'"

"Fox's name stands conspicuous on the list of those who have failed to accomplish the commission on which their wonderful endowments would seem to tell that they had been sent to the world, by the Master of human and all other spirits. It is thus that mankind are doomed to see a succession of individuals rising among them, with capacities for rendering them the most inestimable services, but faithless, for the most part, to their high vocation, and either never attempting the generous labours which invite their talents, or combining with those labours the vices which frustrate their efficacy. Our late distinguished statesman's exertions for the

public welfare were really so great, and in many instances, we have no doubt, so well-intended, that it is peculiarly painful to behold him defrauding such admirable powers and efforts of their effect, by means of those parts of his conduct in which he sunk to a level with the least respectable of mankind; and we think no man within our memory has given so melancholy an example of this self-counteraction. It is impossible for the friends of our constitution and of human nature not to feel a warm admiration for Fox's exertions, whatever their partial motives and whatever their occasional excesses might be, in vindication of the great principles of liberty, in hostility to the rage for war, and in extirpation of the slave-trade. This last abomination, which had gradually lost, even on the basest part of the nation, that hold which it had for a while maintained by a delusive notion of policy, and was fast sinking under the hatred of all that could pretend to humanity or decency, was destined ultimately to fall by his hand, at a period so nearly contemporary with the end of his career, as to give the remembrance of his death somewhat of a similar advantage of association to that by which the death of the Hebrew champion is always recollected in connexion with the fall of Dagon's temple. A great object was accomplished, and it is fair to attribute the event, in no small degree, to his persevering support of that most estimable individual who was the leader of the design: but as to his immense display of talent on the wide ground of general politics, on the theory of true freedom and popular rights; on the great and increasing influence of the crown; on the corruption and reform of public institutions; on severe investigation of public expenditure; on the national vigilance proper to be exercised over the conduct of government; and on the right of any nation to change, when it judges necessary, both the persons and the form of its government, we have observed with the deepest mortification, times without number, the very slight and transient effect on the public mind of a more argumentative and luminous eloquence, that probably we are ever again to see irradiating those subjects, and urging their importance. Both principles and practices, tending toward arbitrary power and national degradation, were progressively gaining ground during the much greater part of the time that he was assaulting them with intellectual fire and sword; and the people, notwithstanding it was their own cause he was maintaining by this persevering warfare, though they were amused indeed with his exploits, could hardly be induced to regard him otherwise than as a capital prize-fighter, and scarcely thanked him for the fortitude and energy which he devoted to their service.

He was allowed to be a most admirable man for a leader of opposition, but not a mortal could be persuaded to regard that opposition, even in his hands, as bearing any resemblance to that which we have been accustomed to ascribe to Cato, an opposition of which pure virtue was the motive, and all corruptions whatever the object.

“How then did it come to pass that Fox had no such influence on the national mind or on the government? The answer is perfectly obvious, and it forms a very serious admonition to all patriots who really wish to promote the welfare of the people by an opposition to corruptions of the state. The talents, and the long and animated exertions of the most eloquent of all our countrymen failed, plainly because the people placed no confidence in his virtue, or, in other words, because they would never be persuaded to attribute virtue to his character.

“On the whole, we shall always regard Fox as a memorable and mournful example of a gigantic agent, at once determined to labour for the public, and dooming himself to labour almost in vain. Our estimate of his talents precludes all hope or fear of any second example of such powerful labours, or such humiliating failure of effect. We wish the greatest genius on earth, whoever he may be, might write an inscription for our eminent statesman’s monument, to express, in the most strenuous of all possible modes of thought and phrase, the truth and the warning, that no man will ever be accepted to serve mankind in the highest departments of utility, without an eminence of virtue that can sustain him in the noble defiance, ‘Which of you convicts me of sin?’”

We omit the most forcibly written passages of this critique, as they refer somewhat harshly, and we believe unjustly, to the alleged personal vices of Mr Fox. We attribute his failure as a statesman who was speaking always and doing no good, or but little, to the fact that he was not a practical business man; to that other fact that his notions of political liberality were governed by accidents; and to this third and graver fact, that he, like almost all statesmen of that period, was ignorant of the true principles and nature of the progress of society, and the Wealth of Nations; Mr Pitt, and one or two of his followers being the only exceptions.

Of Edmund Burke it may be remarked that some of his pamphlets on subjects involving economical principles were better than any of his speeches. In all there was unsoundness; in all there was something that deserved a better fate than that which befalls the sentiments of a party politician. He was a party debater; but he was more; he occasionally

addressed himself to mankind. We give a specimen of his economic tracts from his *Thoughts on Scarcity*. He is objecting to the proposal of national granaries :—

“The construction of such granaries throughout the kingdom would be at an expense beyond all calculation. The keeping them up would be at a great charge. The management and attendance would require an army of agents, storekeepers, clerks, and servants. The capital to be employed in the purchase of grain would be enormous. The waste, decay, and corruption, would be a dreadful drawback on the whole dealing ; and the dissatisfaction of the people, at having decayed, tainted, or corrupted corn sold to them, as must be the case, would be serious.

“The climate (whatever others may be) is not favourable to granaries, where wheat is to be kept for any time. The best, and indeed the only good granary, is the rick-yard of the farmer, where the corn is preserved in its own straw—sweet, clean, wholesome, free from vermin and from insects—and comparatively at a trifle of expense. This, with the barn, enjoying many of the same advantages, have been the sole granaries of England from the foundation of its agriculture to this day. All this is done at the expense of the undertaker, and at his sole risk. He contributes to government ; *he receives nothing from it but protection ; and to this he has a claim.*

“The moment that government appears at market, all the principles of market will be subverted. I don't know whether the farmer will suffer by it as long as there is a tolerable market of competition, but I am sure that, in the first place, the trading government will speedily become a bankrupt, and the consumer in the end will suffer. If government makes all its purchases at once, it will instantly raise the market upon itself. If it makes them by degrees, it must follow the course of the market ; if it follows the course of the market, it will produce no effect, and the consumer may as well buy as he wants : therefore all the expense is incurred gratis.

“But if the object of this scheme should be, what I suspect it is, to destroy the dealer, commonly called the middleman, and, by incurring a voluntary loss, to carry the baker to deal with government, I am to tell them that they must set up another trade, that of a miller or a mealman, attended with a new train of expenses and risks. If in both these trades they should succeed, so as to exclude those who trade on natural and private capitals, then they will have a monopoly in their hands, which, under the appearance of a monopoly of capital, will, in reality, be a monopoly of authority, and will

ruin whatever it touches. The agriculture of the kingdom cannot stand before it.

“A little place like Geneva, of not more than from twenty-five to thirty thousand inhabitants, which has no territory, or next to none; which depends for its existence on the goodwill of three neighbouring powers, and is of course continually in the state of something like a *siege*, or in the speculation of it, might find some resource in state granaries, and some revenue from the monopoly of what was sold to the keepers of public houses. This is a policy for a state too small for agriculture. It is not (for instance) fit for so great a country as the Pope possesses, where, however, it is adopted and pursued in a greater extent, and with more strictness. Certain of the Pope's territories, from whence the city of Rome is supplied, being obliged to furnish Rome and the granaries of his holiness with corn at a certain price, that part of the papal territories is utterly ruined. That ruin may be traced with certainty to this sole cause, and it appears indubitably by a comparison of their state and condition with that of the other part of the ecclesiastical dominions not subjected to the same regulations, which are in circumstances highly flourishing.

“The reformation of this evil system is in a manner impracticable; for, first, it does keep bread and all other provisions equally subject to the chamber of supply, at a pretty reasonable and regular price in the city of Rome. This preserves quiet among the numerous poor, idle, and naturally mutinous people of every great capital. But the quiet of the town is purchased by the ruin of the country, and the ultimate wretchedness of both. The next cause which renders this evil incurable, is the jobs which have grown out of it, and which, in spite of all precautions, would grow out of such things, even under governments far more potent than the feeble authority of the Pope.

“This example of Rome, which has been derived from the most ancient times, and the most flourishing period of the Roman empire, (but not of the Roman agriculture,) may serve as a great caution to all governments, not to attempt to feed the people out of the hands of the magistrates. If once they are habituated to it, though but for one half-year, they will never be satisfied to have it otherwise. And having looked to government for bread, on the very first scarcity they will turn and bite the hand that fed them. To avoid that evil, government will redouble the causes of it, and then it will become inveterate and incurable.”

A memorable and unfortunate instance of supplying food, and also of wages, to buy it to the people of Ireland, occurred

in the winter of 1846, and spring and summer of 1847; in consequence of the potato disease in the first year. The regular culture of the soil was to a great extent abandoned by the small farmers, and scarcity prevailed again, though 1847 was a year of plenty and fruitfulness.

SECT. XVI.—THE CORN-LAWS FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS OF HISTORY TO 1815.

Before noticing Lord Grenville and some others who agreed in principle with the liberal views of Mr Pitt on commercial politics, and who did not agree with him solely from the accident of being seated on or behind the treasury benches, we shall look over the history of the corn-laws. Lord Grenville's name is associated with a firm and conscientious opposition to the worst of those laws, that of 1815.

"The subject of the corn-laws divides itself into two periods," says Mr Platt, in the *Store of Knowledge*. "First, when England exported a considerable quantity of grain, and second, when she ceased to be an exporting, and became solely an importing country.

"First Period.—From Early Times to 1688.

"In a statute of the thirteenth century we find the average prices of wheat and other grain had become an object of attention. The following directions are given to the municipal authorities of towns in the statute entitled *Judicium Pillorie*, supposed to be of the date of 51 Henry III. (1266-7):—"First, they shall inquire the price of wheat, that is, to wit how a quarter of the best wheat was sold the last market-day, and how the second wheat, and how the third; and how a quarter of barley and oats." In 1360 the exportation of corn was prohibited by statute.* In 1393 corn might be exported by the king's subjects "to what parts that please them," except to the king's enemies. "Nevertheless," it is added, "the king wills that his council may restrain the said passage when they shall think best for the profit of the realm."† This act was confirmed in 1425.‡

Thus it appears in those early times sufficient grain was raised in England to admit of exportation. It was, however, the policy of that age to endeavour, as much as possible, to retain within the kingdom all those things which were indispensable to its wants, rather than by permitting freedom of export and import to trust to the operation of the commercial

* 34 Edw. III. c. 20.

† 17 Ric. II. c. 7

‡ 4 Hen. VI. c. 5.

principle for an adequate supply. The excess of grain must have been very considerable to have allowed any deviation from the ordinary practice of restriction. In the fourteenth century it seems to have been no unusual practice for the different countries of Europe to export corn;* and it must have been exported from England previous to the statute of 1360, as that act was intended to put a stop to it. Thirty-three years afterwards, as already stated, the export of corn was expressly encouraged.

In 1436 there is another statute indicative of the progress of agriculture, and of the existence of a surplus supply of corn in this country: the exportation of wheat being allowed without the king's license when the price per quarter at the place of shipment was 6s. 8d. In the preamble of the statute the restrictions on exportation are loudly complained of:—"for cause whereof, farmers and other men, which use manurement of their land, may not sell their corn but of a bare price, to the great damage of all the realm;" and the remedy provided is a freer permission to export the surplus—a regulation which is intended for the profit of the whole realm, but "especially for the counties adjoining to the sea."† In 1441 this statute was continued,‡ and in 1444-5 it was rendered perpetual.§

Nearly thirty years after the statute of 1436, occurs the first symptom of a corn law, for the protection of the home-grower from the effects of a supply of foreign grain. From this we may conclude that the balance of prices had turned; and that, at least for a time, prices were higher in England than in the neighbouring countries. This might be the result of abundant seasons on the Continent; but, at all events, the importation from other countries gave rise to complaints, which were followed by a statute passed in 1463, in the preamble of which it is remarked that, "Whereas the labourers and occupiers of husbandry within this realm be daily grievously endamaged by bringing of corn out of other lands and parts into this realm, when corn of the growing of this realm is at a low price:"|| in remedy of which it was enacted that wheat should not be imported unless the price at the place of import exceeded 6s. 8d. per quarter. Up to this time there is no reason to believe that the importation of corn from abroad had been either prohibited or subjected to restriction. Such a prohibition would have been opposed to the spirit of our old commercial policy, which was anxiously directed to the object of

* Account of the Spasmodic Cholera of the Fourteenth Century; App. to Rickman's Summary of Population Returns of 1831, 8vo. edit.

† 15 Hen. VI. c. 2.

‡ 20 Hen. VI. c. 6.

§ 23 Hen. VI. c. 5

|| 3 Edw. IV. c. 2.

attracting to the country, and preserving within it as much food as possible. The agricultural interest had already succeeded in carrying one modification of the old principle, by which they obtained the liberty of sending corn abroad, and their ascendancy was still further indicated by the restriction on the importation of corn imposed by the statute of 1463. So long as the price of wheat was below 6s. 8d. per quarter, exportation was free, and importation was prohibited. The price, therefore, was intended to be sustained at that height, so far as it was possible, so as to sustain it by legislative contrivance, and the benefit of the corn-grower was the sole object of the statute. In 1417 (eleven years after the statute 3d Edw. IV. c. 2, was passed) we have the authority of the Paston Letters in proof of the suffering experienced from the want of a market for the superabundant supply of grain. Margaret Paston, writing to her son on the 29th of Jan. 1474, after quoting the very low price of corn and grain, says—"There is none outload suffered to go out of this country as yet; the king hath commanded that there should none go out of this land. I fear me we shall have a right strange world; God amend it when his will is."* In a letter written in the following year she makes the same complaints about low prices and the scarcity of money.† The gentry and farmers of this period were in much the same condition in regard to money matters as the landowners of Poland and other parts of northern and eastern Europe at the present time, after abundant harvests, with the ports of the best markets temporarily or permanently closed against the admission of their surplus produce. The protective statute of 1463 had possibly stimulated tillage beyond the demand of the home market, and the abundance of the harvest in other countries caused the ports to be closed against them, or, as in the instance alluded to by Margaret Paston, exportation was prohibited from some motives of state policy.

In 1533-4 an end was put to the system of free exportation which had been established in 1463, and, with some few occasional exceptions, had continued from that time; and thenceforth it was forbidden to export corn and provisions without the king's license. The statute enacted for this purpose‡ was intended to keep down prices, though the preamble sets out with the rational observation that, "forasmuch as dearth, scarcity, good cheap, (good market,) and plenty, (of victual,) happeneth, riseth, and chanceth, of so many and divers reasons

* Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 91. Edit. by A. Ramsay

† Ibid. p. 93.

‡ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2

that it is very hard and difficult to put any certain prices to any such things." It, however, ended by enacting that, on complaint being made of high prices, they shall be regulated by the lords of the council, and made known by proclamation; and that farmers and others shall sell their commodities at the prices thus fixed.

During the greater part of the sixteenth century a struggle was maintained by the makers of the laws against the rise of prices, which characterised nearly the whole of that period. The discouragement of tillage and the increase of sheep-pastures were supposed to be the main causes of this rise. In 1533 a statute was passed which enacted that no man should keep more than two thousand sheep, except on his own land, and that no tenant should rent more than two farms.* The statute entitled "An Act for the Maintenance and Increase of Tillage and Corn" attempted to force cultivation by enacting that, for the future, at least as much land should be tilled in every parish as had been under the plough at any time since the accession of Henry VIII., under a penalty, to be exacted from the parish, of 5s. for every acre that should be deficient.

This remarkable period in the history of agriculture, and in the social condition of the people, was marked by other singular regulations respecting the supply of the necessaries of life and their price. In September 1549, a proclamation was issued, directed against dealers in the principal articles of food. According to it, no man was to buy and sell the self same thing again, except brokers, and they were not to have more than ten quarters of grain in their possession at one time. This proclamation directed "that all justices should divide themselves into the hundreds, and look what superfluous corn was in every barn, and appoint it to be sold at a reasonable price; also, that one must be in every market-town to see the corn brought. Whoso brought no corn to market, as he was appointed, was to forfeit L.10, unless the purveyors took it up, or it was sold to the neighbours."† Obedience to these regulations was not confined to the temporary provisions of a proclamation; but in 1551-2 they were, with some modifications, embodied in a statute.‡ By this enactment, engrossers (persons buying corn to sell again) were subjected to heavy penalties. For the third offence they were to be set in the pillory, to forfeit their personal effects, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Farmers buying corn for seed were compelled to sell at the same time an equal quantity of their corn in store, under penalty of

* Paston's Letters, vol. ii. c. 13.
Turner's Hist. Eng., vol. i. p. 172.

† King Edw. VI.'s Journal; Sharon
‡ 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 14.

forfeiting double the value of what they had bought. Persons might engross corn, not forestalling it—that is, enhancing the price or preventing the supply—when wheat was under 6s. 8d. per quarter.

In 1562–3 a further attempt was made to restrict the operations of buying and selling in articles of food, as well as many other commodities. The 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 14, already quoted, contained a proviso that corn-badgers, allowed to that office by three justices of the peace of the county where the said badger dwelt, could buy provisions in open fair or market for towns and cities, and sell them, without being guilty of the offence of forestalling; but this relaxation of the statute was corrected by another statute passed in 1562–3,* in the preamble of which the former enactment is thus alluded to:—“Since the making of which act, such a great number of persons, seeking only to live easily and to leave their honest labour, have and do daily seek to be allowed to the said office, being most unfit and unmeet for those purposes, and also very hurtful to the commonwealth of this realm, as well as by enhancing the price of corn and grain, as also by the diminishing of good and necessary husbandmen,” it was then enacted that the licenses to corn-badgers should only be granted once a-year by the justices at quarter-sessions, instead of at any period by three justices; and that none were to obtain a license but resident householders of three years’ standing, who are or have been married, and of the age of thirty, and are not servants or retainers to another person. Those who received a license were to have it renewed at the end of every year. Licensed persons were also required to find security not to forestall or engross in their dealings, and not to buy out of open fair or market, except under express license. The statute did not apply to the counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancaster, Chester, and York.

It was scarcely possible for the legislature to do more towards the discouragement of a most useful class of men, whose operations are of such service to society in general, and to the poor in particular. But enactments of this description were loudly demanded by the people, who could scarcely get bread sometimes in consequence of the high price of provisions, which they attributed to the intervention of the corn-dealer between the producer and consumer.

The system introduced in 1534, under which exportation was interdicted, lasted about twenty years, and even during that period was most probably in a great degree inoperative.

* 5 Elizabeth, c. 12.

In 1554, a new act was passed,* which restored the freedom of export so long as the price of wheat should not exceed 6s. 8d., that of rye 4s., and that of barley 3s. per quarter. The preamble complains that former acts against the exportation of grain and provisions had been evaded, by reason whereof they had grown unto a "wonderful dearth and extreme prices." Under the present act, when prices exceeded 6s. 8d. per quarter for wheat, exportation was to cease; and when it was under that price it could not be exported to any foreign country, or to Scotland, without a license, under penalty of forfeiting double the value of the cargo as well as the vessel, besides imprisonment of the master and mariners of the vessel for one year. The penalty for exporting a greater quantity than was warranted by the license was treble the value of the cargo, and imprisonment; and a cargo could be taken only to the port mentioned in the license. The object of the act was in effect to prevent exportation when there was not a sufficient supply in the home market, and to permit it to be sent abroad so long as it was below a certain price at home.

In 1562, only eight years after the above act had been passed, the liberty of exportation was extended, and wheat might be carried out of the country when the average price was 10s. per quarter, that of rye, peas, and beans, 8s., and that of barley or malt 6s. 8d., per quarter.† The better to prevent evasion of the law, it was at the same time enacted that the commodity should only be exported from such ports as her majesty might by proclamation appoint.

In 1571 a statute was passed,‡ which contains provisions for settling once a-year the average prices by which exportation should be governed. The Lord President and Council in the North, also the Lord President and Council in Wales, and the Justices of Assize, within their respective jurisdictions, "yearly, shall, upon conference had with the inhabitants of the country, of the cheapness and dearth of any kinds of grain," determine "whether it shall be meet at any time to permit any grain to be carried out of any port within the said several jurisdictions or limits; and so shall, in writing, under their hands and seal, cause and make a determination either for permission or prohibition, and the same cause to be, by the sheriff of the counties, published and affixed in as many accustomed market-towns and ports within the said shire as they shall think convenient." The averages, when once struck, were to continue in force until the same authorities

* 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 5.

† 5 Eliz. c. 5.

‡ 13 Eliz. c. 13.

ordered otherwise; and if their regulations should "be hurtful to the country by means of dearth, or be a great hindrance to tillage by means of too much cheapness," they could make the necessary alterations. All proceedings under this act were to be notified to the queen or privy council. The statute enacted that, "for the better increase of tillage and for maintenance and increase of the navy and mariners of this realm," corn might be exported at all times to friendly countries, when proclamation was not made to the contrary. A poundage or customs duty of 1s. per quarter was charged on all wheat exported; but if exported under a special license, and not under the act, the customs duty was 2s. per quarter.

The law of 1463, which prohibited importation so long as the price of wheat was under 6s. 8d., that of rye under 4s., and that of barley under 3s. the quarter, appears not to have been repealed, but it must have remained inoperative, from the prices seldom or probably never descending below these rates. The importation of corn, therefore, we may reckon to have been practically free at this time, so far as the law could render it so.

In 1592-3, the price at which exportation was permitted was raised to 20s. per quarter, and the customs duty was fixed at 2s.* In 1603-4, the importation price was raised to 26s. 8d. per quarter;† and in 1623, to 32s.‡—having risen, in the course of sixty-five years, from 6s. 8d. By the 21 Jac. I. c. 28, unless wheat was under 32s. per quarter, and other grain in proportion, buying corn and selling it again was not permitted. The king could restrain the liberty of exportation by proclamation. In 1627-8 another statute§ relative to the corn trade was passed, which, however, made no alteration in the previous statute of James I. In 1660 a new scale of duties was introduced. When the price of wheat per quarter was under 44s. the export duty was 5s. 6d., and when the price was above 44s. the duty rose to 6s. 8d. Exportation was permitted free whenever the price of wheat did not exceed 40s. per quarter.||

In 1663 the corn-trade again became the subject of legislation, and an act was passed¶ which favoured the corn-grower, or at any rate that portion of the community connected with and dependant upon agriculture, to a greater extent than any previous statute. The preamble of this act commenced by asserting that "the surest and effectualest means of promoting and advancing any trade, occupation, or mystery, being

* 35 Eliz. c. 7. † 1 Jac. I. c. 25. ‡ 21 Jac. I. c. 28. § 3 Car. I. c. 5.
 || 12 Car. II. c. 4. ¶ 15 Car. II. c. 7.

by rendering it profitable to the users thereof," and that, large quantities of land being waste, which might be profitably cultivated if sufficient encouragement were given for the cost and labour on the same, it should be enacted, with a view of encouraging the application of capital and labour to waste lands, that, after September 1663, when wheat did not exceed 48s. per quarter at the places and havens of shipment, the export duty should be only 5s. 4d. per quarter. The demand of the home market was not sufficient to take off the surplus produce of the corn-growers, and the reduction of the duty was intended to encourage exportation. By the same act, when wheat did not exceed 48s. per quarter, "then it shall be lawful for all and every person (not forestalling nor selling the same in the open market within three months after the buying thereof) to buy in open market, and to keep in his or their granaries or houses, and to sell again, such corn and grain," any statute to the contrary notwithstanding. The latter part of this statute may be regarded as indicating a juster view than others passed since the 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 14.

In 1670 a further important change was made in the same direction, exportation being permitted as long as wheat should be under 53s. 4d. the quarter, the customs duty being only 1s. per quarter. Corn imported from foreign countries was at the same time loaded with duties so heavy as effectually to exclude it, being 16s. when the price in this country was at or under 53s. 4d. per quarter, and 8s. when above that price and under 80s. at which latter price importation became free,* The object of this act was to relieve the agricultural interests from the depression under which they were labouring from the low prices of produce which had existed for twenty years, more particularly from 1646 to 1665, and also more or less during the greater part of the century. Between 1617 and 1621 wheat fell from 43s. 3d. the quarter to 27s., in consequence of which farmers were unable to pay their rents. The low price was occasioned by abundant harvests; "for remedy whereof the council have written letters into every shire, and some say to every market-town, to provide a granary or storehouse, with a stock to buy corn, and keep it for a dear year."† The cheapness of wheat was attended with the good effect of raising the standard of diet amongst the poorer classes, who are described as "traversing the markets to find out the finest wheats, for none else would now serve their use, though before they were glad of the coarser rye-bread."‡ The act of

* 22 Car. II. c. 13.
"Hist. of Prices."

† Contemporary writers quoted by Mr Tooke in his
‡ Ibid.

1670 does not appear to have answered its object. Roger Coke, writing in 1671, says—"The ends designed by the acts against the importation of Irish cattle, of raising the rents of the lands of England, are so far from being attained, that the contrary hath ensued;"* and he speaks of a great diminution of cultivation.

The harvests of 1673-4-5 proved defective, and the same result occurred in 1677-8, so that the average price of the seven years ending 1672, during which wheat ranged at 36s. the quarter, was followed in the seven subsequent years, ending 1679, by an average of 46s. being a rise of nearly 30 per cent. Under this encouragement there was a considerable extension of tillage, and the years of scarcity being followed by twelve abundant seasons in succession, (with the exception of 1684, which was somewhat deficient,) the price of corn and grain again sunk very low. In the six years ending 1691 the average price of wheat was 29s. 5d. the quarter, and if the four years ending 1691 be taken, the average price was only 27s. 7d. being lower than at any period during the whole of the century. There was no competition in the English market with the foreign grower during the above-mentioned years of low prices; exportation was freely permitted on payment of a nominal duty; but scarcely ever had the agriculturists been in so depressed a state. The means which they took to relieve themselves will be noticed in the next period.

Before closing this section we may notice the alteration which took place in 1670 in the mode of striking the average prices of corn and grain. The old system established in 1570 (13 Eliz. c. 13) was acted upon until 1685, the Corn Act of 1670 having neglected the necessary directions for an alteration. These were made by a statute which enacted that justices of the peace, in counties wherein foreign corn might be imported, may, at quarter-sessions, by the oaths of two persons duly qualified, that is, possessed of freehold estates of the annual value of L.20, or leasehold estates of L.50, and not being corn-dealers, and by such other means as they shall see fit, determine the market price of middling English corn, which is to be certified on oath, hung up in some public place, and sent to the chief officer at the custom-house in each district.

Second Period.—From 1689 to 1773.

In 1689, immediately after the revolution, the landowners succeeded in carrying a very important measure. The high prices of the seven years ending 1679 had doubtless encour-

* Contemporary writers quoted by Mr Tooke in his "Hist. of Prices."

aged tillage, and a succession of favourable seasons had, under these circumstances, led to a great depreciation in the value of agricultural produce. Exportation of corn therefore was not only to be permitted as heretofore, but actually encouraged by bounties. The statute for granting bounties is entitled "An Act for Encouraging the Exportation of Corn."* The preamble stated that it had been "found by experience that the exportation of corn and grain into foreign countries, when the price thereof is at a low rate in this kingdom, hath been a great advantage, not only to the owners of land, but to the traders of this kingdom in general;" and clauses were enacted granting 5s. the quarter on the exportation of wheat, so long as the home price did not exceed 48s.; with other bounties of smaller amount upon the exportation of barley, malt, and rye. It was supposed that the farmers and landholders would thus be relieved from the distress arising from low prices. They were in possession of a market, the sole supply of which they had secured to themselves by the act of 1670, and by the Bounty Act they endeavoured to prevent that market being overstocked by their own commodity.

The seven years immediately succeeding 1693 were remarkable for a succession of unfavourable seasons. In the four years ending 1691, the price of wheat averaged 27s. 7d. the quarter, but in the four years preceding and including 1699 it reached 56s. 6d. The bounty was inoperative during this period, and was suspended by an act of Parliament from the 9th of February 1699 to the 29th of September 1700. Nevertheless, in order that no fears might be excited by this temporary suspension, the preamble contained an acknowledgment that the statute granting the bounty "was grounded upon the highest wisdom and prudence, and has succeeded, to the greatest benefit and advantage to the nation by the greatest encouragement of tillage."† Before this temporary act had expired, another act was passed,‡ in 1700, by which the encouragement of the home corn-grower was carried still further by the abolition of all the then existing duties on the export of corn. "From 1697 to 1773 the total excess of exports was 30,968,366 quarters, upon which export bounties, amounting to L.6,237,176 were paid out of the public revenue."§ In 1750 the sum of L.324,176 was paid in bounties on corn. The exports of 1748-9-50 (during which, moreover, the price of wheat fell from 32s. 10½d. to 23s. 10¾d. the quarter) amounted to 2,120,000

* 1 Wm. & Mary, c. 12. † 12 Wm. III. c. 1. ‡ 11 & 12 Wm. III. c. 20.
§ Report of Commons on Agric. Distress, 1821.

quarters of wheat, and of all kinds of corn and grain to 3,825,000 quarters. This was the result of a cycle of abundant years. In the twenty-three years from 1692 to 1715, says Mr Tooke, in his elaborate "History of Prices," there were eleven bad seasons, during which the average price of wheat was 45s. 8d. the quarter; in the fifty years ending 1765 there were only five deficient harvests, and the average price for the whole half-century ranged at 34s. 11d.; or, taking the ten years ending 1751, during which the crops were above an average, the price of wheat was only 29s. 2½d. the quarter.

These years of plenty seem to have been a very happy period to the bulk of the population. Adam Smith refers to "the peculiarly happy circumstances" of the country during these times of plenty; and Mr Hallam describes the reign of George II. as "the most prosperous period that England had ever experienced." The effect was similar to that which took place during the plentiful seasons of the preceding century, and the improved condition of the people was marked by the enjoyment of greater comforts and the resort to a superior diet, which their command over the necessaries of life enabled them to obtain. "Bread made of wheat is become more generally the food of the labouring people," observes the author of the "Corn Tracts," writing in 1765. Referring to the same period, Mr Malthus remarks:—"It is well known that during this period the price of corn fell considerably, while the wages of labour are stated to have risen. During the last forty years of the seventeenth century, and the first twenty of the eighteenth, the average price of corn was such as, compared with the wages of labour, would enable the labourer to purchase with a day's earnings two-thirds of a peck of wheat. From 1720 to 1750 the price of wheat had so fallen, while wages had risen, that, instead of two-thirds, the labourer could purchase the whole of a peck of wheat with a day's labour." Mr Malthus adds that the result of this increased command over the necessaries of life was not attended with an increase of population exclusively—"a considerable portion of their increased net wages was expended in a marked improvement of the quality of the food consumed, and a decided elevation in the standard of their comforts and conveniences." Trade was flourishing and the exports and imports progressively increasing during this period of abundance.

The cycle of good seasons which the country had for so long a period fortunately enjoyed (for twenty-six years, from 1730 to 1755, there had been only one unfavourable season) was followed by a succession of bad years, in which the harvests proved as deficient as they had before been abundant. From

1765 to 1775 there was a very frequent recurrence of unfavourable years, and the last five years of this period were all of this character. In 1766 the quartern loaf was selling in London at 1s. 6d.; addresses were sent up from various parts of the country complaining of general distress; and a proclamation was issued suspending exportation, and for enforcing the laws against forestallers and regraters. Exportation was suspended also in the following year, as was the case also in 1770 and 1771. In 1772 importation was allowed duty free to the 1st of May 1773; and in this latter year the city of London offered a bounty of 4s. per quarter for 20,000 quarters of wheat, to be imported between March and June. The average prices of wheat had risen from 29s. 2½d. in the ten years ending 1751 to 51s. for the ten years ending 1774, being an advance of 75 per cent. The excess of exports from 1742 to 1751 had been 4,700,509 quarters of wheat, and, including all kinds of grain, had amounted to 8,869,190 quarters, but from 1766 to 1775 there was an excess of exports to the extent of 1,363,149 quarters of wheat and 3,782,734 of corn and grain of all kinds. The old corn-law of 1689, under which a bounty on exportation had been granted, was now become a dead letter, in consequence of the high range of prices in the home market. The right to export had been frequently suspended, though only for short periods, in the hope that more plentiful harvests or the greater extension of tillage would again bring back the old state of things. These suspensions of the bounty excited the dissatisfaction of the agriculturists. "From the year 1776 to the present time (1773) we have had a perpetual shifting policy, in which nothing has been permanent. . . Every year has produced a temporary act suspending the operation of those laws which had proved of such excellent utility.*

The increase of population after the peace of 1763 was rapidly advancing with the growth of trade and manufactures. In the reign of George I. there had only been sixteen inclosure acts passed; in the succeeding reign there were 226; but, stimulated by the high prices resulting from deficient harvests, the number of such acts from 1760 to 1772 inclusive amounted to 585. The population of England and Wales had increased upwards of two millions during the century, being, according to the best estimates, 5,134,000 at its commencement, and in 1770 about 7,227,000. In the first *fifty* years of the century the increase of population amounted only to 17 per cent., but in the *twenty* years ending 1770 the rate of acceleration was more than doubled, being 19 per cent.

* Arthur Young's "Political Arithmetic," 1774.

Before passing to the next epoch in the history of the corn-trade we shall notice the alterations which took place in the mode of ascertaining the average prices of corn and grain. Several acts for this purpose were made, in one of which, passed in 1729, the preamble states that the justices of the peace had "neglected to settle the price of corn at their quarter-sessions after Michaelmas last, and to return certificates thereof to the chief officer and collector of the customs residing in the respective ports where the said corn or grain has been or may be imported, by means whereof the said officers were at a loss how to charge the customs and duty due for such corn; which has been, and may be, a great loss to the revenue, and a detriment to the farmers and fair traders." To remedy the negligence of the gentry, the collectors of customs were empowered to settle the averages.

In 1732 an attempt was again made "for the better ascertaining the common prices of middling English corn and grain, and for preventing the fraudulent importation of corn and grain." After 1st June 1732, the justices of the peace, in counties which contained ports of importation, were to charge the grand jury at quarter-sessions to make inquiry and presentment upon oath of the common market prices, which were to be certified to the officers at the ports specified. The averages were, however, only to be taken four times a-year.

In 1766 the authorities of the city of London were empowered to settle the price of middling English corn and grain in January and July, in addition to the former periods of April and October.

It was not until 1770 that returns of prices were directed to be made weekly. In that year an act was passed, on the ground that a "register of the prices at which corn is sold in the several counties of Great Britain will be of public and general advantage." The justices of the peace were to order returns to be made weekly of the prices of British corn and grain from such towns in each county as they thought proper; the number of towns selected in each county not being more than six nor less than two. The Treasury was to appoint a receiver of corn returns, who was to publish an abstract of the weekly returns in the "London Gazette," and four times a-year certify to the clerks of the peace the prices which were respectively prevalent in each county. The publication of the averages weekly was a most beneficial innovation.

In 1772 an important act* was passed relating to the internal corn-trade, and several ancient restrictions in old statutes

* 12 Geo. III. c. 71.

were removed on the ground that, "by preventing a free trade in the said commodities, [corn, flour, cattle, &c.] they have a tendency to discourage the growth and enhance the price of the same, which statutes, put into execution, would bring great distress on the inhabitants of many parts of the kingdom."

Third Period.—From 1773 to 1791.

In the preamble of the Corn Act of 1773* it is acknowledged that previous laws had greatly tended to the advancement of tillage and navigation. It added that, on account of the small supplies on hand and scanty crops, it had been frequently necessary to suspend the operation of the laws, and that a permanent law on the corn-trade "would afford encouragement to the farmer, be the means of increasing the growth of that necessary commodity, and of affording a cheaper and more constant supply to the poor." And the act then fixes the following scale of duties, to come into operation on the 1st of January 1774:—Whenever the price of middling British wheat, at ports of importation, was at or above 48s. per quarter, a duty of only 6d. per quarter was to be taken on all foreign wheat imported during the continuance of that price. When the price was at or above 44s., exportation and the bounty together were to cease; and the carrying of British grain coastwise ceased also. Under this act, corn and grain might be shipped to Ireland when exportation was prohibited from that country. Foreign corn warehoused under bond in twenty-five ports of Great Britain mentioned in the act might be re-exported duty free. Adam Smith's opinion of this act was, that, "though not the best in itself, it is the best which the interests, prejudices, and temper of the times would admit of; it may perhaps (he adds) in due time prepare the way for a better."† This expectation has not as yet been fulfilled.

The home market was now opened to foreign supplies of corn under much more advantageous terms than before. Importation was constant and considerable, and prices were steadier on the whole, during the eighteen years from 1775 to 1792, notwithstanding the occurrence of five seasons in which the harvests were more or less deficient than they had been in the ten years preceding 1773. The balance of imports of wheat was now decidedly against this country. In the ten years ending 1769 the excess of exports had amounted to 1,384,561 quarters; but in the next ten years, ending 1779, the excess was on the side of the imports to the extent of

* 13 Geo. III. c. 43.

† Wealth of Nations, book iv. chap. 5.

431,566 quarters; and in the ten years ending 1789 there was an excess on the same side amounting to 233,502 quarters. The extension of tillage which took place was certainly more likely to be permanent than when it had been caused by the artificial stimulus that had previously been maintained. From 1760 to 1780 the number of acres enclosed under local acts was 1,912,350; in the ten years ending 1789 the proportion had fallen off, the number of acres enclosed being 450,180. The average price of wheat was 45s. the quarter in the ten years ending 1779, and 45s. 9d. in the ten years ending 1789.

The extension of cultivation in the twenty years from 1760 to 1780, together with the improvement of agriculture, sufficed for the increased demands of the country, without breaking up so much fresh land.

The landed interest, however, alleged that the act of 1773 had rendered England dependent upon other countries for the supply of corn. The bounty by which the corn-growers had formerly profited, and which they were led to anticipate would still be secured to them, had never come into operation under this act; and hence a general dissatisfaction prevailed amongst them against the existing corn-law, which they had sufficient interest in the legislature to get altered in 1791.

At the commencement of the present period the average prices of corn were struck four times a-year, at the quarter-sessions, and they could not be altered between the interval of one quarter-session and another. In 1774, however, an act was passed,* and came into operation on the 1st of June, by which exportation was regulated by the price on the market-day preceding the shipment; thus adopting the real average price at the time, instead of acting upon the average which existed three months before.

Six years afterwards, in the session 1780-1,† it was enacted that the prices of English corn for the port of London and the ports of Kent and Essex should be determined by the averages taken at the London Corn Exchange. The weekly average was to regulate the exportation; but the importation of foreign corn and grain was regulated by averages struck only once a quarter.

In the session of 1788-9 new regulations were framed,‡ applying to all parts of the kingdom, which was divided into twelve districts, and in each a number of the principal market towns was selected, in which, and at the seaports, the price of corn was to be ascertained for each district. Weekly returns were to be made to the receiver in London, who, on the 1st of

* 14 Geo. III. c. 64. † 21 Geo. III. c. 50. ‡ 29 Geo. III. c. 58.

February, May, August, and November, was to compute from the returns of the six preceding weeks the average price of each description of British corn and grain, (with the exception of oats, the averages of which were to be computed on the returns of the twelve preceding weeks.) The aggregate average of the six weeks (and for oats of the twelve weeks) to be transmitted to the principal officer of the customs in each district, and to regulate the importation at each port of the said district. The export trade was still regulated by the weekly averages. Under this act each of the twelve maritime districts was treated as distinct in itself, and counties on one side of the kingdom might be exporting their surplus produce to a foreign market, while those on the other side were under the necessity of importing.

Fourth Period.—From 1791 to 1804.

The new corn-law of 1791 was founded upon stricter principles than that of 1773. It enacted that after November 15, 1791, the bounty of 5s. per quarter should be paid when wheat was under 44s., and that, when wheat was at or above 46s., exportation was to cease. The new scale of import duties was as follows:—For wheat under 50s. per quarter the “high duty” of 24s. 3d. was payable; at 50s. but under 54s., the “first low duty” of 2s. 6d.; at or above 54s. the “second low duty” of 6d. was payable. The protecting price was thus raised from 48s. to 54s. the quarter; and this main feature of the act was intended to shut out supplies from abroad, and of course to raise prices at home. The duty of 24s. 3d., so long as the price of wheat was under 50s. the quarter, was equivalent to a prohibition.

The thirteen years from 1791 to 1804 form a very eventful period in the history of the Corn Laws. Under the comparatively free system established by the Corn Act of 1773, the excess of imports had been comparatively trifling; but under an act expressly constructed to prevent importation as far as possible, the excess of imports in the thirteen years from 1791 to 1803 amounted to 6,458,901 quarters of wheat and wheat-flour, and enormous sacrifices were made to obtain this quantity. The seasons in their courses fought against the enactments of the legislature; and the dependence on foreign supplies was never so complete as at the very period when hopes had been entertained that the produce of the home grower would prove sufficiently ample for the wants of the country.

The effects of the different years of scarcity just at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century

cannot be passed over without a cursory notice. The harvest of 1793 had been below an average, and those of the two following years were decidedly deficient. The average price of wheat rose from 55s. 7d., in January 1795, to 108s. 4d. in August. Parliament met in October, when the King's speech alluded to the "very high price of grain" as a subject of "the greatest anxiety." In the following month the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the circumstances of the scarcity and the means of removing it. Monopoly, forestalling, and regrating were alleged to be among the causes of the dearth, and Lord Kenyon, at the Salop assizes, threatened to inflict the "full vengeance of the law" upon those parties who should be found guilty of these practices. The deficiency in the crops was variously estimated at from one-fifth to one-seventh; and, to provide an adequate supply, an act was passed, granting a bounty of from 16s. to 20s. the quarter, according to the quality, on wheat from the south of Europe, till the quantity should amount to 400,000 quarters; and from America till it should amount to 500,000 quarters; and 12s. to 15s. from any other part of Europe till it should amount to the same quantity; the bounty to be 8s. and 10s. after that quantity was exceeded. Neutral vessels laden with grain were forcibly seized on the high seas, and the masters compelled to sell their cargoes to the government agents. The members of both houses of parliament bound themselves by a written pledge to observe the utmost frugality in the use of bread in their respective households; and engaged to reduce the consumption of wheat by at least one-third of the usual quantity consumed in ordinary times, unless the average price of wheat should be reduced to 8s. the bushel. The hair-powder tax was imposed at this period, as a means of diminishing the consumption of wheat.

The high price of wheat produced severe distress. The agricultural districts were disturbed by riots, and that fatal measure—the allowance system—was introduced. For the next two or three years the harvests were more favourable, until the disastrous season of 1799. The average price of wheat at the commencement of that year was 49s. 6d. the quarter, but in December it had risen to 94s. 2d.; and soon after the commencement of the following year the prospects of scarcity had become so formidable, that a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the deficiency in the last crop. In pursuance of the recommendation of this committee, recourse was again had to a bounty; and an act was passed, offering to the importer the difference between the

average price of English wheat, in the second week after importation, and 90s. on wheat from the south of Europe, Africa, and America; 85s. from the Baltic and Germany; and 90s. from Archangel, if imported before the 1st of October 1800. Lord Hawkesbury also brought in a bill, which was passed through its various stages on the following day, prohibiting the sale of bread until twenty-four hours after it had been baked. Notwithstanding these prospective remedies, the average price of wheat continued to advance, and, in June 1800, was 134s. 5d. the quarter. Considerable importations brought down the price to 96s. 2d. in August; but in December it had again advanced to 133s. in consequence of the deficiency of the harvest of 1800.

Parliament was assembled in November 1800 at an earlier period than had been intended, for the purpose of devising measures to remedy the severe distress of the times, arising from the high prices of provisions. The speech from the throne alluded to the supposition of combination and fraudulent practices for the purpose of raising the price of grain, which a committee of the House of Lords denied. A select committee of the commons was again appointed to take into consideration the existing high prices, and by the end of December this committee had presented six reports to the house, in the first of which the deficiency of the crops was stated to be one-fourth, and that the old supplies were exhausted before harvest. The committee suggested a variety of remedies to meet the emergency. Among other things they recommended the encouragement of the fisheries, the stoppage of the distilleries, a bounty on importation, also from a recommendation from persons in authority, pointing out the necessity of the general practice of economy and frugality in all articles of food; and it was proposed to call upon the other house of parliament to join in an address to the throne, requesting his majesty to issue a proclamation in recommendation of this suggestion. A royal proclamation was issued accordingly, and was widely circulated by the clergy and magistrates throughout the kingdom. An act was also passed, guaranteeing the difference between the average price of foreign wheat in the third week after importation and 100s. to the importer of *all* wheat weighing 53lbs. per bushel, if imported within the time limited by the act. The advance of prices continued unchecked in spite of the various plans adopted to lower them; and, in March 1801, wheat averaged 156s. 2d. the quarter, or, taking the imperial measure now in use, 20s. the bushel; barley averaged 90s. 7d. the quarter, and oats 47s. 2d. The importations of the year were, wheat, 1,424,766 quarters; barley,

113,966; oats, 583,043. For four weeks the quartern loaf in London was as high as 1s. 10½d.

The agricultural districts were again disturbed by riots, and the allowance system, introduced as a mode of relieving the distress of the poorest class, was becoming firmly established. They must otherwise have actually perished; and even the classes above them would have shared the same fate, but for the rise of wages and the contributions of parishes, and the aids afforded by friends and by private charity. All these artificial modes of adjustment were miserable expedients, and necessarily fell far short of placing those whom it was designed to benefit in the condition of comfort which they enjoyed when the price of food was low from the effects of abundance. The money wages of the agricultural labourer, in order to have been equal to those which he received in the reign of George II., should have risen to about 30s. per week. Arthur Young gives a list of articles which, when the labourer was paid 5s. per week, he could have purchased with that 5s., namely, a bushel of malt, a bushel of wheat, a pound of butter, a pound of cheese, and a pennyworth of tobacco; and he states that in 1801 these articles would have cost him 26s. 5d. while, wages having risen only to 9s., and the allowance from the parish being estimated at 6s. his real wages were still 11s. 5d. less than under the former period. Thus even the parish allowance, which equalled two-thirds of his wages, left him in a state of distress. There is a table in the Appendix to one of the Parliamentary Reports on the subject of the high price of provisions, which shews that the most indispensable necessaries of life had risen 200 per cent. in 1800 as compared with 1773. Both in 1795 and 1800 Mr Whitbread had proposed a bill for regulating the wages of labour by the price of provisions, and fixing a minimum of wages, but such an expedient was wisely rejected. The rise of wages, without which actual starvation would have ensued, inadequate as it proved, was better than such a plan. Several trades succeeded in obtaining an advance; and from the statements of the tailors and printers of London, in support of their claims, we take the following particulars:—The wages of the former class of workmen, from 1777 to 1795, had averaged 21s. 9d. per week, and the price of the quartern loaf being 7¼d., they could purchase thirty-six loaves with a week's wages. During the scarcity of 1795 their wages had been advanced to 25s., and in 1801 to 27s., in which latter year a week's wages would purchase only 18½ quartern loaves. The wages of compositors had been advanced from 24s. to 27s. in 1795, and to 30s. in 1801. The advance in the wages of carpenters, bricklayers, masons, and artisans of a similar

stamp was inconsiderable. The salaries of persons holding official situations under the government were also increased. The misery of the bulk of the people during the years of scarcity is shewn by the diminished number of marriages, which, from 79,477 in 1798, were reduced to 67,288 in 1801.

The fallacy that wages advance with the price of food was never more glaringly displayed than at this period; and it is still a prevalent notion that there is a connexion between high prices of provisions and high wages, though, seventy years ago, Adam Smith had shewn (and his doctrine on this subject has never been controverted)—1. That the real wages of labour rise in a year of plenty and diminish in a season of scarcity. In the former, the funds in the hands of the employers of industry are sufficient to maintain a greater number of industrious people, and, as masters wanting workmen bid against each other, money wages may also rise. 2. That a year of scarcity and high prices diminishes the funds for the employment of labour; persons are thrown out of employment who bid against one another in order to get it, and wages fall. 3. That, in the *ordinary* variations of the price of provisions, these two opposite causes are counter-balanced, which is one reason why the wages of labour are more steady and permanent than the price of provisions.* In the evidence before the Lords' Committee on the Corn Laws in 1814 there is a remarkable illustration of the effect of the scarcity of 1812 on wages. Mr Milne, a landowner, stated that a certain description of farm-labour, which, twenty-five years before, had cost him 3s., and which a neighbour of his had paid 5s. for two or three years before, was executed during a period of scarcity and high prices for 2s. 6d., the cause of this difference being, as he alleged, "that a great many labourers were idle from having little work, in consequence of those employed doing double work."

There was one class to whom the period of this memorable dearth was a season of great prosperity, that is, as Mr Tooke states, "to the landlords, who were raising, or had the prospect of soon raising, their rents; and to the farmers, who were realizing enormous gains pending the currency of their leases." Arthur Young estimated the additional sum received by the corn-growers in 1795-6, as compared with the average of the twelve years ending 1794, at L.19,533,849, allowing one-fifth for the deficiency of the wheat-crop. This large sum in the first instance found its way into the pockets of the farmers, and the landlords next advanced their claims to a portion of the advantage, and raised their rents.

* Wealth of Nations, book i. chap. viii.

A tolerably abundant harvest in 1801 happily put an end to the great dearth. In March the average price of wheat was 155s. the quarter; in June, with the prospect of a favourable harvest, it was 129s. 8d., and at the end of the year the price had fallen to 75s. 6d. In the two following years the harvests, though not very abundant, were favourable, and a further depression of prices took place. At the close of 1802 the average price of wheat was 57s. 1d. the quarter; early in 1803, 52s. 3d.; and at a corresponding period in 1804 the average price was as low as 49s. 6d. Meetings were now held in the agricultural counties for the purpose of petitioning parliament for additional protection to agriculture, the act of 1790-1, which had raised the free import price* from 48s. to 54s., having been unsuccessful. This brings us to the termination of the fourth period.

The act of 1790-1 consolidated, amended, and repealed a number of old statutes relating to the corn-trade; amongst the latter, the 15 Charles II. c. 7, which prohibited buying corn to sell again, and laying up corn in warehouses. It also permitted foreign corn and grain to be bonded in the King's warehouses, the duty to be payable only when taken out for home consumption. The object of this beneficial clause is stated as follows:—"To promote and extend the commerce of the merchants of this kingdom in foreign corn, and to provide stores which may always be ready for the relief of his Majesty's subjects in times of dearth."

Many of the provisions of the act, however, interfered with trade to a vexatious and injurious extent. When foreign exportation was not allowed at any particular port, not even home produce could be carried thence coastwise, even to a port at which exportation was at the time taking place. Foreign vessels might, however, change their destination to any port where importation was permitted, if, on their arrival at that for which their cargo had been shipped, importation had ceased to be allowed. The country was still divided into so many independent sections, and this regulation was introduced into Scotland, which was divided into four districts. For the purposes of exportation, the weekly averages of each district were cited, and for importation, the average of the six weeks preceding the 15th of February, May, August, and November. Thus the one varied from week to week, and the latter was only changed four times a-year.

Fifth Period.—From 1804 to 1815.

On the 13th of April 1804, the Chancellor of the Exche-

* There was a nominal duty of 6d.

quer moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the principle and operation of the Corn Regulation Act of 1791, and to determine whether the scale which it fixed for the regulation of imports and exports was now applicable. On the 14th of the ensuing month, the committee presented their report, in which they stated that the act alluded to required "very material alteration." On the 14th of June the committee presented a second report, in which their convictions as to the necessity of some new legislative measure on the trade in corn are thus stated:—"It appears to your committee that the price of corn from 1791 to the harvest of 1803 has been very irregular; but, upon an average, increased in a great degree by the years of scarcity, has in general yielded a fair profit to the grower. The casual high prices, however, have had the effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into culture large tracts of waste land, which, combined with the two last productive seasons, has occasioned such a depression in the value of grain, as, it is feared, will greatly tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless maintained by the support of parliament." The committee founded their recommendations for protection on "a comparative view of the price of labour, and of the unavoidable expenses incident to the farmer in the year 1791, and to the farmer at the present time." Their views prevailed also in the legislature, where a bill to give effect to them was introduced on the 20th of June.

The scale for the admission of foreign corn established by the act of 1804 was as follows:—Wheat under 63s. per quarter, the "high duty" of 24s. 3d. payable; at 63s. and under 66s., the "first low duty;" and at or above 66s., the "second low duty," which amounted only to 6d. The free import, or nominal duty price, was thus raised from 54s., at which it stood in the act of 1790-1, to 66s.—an increase of 12s. The bounty of 5s. on exportation was to be paid when the average price of wheat was at or under 48s.; and when the average rose to 54s. exportation to be prohibited. The two latter enactments proved totally inoperative.

Immediately after the passing of this act, the price of wheat and other grain rose, a circumstance which was at first attributed by many to that measure. Between March and December, the average price had increased from 49s. 6d. the quarter to 86s. 2d.; and in the spring of the following year, petitions were presented to parliament expressing dissatisfaction with the new act on account of its alleged operation on prices. The crops in 1804, however, proved very deficient; and it is therefore more correct to attribute the rise to this

cause. In the three following seasons the harvests were not abundant, and, in the five years from 1808 to 1812, they were very deficient. In the month of August, in the latter year, the average prices were—for wheat, 155s.; barley, 79s. 10d. and oats, 56s. 2d.; and Mr Tooke says,* that in Mark Lane the finest Dantzic wheat fetched 180s., and oats, in one or two instances, were sold at the enormous price of 84s. the quarter.

Coincident with the unfavourable seasons during this period, there was the effect of the great war in which we were then engaged, which in various ways increased the cost of production, and, by impeding commercial intercourse, rendered it difficult and expensive to obtain supplies from abroad at a time when our own harvests were inadequate. These obstacles were at one time so serious, from the effect of the Berlin and Milan Decrees and the American Non-intercourse Act, as to threaten us with total exclusion from the continental ports. But, notwithstanding the anti-commercial spirit which the war had assumed, and at a period when this influence was relied upon as a most powerful means of distressing this country, licenses were granted by the French government, in consequence of which about 400,000 quarters of wheat, besides other grain, were imported to supply the deficiency of the harvest of 1809 in this country. The harvest, both in France and the Netherlands, had been very abundant, and the export of a part of their surplus produce was a great relief to the corn-growers of those countries. In 1810 we imported 1,500,000 quarters of wheat and flour, and 600,000 quarters of other grain and meal. The expenses of freight, insurance, and licenses, amounted to from 30s. to 50s. per quarter on wheat. From 1809 to 1812, the freight and insurance on wheat from the Baltic was 50s. the quarter. Prices necessarily rose to a great height in the home market before the obstacles to commercial intercourse arising from the war could be overcome, and an average price of 80s. the quarter for wheat was, at times, insufficient to lead to any considerable importation. The enormous charges on importation were, of course, added to the natural price of British corn; and thus we have easily explained the cause of the "war prices" of this memorable period, and of the extraordinary profits of farmers and landowners.

The high prices stimulated cultivation, and, from 1804 to 1814 inclusively, the number of enclosure bills which received the royal assent was 1084, being considerably more than for

* History of Prices, i. p. 323.

any other corresponding period. The state of the agricultural interest at this time has been impartially described by Mr Tooke:—A great amount of gain had been distributed among the agricultural classes; and as the range of high prices (with an interval of depression between the harvests of 1810 and 1811, so short as not to have been felt at all by the landlord, and very little by the farmer) had been of an unusually long continuance, it was concluded that the causes of that high range were permanent. From 1809 to 1813 was, accordingly, the period in which rents experienced their greatest rise; that is, upon the expiration of leases, they were advanced in full proportion to the high range of the prices of produce; and in several instances they were raised threefold or upwards of what they had been in 1792.* In an ensuing period we shall see the disasters which the farmers experienced under other circumstances in consequence of the dangerous state of artificial prosperity in which they were placed during the war.

The effect of another cycle of bad seasons, to which is to be added increasing taxation, was not favourable to the interests of the working classes. In 1812 and 1813, the poor-rates amounted to about L.3,300,000 more than they had been in 1803, a year of low prices and agricultural distress. Still, further attempts had been made to adjust wages to the high price of provisions, and the demand of men for the navy and army offered a resource which frequently rendered the strikes of workmen for advanced wages successful. The wages of artisans and labourers were nearly doubled—that is, the money value of their wages; but their real value—the command of a week's earnings over the necessaries of life—was diminished. The rise of money wages had reached its maximum in 1812. The workmen employed in manufactures experienced severe distress during this period; the advance of wages was less in their case than that of any other class; in some branches of manufacture there had been no change; in others it was accompanied by longer hours of work; and the stagnation of the export trade occasioned nearly a total cessation of employment in several branches of manufacturing industry. Many parts of the country were disturbed by riots in consequence of the inability of the poorer classes to purchase an adequate share of food during these seasons of agricultural prosperity and high prices, arising from defective harvests, and other causes to which allusion has been made.

A year or two of low prices of agricultural produce again brought to a close another period in the history of the Corn Laws. Wheat, which had been sold as high as 180s. the

* History of Prices, i., 323-6.

quarter (for select parcels) in 1812, fell to 73s. 6d. after the abundant harvest of 1813; and after that of 1814, which was rather favourable than otherwise, the average price was reduced to 53s. 7d. the-quarter. This fall in prices and the cessation of hostilities led to the reconsideration of the whole question of the Corn Law.

During the present period an important change was made in the mode of striking the average prices of corn and grain. The twelve maritime districts of England, and the four similar districts of Scotland, ceased to be regarded as sixteen separate sections, each of which was regulated by the prices prevalent within its separate limits; but for England, the averages, taken as before, were computed for the whole of the twelve districts at once, and the average price obtained from the computation regulated importation and exportation at seaports situate in any part of the country; and for Scotland the same plan was pursued. The six weeks' averages, struck quarterly, regulated the import-duty, and the weekly average the exports.

In 1806 was passed "An Act to permit the free Interchange of every species of Grain between Great Britain and Ireland."* Ireland had been previously treated as a colony, but this act placed her on an equality with other parts of the kingdom, and, for oats, has rendered Ireland the granary of England. In 1838 nearly two million quarters (1,948,380) of oats and oat-meal were imported into Great Britain from Ireland, and the supply is yearly increasing; the imports of wheat from the sister kingdom have been gradually diminishing since 1832, when the quantity was 552,741 quarters.

SECT. XVII.—CORN-LAW OF 1815.

The corn-law of 1815 originated in the desire to preserve, during a state of peace, the high rents and prices which had existed during the war. The war had been a period of scarcity, arising from various causes, and the real effect of this measure was to perpetuate the high prices and high rents by an artificial scarcity. On the 10th of June 1814, a committee of the House of Lords on the corn-trade was appointed, which made a brief report on the 27th, when the committee was instructed to examine witnesses in support of allegations contained in petitions presented to the house on the subject. The principal feature of the second report was the recommendation of the committee that, so long as the average price of wheat

* 46 Geo. III. c. 97.

was under 80s. the ports should be completely closed against supplies from other countries. The prohibitive price suggested by the agricultural witnesses examined by the committee varied from 72s. to 96s. Out of sixteen witnesses belonging to this class, only four were in favour of the free importation price being below 80s. per quarter. This second report was presented on the 25th of July; but the attempt to give so complete a monopoly as would have been established by carrying out the recommendations of the Lords' committee was so resolutely opposed by the country that the bill which had been brought in for the purpose was abandoned. An act was however passed, repealing the bounty on exportation,* which had been allowed under various circumstances since 1688, though, from 1792, the high prices which prevailed in the home market rendered it inoperative. By the new act exportation might take place at any time without reference to prevailing prices.

The average price of wheat for the year 1814 was about 34s. per quarter lower than the average of the preceding year, though the harvest had not been an abundant one. In the month of February 1815, the average price was under 60s., and before harvest it might rise to 66s., when the ports would be open and prices again be depressed, and it was brought to a very low point, in consequence of the obstacles to free intercourse with the continent being removed. Early in the session of 1815, therefore, a bill was brought in, giving effect to the recommendation of the committee of the previous year, and fixing 80s. as the lowest point at which importation could take place. The measure produced great excitement throughout the country, particularly in the manufacturing districts and in all the large towns. In the House of Commons, at an early period, a division took place in favour of 72s. being substituted for 80s., with the following result:—For the motion 35; against it 154—majority 119. On the 3d of March an attempt was made to throw out the bill:—For the motion 56; against it 218; majority 162. On the 6th of March the vicinity of the House of Commons was thronged by an excited multitude, and several members were stopped, some of them roughly handled, and they were questioned by the mob as to the vote which they intended to give. Ultimately the military were called out, and, with the civil force, kept the streets clear. This evening the gallery of the House of Commons was closed. An attempt was made to render the bill more favourable by substituting 74s. instead of 80s. as the pivot price; and the motion was supported by 77 against 208, being

* 54 Geo. III. c. 69.

a majority of 131. On the 8th of May, on bringing up the report, an amendment was moved, that the bill be read that day six months, when there voted 50 in its favour and 168 against it; majority 118. A final attempt was made to substitute a lower rate than 80s., leaving it to the house to determine the exact price at which prohibition ceased; but only 78 voted for the motion, and 184 in favour of the measure as originally proposed. On the 10th of March, on the third reading, an amendment was moved that the bill be thrown out, but it was only supported by 77 against 245; majority 168. On the 20th of March the bill passed the Lords by a majority of 107:—128 contents and 21 non-contents. The measure was opposed with great force and acuteness by several of the most eminent statesmen of the day; and Lord Grenville drew up a protest embodying the views of the leaders of the minority.

SECT. XVIII.—LORD GRENVILLE'S PROTEST.

“1. Because we are adverse in principle to all new restraints on commerce. We think it certain that public prosperity is best promoted by leaving uncontrolled the free current of national industry; and we wish, rather, by well-considered steps, to bring back our commercial legislation to the straight and simple line of wisdom than to increase the deviation by subjecting additional and extensive branches of the public interest to fresh systems of artificial and injurious restriction.

“2. Because we think that the great practical rule of leaving our commerce unfettered applies more peculiarly, and on still stronger grounds of justice, as well as of policy, to the corn trade than to any other. Irresistible, indeed, must be the necessity which could, in our judgment, authorize the legislature to tamper with the sustenance of the people, and to impede the free purchase and sale of that article on which depends the existence of so large a portion of the community.

“3. Because we think that the expectations of ultimate benefit from this measure are founded on a delusive theory. We cannot persuade ourselves that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates at all, its effects must be the opposite of these. Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearness, and of uncertainty. To cut off any of the sources of supply can only tend to lessen its abundance; to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity must enhance the price at which we purchase it; and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country is to refuse to ourselves the

benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made for equalizing to man the variations of season and of climate.

“4. But, whatever may be the future consequences of this law, at some distant and uncertain period, we see, with pain, that those hopes must be purchased at the expense of a great and present evil. To compel the consumer to purchase corn dearer at home than it might be imported from abroad is the immediate practical effect of this law. In this way alone can it operate. Its present protection, its promised extension of agriculture, must result (if at all) from the profits which it creates by keeping up the price of corn to an artificial level. These future benefits are the consequences expected, but, as we confidently believe, erroneously expected, from giving a bounty to the grower of corn, by a tax levied on its consumer.

“5. Because we think that the adoption of any permanent law for such a purpose requires the fullest and most laborious investigation. Nor would it have been sufficient for our satisfaction could we have been convinced of the general policy of so hazardous an experiment. A still further inquiry would have been necessary to persuade us that the present moment was fit for its adoption. In such an inquiry we must have had the means of satisfying ourselves what its immediate operation will be, as connected with the various and pressing circumstances of public difficulty and distress with which the country is now surrounded; with the state of circulation and currency; of our agriculture and manufactures; of our internal and external commerce; and, above all, with the condition and reward of the industrious labouring classes of our community. On all these particulars, as they respect this question, we think that parliament is almost wholly uninformed; on all, we see reason for the utmost anxiety and alarm from the operation of this law.

“Lastly, Because, if we could approve of the principle and purpose of this law, we think that no sufficient foundation has been laid for its details. The evidence before us, unsatisfactory and imperfect as it is, seems to us rather to disprove than to support the propriety of the high price adopted as the standard of importation, and the fallacious mode by which that price is to be ascertained.

“And on all these grounds we are anxious to record our dissent from a measure so precipitate in its course, and, as we fear, so injurious in its consequences.

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| “ AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, | GRENVILLE. |
| (Duke of Sussex.) | WELLESLEY. |
| WILLIAM FREDERICK, | ESSEX. |
| (Duke of Gloucester.) | TORRINGTON. |

DUTTON, (Marquis of Douglas.) KING.
 CHANDOS BUCKINGHAM. CARLISLE."
 MONTFORT.

On the 23d of March the bill received the Royal assent.

Until the average price of wheat rose to 80s. the ports were to be effectually closed. Colonial wheat was admitted when the average prices reached 67s. per quarter. Such was the leading feature of the new act.* But the mode in which the average prices were determined greatly increased its stringency. A new average was to be struck quarterly, on the 15th of February, May, August, and November, from the aggregate prices of the six preceding weeks; but it was provided that, if during the six weeks subsequent to any of these dates, the average prices, which might be at 80s., fell below that price, no supplies should be admitted for home consumption from any ports between the rivers Eyder and the Bidassoa—that is, from Denmark to Spain.

THIRD DIVISION.

FROM 1816 TO THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

SECT. I.—RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM HUSKISSON.

Before proceeding to the next changes in the Corn-Laws, we must introduce the statesman who became the leader in the political reformation of commerce.

William Huskisson was born on the 11th March 1770, at Birch Moreton Court, in the county of Worcester, which place, with a large farm attached to it, his father rented from the Earl of Belmont, on separating from the paternal roof at Oxley, near Wolverhampton, at the time of his marriage. At Oxley, the Huskisson family had inherited and occupied a small landed estate for several generations.

The father and mother of William Huskisson had three other sons, Richard, who died in the West Indies, Samuel, a major-general in the army, who served many years with distinction in the East Indies, and Charles, who continued to reside on his own property in Worcestershire. On the death of his wife, which occurred in 1774, soon after giving birth to the youngest of these sons, Mr Huskisson, having lost his

* 55 Geo. III. c. 26.

elder brother, returned to his father's house at Oxley, where, having succeeded to the property, he continued to reside until his own death in 1790.

"These minute particulars," says a biographer of the William Huskisson whose memoirs we are about to trace, respecting his birth and family, have been considered necessary, because attempts have been made to represent him as an illegitimate child—a stigma on the memory of his parents which he indignantly refuted in a speech made from the hustings at his first election for Liverpool, where placards had been circulated by some of his opponents, warning the electors not to waste their votes on a candidate who was ineligible as being an "illegitimate alien." "Gentlemen," said Mr Huskisson, "I scorn to disprove, however indignantly I repel, that part of this false accusation which applies to my parents."

The long and intimate friendship which subsisted uninterruptedly for so many years between Mr Huskisson and Mr Canning, and the striking coincidences in the lives and fortunes of these two great men, may recall to the recollection of many, that a similar charge of illegitimacy was propagated by falsehood and malignity, in order to cast a slur upon the birth of the latter. "To such base and contemptible expedients will some natures descend, to wound the feelings or to excite a prejudice against those whose well-earned fame and popularity they are unable to overturn, by assailing either their public or private character."

William Huskisson being only five years old on his mother's death, was then removed to an infant school at Brewood, in Staffordshire, more for the purpose of being taken care of than for that of education. He was afterwards removed to Albrighton, and lastly to Appleby, in Leicestershire, where, young as he was, he gave evident promise of those talents by which in after life he acquired for himself so much distinction. It is not singular, it is what might have been supposed, that the statesman who was great by his easy mastery of numerical calculations in after life, must have been, as a boy, possessed of a natural talent for the science of arithmetic. He possessed that talent in his school days, and improved it as he grew to manhood.

In his youth, his education was promoted by his maternal uncle, Dr Gem, a physician who had accompanied the British Embassy to Paris in 1763, and who resided there many years after. The family biographer is at some pains to disprove the allegation that young Huskisson was a medical student, or that he was in his youth anything more than a gentleman who

lived in the "best society," wore the best clothes, lived on the best food, and did nothing for his living. We can understand the motive which elicits this anxiety to prove gentility and idleness. The motive is to make peace with the unfortunate predilection of the British aristocracy, with whom he was subsequently allied in politics, for wealthy ease and no work: the case seems made out. William Huskisson, with good natural abilities, was educated to idleness. Without a suitable provision from family resources to maintain him in idleness, he was early accustomed to the society of those who performed no useful labour, was early accustomed to look upon enjoyment without earning it as true dignity; and with his good natural talents, and this bad education, was thrown on society to push his fortune as a politician. He toiled on, clinging to the skirts of the aristocracy for many years, smiled upon sometimes, buffeted more than once; a man superior to most of them by nature, meaner than all by his position; he would have been used by them to the end of his days, they riding high handed through the political world, and he their footman, trudging and drudging at their side, and would have died unknown to biographic history, but for the commercial politics of the last dozen years of his life. The politics of those years have saved his memory alive: they detached from him the aristocratic connection, though they did not detach him from it.

His uncle, Dr Gem, was intimate with Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson of America, who had both represented the United States at the French Court; and he seems to have been one of the philosophic reformers of that time, of whom there were many in England and France, dreaming of some kind of sentimental legislation making all men politically free and happy; but not dreaming that all political freedom is barren without universal and persevering industry among all classes of people; not dreaming that happiness in a community as in an individual must be dependant on the act of doing something to deserve it.

Partaking, to some extent, of those well-meant, ill-directed opinions of the philosophic dreamers, Mr Huskisson became a member of the "Club of 1789" in Paris, after having been present at the taking and destruction of the Bastile in July 1789. During the two or three years of that revolution, as during other revolutions in that country, the clubs, composed of the least practical of the people, the scholastic idlers, and the least educated of the workers, led the multitudes, and made turmoil of opinion. The "Club of '89" was, said Mr Huskisson, in a speech at Liverpool in 1823, in denial of an

accusation that he had been a French Jacobin and republican, "the Club of '89 was to support the monarchy, as settled and limited by the king's acceptance of the constitution in that year. That club was set up in opposition to the anarchical doctrines and daring endeavours of the Jacobins to destroy the monarchy, and in the hope of proving a rallying point to those who, whilst they were anxious on the one hand to counteract such criminal projects, were not less desirous on the other to prevent the return of the absolute power and abuses of the former system."

Some record has been preserved of a speech delivered at this club in which he controverts the practicability of carrying on the government by an issue of incontrovertible paper money called assignats. "You had better exchange your land for your existing government securities which do not circulate, so that your acres may extinguish your debt. Whereas, if you put this enormous amount of paper money into circulation, all the effect of it will be that your prices in *paper* will go to any amount, your gold and silver will rise in *paper* price like all other things, and you will have to pay a thousand livres in paper for as much wheat as you now have in silver."

So far this was economically sound. But Mr Huskisson did not tell them, because he did not then see it, perhaps he did not see it to the end of his life, that the only practicable method of raising funds to carry on the government and of enriching France was to let France work; to make every French man and French woman do something to give France more food, clothing, houses, furniture, fuel, and implements of work. "When he delivered his speech," it is said, "the Anglo mania was at its height in Paris, and the young Englishman soon found himself an object of general interest and admiration in all the most distinguished liberal circles of that metropolis. His discourse was loudly extolled, his talents became the theme of general conversation, and his society was eagerly courted by people of the highest consideration and fashion of both sexes."

In 1790 Mr Huskisson, through these circumstances, was introduced to Lord Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford and Duke of Sutherland, then British ambassador at Paris, and was appointed private secretary to the embassy. His political life was begun. After a time he and the Sutherland family parted friendship politically, Huskisson adhering to the Tory aristocracy who were in office, in preference to the Whigs who were out, who remained for many long years out, and whose alliance seemed fatal to all aspiring gentlemen that desired to get in. When, after many years, he made his ap-

pearance as a commercial reformer, on the silk trade, Lord Gower, by that time Marquis of Stafford, congratulated him on his services, and also reminded him of his former liberalism. "I cannot conclude," says the Marquis, "without doing justice to Lady Stafford, by saying that she enters into all my sentiments upon the occasion most sincerely." Then his Lordship proceeds to say what, after a quarter of a century of Tory drudgery, as a man of all work, must have seemed a doubtful compliment, "You must have great inward satisfaction in tracing your progress, from the period of your first display at the 'Club de '89' to the present time. Believe me to be, with all feelings of old friendship, sincerely yours. STAFFORD."

In the earlier stages of the French revolution Mr Huskisson was compelled by circumstances to be more than a mere witness. On the 10th of August 1792, a day standing eminent among the most accursed of Parisian anarchy, in the evening, when (says our authority) slaughter had stayed its weary arm, and it became possible for a foreigner to venture forth into the streets of Paris, Mr Huskisson went out to view the field of conflict, and to endeavour to obtain some more accurate information of the transactions which had taken place in the last twenty-four hours. When he returned to his apartments at the British embassy, he found that, during his absence, Monsieur de Champcenez, the then governor of the Tuileries, had taken refuge there. This nobleman had, when the palace was assaulted and carried by the infuriated mob, either been thrown or had jumped from one of the windows, and that he had fallen amongst some of the unfortunate Swiss, whose bodies lay in heaps around the palace which they had so gallantly attempted to defend. After remaining in this perilous situation for some hours, and happily eluding the murderous search of the wretches who were engaged in giving the finishing stroke to any of the victims who still breathed, he had contrived, with much difficulty, to make his way to the hotel of the British ambassador, where, by passing himself as an Englishman, he obtained access to the apartments of Mr Huskisson, with whom he was slightly acquainted. The situation was one of the utmost delicacy and of the greatest embarrassment. The fugitive threw himself on Mr Huskisson's honour, and appealed to his generosity and humanity to protect him from the assassins. To drive him from his refuge was virtually to become his murderer, and to deliver him up to a fate even more cruel than that from which he had escaped. To allow him to remain was to incur the deepest responsibility, to run the risk of compromising the ambassador, and to hazard the danger of provoking a war between France and England. It was as

imperative to keep the knowledge that a person so closely attached to the royal family had taken shelter in the hotel of the embassy from reaching Lord Gower as it was to prevent the circumstance from being discovered by the populace, already steeped in blood and mad for more. Mr Huskisson placed his unfortunate guest under the protection of a laundress on whom he could rely. He contrived to have him secretly conveyed to her dwelling, furnished him with money and whatever else he required, and at the expiration of a week of mutual alarm and anxiety, had the happiness of knowing that he had quitted Paris in safety. This nobleman died after having been restored to the government of the Tuileries by Louis XVIII.

After the catastrophe of the 10th of August, and the deposition of Louis XVII. the British government recalled its minister. Mr Huskisson accompanied Lord Gower and his family to England. From his knowledge of Paris and the French language, and through the favour of Lord Gower, he was appointed to an office by Mr Pitt, for adjusting the claims and affairs of the numerous bodies of French refugees.

He succeeded to the entailed estate of the family by the death of his father in 1790. But a considerable portion of it had been alienated to make provision for the younger children. He took measures for cutting off the remainder of the entail of the estate in Staffordshire, and settled in London landless. It was then he became acquainted with Mr Canning.

In 1795 Mr Huskisson was appointed under secretary to Mr Dundas in the office of war and colonies, much of the labour in which devolved on him; and from that period to his death in 1830 his life was strictly that of a politician.

Towards the close of the year 1796 he obtained a seat in parliament for the borough of Morpeth, through the nomination of the Earl of Carlisle, who at that time was an adherent of Mr Pitt's government. He did not soon become a speaker. His name first occurs as a member addressing the house in February 1798. This was on the subject of Sir Sidney Smith a prisoner in France, on which occasion he denied the reports, prevalent in that country, of French prisoners being subjected to ill-treatment in England.

When Mr Pitt retired from office in 1801, Mr Huskisson and Mr Canning retired also. But Lord Hobart, who succeeded to the war office, induced Mr Huskisson to remain a short time to initiate him into its duties.

In 1800, by the death of his uncle, Dr Gem of Paris, he succeeded to an estate in Worcestershire, and as residuary legatee to a mortgage on the estate of Eastham in Sussex.

Mr Hayley, the poet, the friend of Cowper, was the mortgagor, and being disposed to sell the property, did so to Mr Huskisson for the payment of a small sum over the mortgage. The following passage from the family memoir, written soon after his death, must stand as there written. It is the language of a widow who remembers she was once a bride and a wife.

“ In 1799, he had married the youngest daughter of Admiral Milbanke, an union in every respect most gratifying to his friends, and which proved to himself a source of unchequered and increasing happiness, till it was torn asunder by the dreadful catastrophe which has left her no other worldly consolation than the remembrance of the virtues which adorned him, and that which may be gathered from the universal sympathy of the world, which deplores and participates in her loss.”

Mr Huskisson seems to have been singularly unfortunate in regard of accidents. As a child, he fractured his arm ; a few days before his marriage, his horse fell with him, and he was severely hurt ; soon after, he was knocked down by the pole of a carriage, just at the entrance to the Horse Guards ; in the autumn of 1801, being then in Scotland at the Duke of Atholl's, he missed his distance in attempting to leap the moat, and gave himself a most violent sprain of the ankle, accompanied with a considerable laceration of some of the tendons and ligaments of his foot, and it was many weeks before he recovered sufficiently to leave Scotland. Indeed, the effects of this accident were visible in his gait during the remainder of his life. He afterwards fractured his arm by a fall from his horse at Petworth ; and again, in 1817, by his carriage being overturned. On this occasion, none of his surgeons could discover the precise nature of the mischief, but Sir Astley Cooper was of opinion that the bone was split from the fracture up to the joint. The recovery was slow, and his sufferings very severe, as all kinds of experiments were employed to prevent the joint from stiffening. In spite of every exertion, he never recovered the full use of his arm, and a visible alteration in the spirit and elasticity of his carriage resulted from the injury. He was constantly encountering accidents of minor importance, and the frequency of them, joined to a frame enfeebled from the severe illnesses under which he suffered during his latter years, had given rise to a certain hesitation in his movements, wherever any crowd or obstacle impeded him, which may, perhaps, in some degree have led to that last misfortune, which, to his friends and to the country, may well be termed irreparable.

At the general election in 1802, he offered himself as a

candidate for Dover; but, though supported by the good wishes and influence of the Lord Warden, he was defeated by Mr Spencer Smith, the government candidate, whose brother, Sir Sydney, got possession of the church (in which the election was then held) with his boat's crew, and effectually blockaded all approach to the voters in the opposite interest. After this defeat, he did not come into parliament till 1804.

In the month of February in that year a vacancy occurred in the representation of Liskeard, Mr Eliot, the sitting member, having succeeded to the peerage on the death of his brother, Lord Eliot. Mr Huskisson was induced to offer himself, and was opposed by Mr Thomas Sheridan. Owing to some mismanagement in forwarding the writ, the contest proved more severe than had been anticipated, and a double return was made. A petition was presented by Mr Huskisson, which had to pass through three committees before a final decision was obtained in his favour. During the interval, Mr Addington had been driven from the helm by the united attacks of Mr Pitt and Mr Fox, and an attempt was made to give to the country a powerful and efficient ministry, which should embrace the friends of both those statesmen. But difficulties arising which were deemed insurmountable, Mr Pitt undertook to form an administration, excluding as well Mr Fox and the Whigs, as Lord Grenville and his adherents. Under this arrangement Mr Huskisson was appointed one of the secretaries of the Treasury.

The second administration of Mr Pitt was clouded abroad by the disastrous overthrow of the third coalition, whilst at home the impeachment of Lord Melville, and his own declining strength, cast a shade of weakness and discomfiture over his government, in strong and mortifying contrast with the days of his former power. On his death in January 1806, the feeble remains of the cabinet gave way before the mere anticipation of the formidable phalanx opposed to them, and "all the talents" assumed the reins of government.

Mr Huskisson now became an active member of the opposition, and shewed himself a shrewd and vigilant observer of the proceedings of ministers. His attention was particularly directed to their financial measures; and, in the month of July, he moved a string of resolutions relating to public accounts, which were approved of, and agreed to, by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Henry Petty.

Parliament having been dissolved in the autumn of this year, Mr Huskisson was again returned for Liskeard. On the formation of the Duke of Portland's government in the

April following, he resumed his situation as Secretary of the Treasury, and the new administration having deemed it advisable to appeal to the sense of the country, and to call a fresh parliament, he became member for Harwich, which place he continued to represent till the general election in 1812.

Notwithstanding that fourteen years had elapsed since the commencement of his public career—during the far greater portion of which he had been a member of the House of Commons, and held active important official situations—Mr Huskisson had hitherto almost invariably refrained from entering the lists as a general debater, and had been contented to owe his reputation to his clear and intimate knowledge and skill in the transaction of business. He may be supposed to have been so long restrained from the exhibition of his great and varied attainments, upon questions well calculated for their successful display, by that constitutional diffidence which was one of the most marked characteristics of his boyhood, and which never abandoned him through life; for it has been remarked, by those well capable of forming an unprejudiced judgment, that even in the most elaborate and powerful speeches of his later years, when in full possession of the attention of the house, and cheered on by their admiration, he always seemed reluctant to give the reins to his imagination, and studiously to draw back, as though trenching on forbidden ground, whenever he became aware that he was departing from that close and argumentative style of oratory, which was based upon the most profound calculations, and upon the most extensive, curious, and accurate information and research. Yet in spite of this rigid self-control, it would be easy to point out in his speeches many passages worthy of the greatest orators, and conveyed in the purest spirit of eloquence.

The committee appointed in 1807 to inquire into the means of reducing the public expenditure, had suggested that a new arrangement should be made between the public and the Bank of England. Upon the change of government, the task of carrying this recommendation into effect devolved, of course, upon Mr Perceval, who, early in the session of 1808, brought the whole transaction under the consideration of parliament, and proposed some resolutions founded upon it, which were agreed to without a division. The letters which passed between the treasury and the bank upon this occasion, and which gave evident signs of superior talent, and of a most perfect acquaintance with the subject, necessarily bore the signature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the reputation of Mr Huskisson as a financier and statesman received an im-

mense addition from the important share which he was universally understood to have had in preparing the correspondence on the part of the government, and in conducting the negotiation to a satisfactory termination.

In the long debates which took place respecting the charges brought against the Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief, he bore little or no share; but when Colonel Wardle, a day or two before the close of the session of 1809, came forward with a sweeping motion relative to public economy, Mr Huskisson appears, for the first time, as a principal in an important general debate, and on a subject embracing the widest field for discussion. The deep attention with which his reply to Colonel Wardle was heard, demonstrated at once the intrinsic merits of the speech, and the high rank to which the speaker had won his way in the estimation of the house.

In the spring of this year, a very strong wish was expressed by the Duke of Richmond—then Viceroy of Ireland—that Mr Huskisson should succeed Sir Arthur Wellesely as secretary to that government, and the offer was accordingly made by the minister; but it was accompanied with such a forcible explanation of the detriment which must ensue to the interests and well carrying-on of the government, from any arrangement which should remove him from the office which he actually held, and any such change was so strongly deprecated, that Mr Huskisson reluctantly acquiesced in the objections, and relinquished the rank and importance of the Irish secretaryship to the wishes and accommodation of the English government.

He might now be said to have surmounted those appalling difficulties which beset the course of a public man who is resolved to win for himself fame and distinction, unassisted by the adventitious concomitants of rank and fortune, and to have vindicated his claim to aspire, at no distant time, to the highest offices of the state.

In recurring to the history of this period, and in reflecting upon the serious influence which it may reasonably be expected the continuance in office of two such men as Mr Canning and Mr Huskisson would have had, amid the extraordinary events which followed in such rapid succession, during the years which elapsed before they returned to power, the dissensions between Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, which, in the month of September, led to the resignation of these two ministers, is still a matter of historical interest, to their friends a matter of regret.

On the retirement of Mr Canning, Mr Huskisson steadily resisted the earnest entreaties of Mr Perceval to continue in

the government, and rejecting, without a moment's hesitation, all the flattering offers which were made to him, followed the fortunes of his friend. A greater or more disinterested proof of attachment was never, perhaps, given than was manifested in this decision. From the very nature of his office, Mr Huskisson was far removed from all participation in the causes or progress of the disagreement which ended in such an unfortunate result; and, however closely connected by the ties of private friendship with one of the parties, his continuance in office with Mr Perceval could not, in the remotest degree, have compromised either his public or private character. By postponing the suggestions of legitimate ambition to the dictates of friendship, he was perfectly aware that he was opening to younger competitors an opportunity of passing him in that arduous career in which he had for so many years and with such indefatigable exertions been advancing, and this too at the critical moment when the object of his labours was almost within his view, while it was evident that the opportunity now rejected might, and probably would, be long ere it could be recalled. Uninfluenced by all these considerations, Mr Huskisson, at the age of forty, gave to the world this convincing proof of the strength and purity of that regard for Mr Canning, both as a friend and as a minister, which ended only in death, a proof which was subsequently renewed, on more than one occasion and with a similar sacrifice of all personal ambition.

After a fruitless attempt to obtain the assistance of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, in forming a combined and extended government, the administration was partially remodelled.

In the session of 1810, Mr Huskisson's parliamentary exertions were principally limited to some strong observations on the army estimates, in which he strenuously argued the necessity of economy, and of any practicable reduction—points which he again pressed on the consideration of government in the discussions which ensued on the budget. This conduct drew down some sharp comments from Mr Whitbread, who, after complimenting his abilities, and regretting the loss which the public had sustained by the manner in which "his place was then occupied rather than supplied," reproached him for the inconsistency of his present language with that which he had held while in office the preceding year, a reproach which Mr Huskisson ably repelled, and which he would probably have altogether escaped, at least from that quarter, had he not, with Mr Canning, declined to join in a general opposition to the measures of a government of which they had so recently formed part.

But the most important event, as relating to the fame and character of Mr Huskisson, which occurred in the course of this year, was the appearance of his pamphlet on the Currency System.* This publication was eminently successful, and confirmed to him the reputation of being the first financier of the age.

In January 1811, overtures were made to him by a message from the Prince Regent to join the administration; he pronounced himself willing to do so, but only on condition of Mr Canning being admitted with him. During this session and the next he shared largely in the bullion debates, and discussed with great ability all subjects of a financial nature.

On the death of Mr Perceval and the change of ministry in 1812, Mr Huskisson was again left out of office by his adherence to Canning. He was offered the secretaryship for Ireland, which, not accepting, was taken by Mr Peel, who thus got a-head of him in the official advancement, and retained his advanced position.

Upon the dissolution of parliament in the autumn of this year, he received an invitation from many of the most respectable inhabitants of Chichester, as representative for that city, on what is there called the blue or independent interest. Nothing could be more gratifying than this invitation, nothing more flattering than the reception which he met with, both on his canvas and at the hustings, where he was returned without opposition. Having resided for several years in the vicinity of his new constituents, he could not but be sensible that the selection of him conveyed the strongest proof of the estimation in which he was held, both in public and private life; and the circumstance of his being at the time out of office, and the little prospect which was visible of his return to it, enhanced the value of the compliment, in a way alike honourable to the electors of Chichester and to himself.

Parliament assembled in November, when Mr Huskisson once more exposed and controverted the notorious resolution of Mr Vansittart, declaring that a pound note and a shilling were equivalent to a guinea, which the latter pertinaciously maintained, in the face of the flagrant proofs to the contrary which daily occurred.

In the month of March following, he took a luminous and scrutinizing view of the finances of the country and of the resolutions proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and stated the nature of the alterations which he wished to see introduced. For this speech he received the highest compliments from Mr Baring, Mr Henry Thornton, Mr Tierney,

* See vol. i. p. 50.

and other members of the house most conversant with the subject. It is full of those peculiar excellences which mark all what, in order to avoid periphrasis, may be familiarly termed the professional speeches of Mr Huskisson.

When the question of the Corn Laws was brought under the notice of the house in this session, he distinguished himself in the debate which arose on certain resolutions moved by Sir Henry Parnell; and it was on this occasion that he first proposed a scale of graduated prohibitory duties, which, in after years, gave rise to so much discussion. In August 1814 Mr Huskisson was appointed to the office of Woods and Forests, and was sworn of the privy council. Mr Canning was appointed ambassador to Lisbon.

Before Mr Canning sailed for Portugal, he thought it proper to pay a visit to his friends and constituents at Liverpool; and as he had prevailed upon Mr Huskisson to become his substitute, and to transact his part of the parliamentary business of that town during his absence, it was determined that they should proceed thither together, in order that Mr Huskisson might have an opportunity of making acquaintance with the principal inhabitants. They were received with the most flattering demonstrations of respect and admiration, and their visit was marked with a succession of festivities. Could the dark veil which mercifully shadows our feeble vision have been then withdrawn, how would Mr Canning have shuddered at the fatal scene which was destined to perpetuate, even beyond this life, that connection, the foundations of which he was then laying amid gay hopes and bright anticipations! What would have been his feelings, could he have foreseen that he was then assisting to prepare a tomb for his unfortunate friend!

In the course of 1815, the subject of the Corn Laws, which had been partially discussed, and then postponed, in the preceding year, was brought forward by the government, and long debates arose.

The Corn Laws were not the only difficult question of domestic policy which occupied the attention of government in 1815 and 1816. The bank restriction, which had been continued until July in the latter year, was brought under the consideration of parliament in the month of May; when Mr Horner moved that a select committee should be appointed for inquiring into the expediency of restoring the cash payments of the Bank of England, and the safest and most advantageous means of effecting such restoration. In the debate which ensued, Mr Huskisson declared that he still retained the opinions which he had formerly expressed, when the bullion committee had terminated its labours. No inquiry, he said, was

necessary on the first point embraced by the motion. All agreed that there was no security for property, no stability in public credit, no confidence in trade, no mode of adjusting the rights and consulting the interests of all classes of society, without a circulation rendered steady by possessing a permanent and universal value; but he thought that the task of restoring the precious metals should be left to the discretion of the bank, with a declaration that the parliament expected the resumption of cash payments should not be delayed beyond two years; and a clause declaratory of such an expectation was accordingly adopted. The truth appears to have been, that, in the interval since the former discussions on the subject, the bank had not only neglected preparations for resuming their payments in cash, but had actually extended their issues, so that the government found itself compelled to prolong the restriction till July 1818.

Mr Huskisson took every opportunity of expressing the satisfaction with which he looked forward to the arrival of the period fixed for the resumption of cash payments, and his sanguine hope that it would not be delayed beyond the time contemplated by parliament. His penetration, however, was at no loss to discover, and his candour did not allow him to disguise, that the interval which must elapse between the withdrawing, or absorbing, of a large portion of the excessive circulation of the country, and the return to another state of currency, must be a time of severe pressure, not only in this country, but all over Europe. To this period, when the state of the currency and of the country banks was to be placed on a more secure footing, he again alluded, when arguing in favour of the set of finance resolutions moved by Mr Charles Grant, and carried in opposition to those of Mr Tierney, at the close of the session of 1817; and he expressed his earnest hope that everything would be done to prepare the country for the reception of more liberal commercial arrangements, in order to afford some counterpoise to the pressure which he foresaw impending, and to disarm the jealousy of foreign countries.

In the debate which followed Lord Althorp's attempt, in 1818, for a repeal of the leather tax, which was defeated by a very small majority, we find Mr Huskisson opposing the bill, and enforcing his opposition, on the ground that no tax could be repealed with full benefit to the public except direct taxes; and that if any reduction could possibly be made, these ought to be the first to attract consideration—(a serious error.)

When, in this year, Mr Tierney moved a resolution, in-

volving the much agitated question of an immediate resumption of cash payments, Mr Huskisson successfully advocated a further delay. He shewed that such a measure was then incompatible with the existing state of affairs, and that the house could do nothing more than declare the time for resuming such payments, leaving the care of providing the necessary means to the bank itself. But while he maintained that the present was not the season for removing the restriction, he avowed that a difference existed between him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on certain points. This led him to defend and eulogize the report made by the bullion committee, which he characterized as containing a perspicuous statement of facts and well connected inferences still unanswered, and he expressed his regret that the distinguished individual who had prepared it—Mr Horner—was not living to assist the present deliberations with the force of his reasoning and the accuracy of his judgment.

In the autumn of this year parliament was dissolved, and Mr Huskisson re-elected for Chichester without any opposition.

On the appointment of the finance committee, at the commencement of the session of 1819, Mr Huskisson's abilities, and his knowledge of all the intricacies of the subject, were too conspicuous not to ensure his name being included in the list; and it has been supposed that the influence which his great talents and intimate acquaintance with finance secured to him, proved of the utmost importance to ministers in surmounting the difficulties which opposed them.

The death of George III. having rendered it necessary to summon a new parliament, Mr Huskisson was again returned for Chichester, with the same marks of attachment and approbation which had been bestowed upon him on the three preceding occasions. The session opened in April, and early in May, Mr Baring, on presenting a petition from the merchants of London, respecting the restrictions which impeded commercial enterprise, made the celebrated speech to which Mr Huskisson so successfully referred, when he vindicated the measures of government on a subsequent occasion.

In the course of this year, agricultural distress again occupied much of the attention of the house, and a committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr Holme Sumner, to consider the various petitions connected with this subject; but an instruction was afterwards moved and carried by Mr Robinson, "confining the inquiry to the mode of ascertaining; returning, and calculating the average prices of corn in the

twelve maritime districts, under the provisions of the existing Corn Laws, and to any frauds which might be committed in violation of any of the provisions of the said laws;" which restriction, of course, rendered the labours of this committee of comparatively little importance. In the following year, ministers having withdrawn their opposition to such a measure, a committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr Gooch, for a more extended inquiry. Of this committee Mr Huskisson was the most active ministerial member; and the long and elaborate report which was the result of their labours, has been understood to have emanated principally from him. It has been often supposed, too, that in the prominent part which he took in this committee, and the steadiness with which he urged and defended a more liberal system in respect to the Corn Laws, may be discovered the explanation of that mingled feeling of suspicion and fear with which that party, which denominates itself the landed interest, subsequently appears to have watched all his measures.

When, towards the end of this year, Mr Canning, from circumstances and considerations wholly distinct from general policy, and indeed purely personal, retired from the administration, Mr Huskisson did not follow his example; not from any attachment to his own office, but because he saw that to resign at that moment would have been to act most unfairly by Mr Canning, in giving to his retirement a character which did not belong to it, and might prove embarrassing to the government.

Although not a member of the cabinet, and consequently not involved in whatever responsibility attached to the proceedings of the ministers against the queen, Mr Huskisson did not fear to incur his share of the unpopularity which those proceedings entailed upon them; nor did he shrink from their defence, when, early in the session of 1821, Lord Tavistock moved a resolution strongly condemnatory of their conduct: he, however, declared that he had deprecated the inquiry from the outset, feeling that the result of it must be to lower the general tone of moral and religious feeling in the country, but that to assent now to the motion of the noble Lord would be to declare that, in the eyes of the Commons of England, her majesty's conduct had been, if not praise-worthy, at least blameless. Upon this occasion, he prefaced his speech by stating his reasons for breaking through the practice, which he had observed during a long parliamentary life, of declining questions of this general nature, and commented largely upon this difficult and delicate subject.

In the progress of the session, the government encountered

much opposition, and was exposed to several severe shocks from the united attacks of the old Whig party, strengthened by the country interest. Several proposals were made to repeal various taxes which pressed heavily upon the country, and the house and the window duties were the first selected. Their repeal was resisted by the government; but Mr Huskisson, while he argued against it, admitted, in pointed terms, the propriety of further economy in preparing the estimates, if it could be shewn where further economy was practicable. Notwithstanding this conciliatory admission, and in spite of all the efforts of government, the resolution was only lost by a majority of 26. Another and more successful attack was then made, and ministers were out-voted in an endeavour to continue the additional duties upon malt—a defeat which they retaliated a few nights after, when they succeeded in throwing out the bill for their repeal by a large majority. But in June they were once in a minority respecting the duty on horses employed in husbandry, which was repealed by a bill brought in by Mr Curwen. On all these occasions Mr Huskisson spoke forcibly against these proposals; and as they were considered to be more especially calculated for the relief of the agricultural interest, and were introduced and advocated by those who regarded themselves as more peculiarly the representatives of that body, this active opposition, perhaps, may be thought to have contributed to indispose that powerful party still further towards the principles and policy of Mr Huskisson.

The events which had occurred in the House of Commons created a very general impression that something must be done before the re-assembly of parliament, towards repairing the weakness which had been occasioned to the government by the loss of Mr Canning; and it was soon understood that this impression was not unfounded. The indifference with which Mr Huskisson regarded his own situation has been already touched on. To his active mind, indeed, its comparative ease did anything but compensate the—to him—irksome character of the duties belonging to it. Accordingly, in the course of this year several communications seem to have taken place, with a view to a change. Among other suggestions, the secretaryship of Ireland was once more named, but rejected without hesitation on the part of Mr Huskisson, who, having already, in 1809, consented to decline that office, in compliance with the urgent representations of the ministers of that day—having been designated for it, united with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in 1812, (an arrangement which failed it is true, but from no fault of his,) and which

had been once more tendered and once more declined on Mr Peel's resignation in 1818—felt that he should be unmindful of what he owed to himself and his own character, if he submitted to become the successor of those who, though his juniors both in years and in the public service, were now, from circumstances not within his control, placed, or to be placed, in higher situations at home. Other arrangements were then proposed; but to these either the same objection applied, or the still greater one of their pointing to offices which had too much the appearance of sinecures, and the acceptance of which might have been construed into an exchange of a place of some business for one without any, from the unworthy motive of adding a thousand a-year to his official income. Fresh difficulties arising to any alteration satisfactory to himself, Mr Huskisson determined to sacrifice his own fair pretensions for the desirable object of attaining an increase of strength to the government, and abandoned his intention of immediate resignation; but he did not do so without having recorded his strong sense of the injustice which had postponed for a time the reward to which he was so well entitled, both from his long and zealous exertions in support of the government, and from his acknowledged efficiency as a man of business; or without making it known to the minister that, in consenting to retain his appointment, he had unwillingly deferred to the judgment of his friends, and to the fear that an invidious and unfair construction—a construction possibly injurious to others—might, and probably would, be put upon his resignation.

All these ministerial discussions and negotiations terminated, as is well known, in the appointment of Mr Peel to the Home-office in the room of Lord Sidmouth, and in that of Mr Wynn to the Board of Control, which latter, with some minor changes, secured the support of the Grenville party; and the new arrangement was announced about Christmas 1821.

The debates on the distress which pressed upon the agricultural interest, and which, in its consequences, affected the whole country, were renewed, shortly after the re-assembling of parliament in February 1822, when Lord Londonderry moved the revival of the committee of the preceding year, and gave notice that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would, without loss of time, bring forward a proposal for enabling the bank to issue four millions of Exchequer bills in loans to different parishes, and also a reduction of the malt tax.

In the debate which followed upon this notice of the noble Marquis, Mr Huskisson's speech must be deemed one of the most important; embracing as it does a variety of those topics

with which he was, perhaps, more conversant than any other statesman of his time. In consequence of what passed on this occasion, and, subsequently, on the motion for the appointment of the committee, it became necessary for him to explain the part which he had taken in preparing the agricultural report of the preceding year. Having done so, and vindicated himself from the charges of having mystified the members of that committee, he signified his intention to abstain from all attendance at the present one; in which determination Lord Londonderry declared that he regarded him as perfectly justified. On the 1st of April, the new committee made their report, and, on the 29th, Lord Londonderry proposed a string of resolutions, declaratory of the views which he, as the leading minister of the crown in the House of Commons, entertained for the purposes of relief. These having been read, Mr Ricardo brought forward another set, and late in the debate, Mr Huskisson laid before the house those which he had prepared on the same subject; giving notice at the same time, that it was his intention, on the next discussion, to state the cause of the difference which would appear between his resolutions and those of the noble Marquis. On the 6th of May, Lord Londonderry moved his first and most important resolution: it was combated by Mr Huskisson, and, after a short debate, withdrawn.

He now felt that, having, as an official servant of the crown, opposed, and successfully opposed, a proposition brought forward by the leading member of government in the House of Commons, it was due to the chief of that government to place his office at his disposal. Accordingly he waited upon Lord Liverpool, and after explaining to him what had passed, did that which he afterwards in 1828 repeated in respect to the Duke of Wellington, namely, placed in his hands the decision, whether the penalty of such an act of insubordination was to be enforced against him. The result was as different as the other circumstances of the case were similar; except, indeed, that Mr Huskisson's conduct in 1822 was marked with a character of official independence, or rather mutiny, infinitely stronger than anything which arose on the case of the East Retford disfranchisement in 1828.

Connected with this topic of Agricultural distress was the motion brought forward by Mr Western, in the month of June, for a committee to consider of the effects which had been produced by the act for the resumption of cash payments. Mr Huskisson undertook to reply to Mr Western; and, after a speech of singular power and effect—a speech which may be ranked among those of the first class for soundness of politi-

cal principle and conclusive reasoning—moved as an amendment the substitution of the famous resolution of 1696, “that this house will not alter the standard of gold or silver, in fineness, weight, or denomination,” an amendment which was carried by an overwhelming majority.

While Mr Huskisson invariably and firmly resisted all attempts at tampering with the currency, we discover, in almost all his speeches, the same anxiety for the reduction of the unfunded debt, the same admission of the necessity of adopting all practicable plans of economizing the expenditure, and the same doctrine constantly laid down that it was peculiarly incumbent upon this country not to set to foreigners the example of imposing any additional restrictions on trade, but, on the contrary, to convince them that it was the fixed determination of England to pursue that liberal system of commercial policy which had lately been so auspiciously commenced. These appear to be the great principles, the wisdom and urgency of which he laboured, on all occasions, to impress both upon parliament and the country, and in the defence of which he was ever found ready to contribute his powerful support.

The death of Lord Londonderry, in the summer of 1822, and Mr Canning's succession to his office, though they caused no immediate alteration in Mr Huskisson's official appointments, could not but give a great additional weight to the influence which he before possessed. Negotiations, indeed, were shortly after set on foot for a partial change in the administration, and at the end of January 1823, Mr Vansittart was raised to the peerage, and became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr Robinson succeeded him at the Exchequer, and Mr Huskisson was appointed President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy. As the offer had been at first unaccompanied with a seat in the cabinet, (which had been attached to these offices while held by Mr Robinson,) some demur arose on the part of Mr Huskisson, which was only overcome by an assurance that the sole obstacle to his immediate admission was not any objection to him individually, but the extreme inconvenience to public business resulting from too great an extension of the cabinet, and by a positive promise that the earliest possible opportunity should be seized to make an opening for him. On this assurance he agreed to waive, or rather to suspend, his objection; and, early in the following autumn, a vacancy was made in the cabinet, to which he was immediately called.

SECT. II.—LIFE OF MR HUSKISSON, CONTINUED.
REPRESENTATION OF LIVERPOOL.

This difficulty having been surmounted, another arose of a nature particularly delicate and distressing to Mr Huskisson—the representation of Liverpool. Mr Canning found that the laborious duties which devolved upon him as one of the members for that important place, superadded to the direction of the Foreign Office, and to the lead of the House of Commons, were more than he could adequately discharge; and it was his earnest wish to retire from the representation. Even had he resolved to stand again, there was reason to apprehend that an opposition might have been excited, which would protract the election to the extreme limits allowed by law; and this delay would have proved excessively inconvenient to the progress of public business in the House of Commons. It was notorious that a party existed in Liverpool, considerable both in number and consequence, which was favourable to a Whig candidate, and Mr Brougham had been openly spoken of as the object of their choice. The government felt a strong and natural anxiety that the second great commercial port of the empire should continue to be represented by one of their friends, and Mr Huskisson was supposed to be the only person likely to unite the suffrages of all parties. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Lord Liverpool and Mr Canning should have made a point of his acquiescing in the only arrangement which seemed likely to give general satisfaction.

But, however flattering it might be to his vanity to be chosen to fill that post, which had been held for the last ten years by the most eloquent orator of the age, Mr Huskisson could not but be sensible that he owed a large debt of gratitude to the electors of Chichester. They had sought him when he was out of power, and had four times returned him without opposition. Even then they were impatiently waiting to bestow on him a fresh proof of their approbation and affection. His seat there was independent, and unattended with expense; it had been bestowed upon him by the free suffrages of a numerous body of electors, and it was probably secure to him for as long as he chose to retain it. The labours attached to it were light in comparison to those which awaited the representative of Liverpool. The struggle between his own wishes and a sense of public duty, strengthened by the urgent solicitations of his friends, was long and painful; but the latter ultimately prevailed, and he consented

to exchange the unostentatious security of Chichester for the dazzling but laborious splendour of Liverpool.

Mr Huskisson had now reached an elevation whence he could beneficially exert, and call into activity, his unrivalled knowledge of commercial policy. Lord Bacon says, and the new President of the Board of Trade seemed to coincide in the justice of the maxim, that “merchants *vena porta*, and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and flourish little: taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king’s revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.”*

Some preliminary steps had been already taken by Mr Robinson and Mr Wallace, for relaxing the restrictions which had formerly clogged our trade, and several new laws affecting it had been proposed by the government in the session of 1822. On Mr Huskisson’s appointment, he immediately proceeded, firmly but cautiously, to take steps towards further and more important alterations. In these he found himself opposed and thwarted by the prejudices of an active and powerful party, who viewed all innovations with a jealous and unfriendly eye; and the fate of the first bill for regulating the silk manufacture was an evident proof of the obstacles which he would have to encounter before his measures could be crowned with success. This bill, after it had passed the lower house, was returned from the Lords, so changed and mutilated, that Mr Huskisson preferred abandoning it for the session rather than to adopt the amendments. In the following year he was more successful, and the bill passed into a law without encountering any very formidable opposition.

The impediments which presented themselves at every step towards a more liberal policy are strikingly described in the following article extracted from the *Morning Chronicle*; which, though there applied to a later period of his career, is equally true at the moment of which we are treating:—

“The clamour raised against Mr Huskisson, by the Agriculturists on the one hand and the manufacturers on the other, affords a lesson from which future ministers will not fail to profit. It will be taken for granted that it is the wisest course for men in office, in all cases, to stick to whatever is established—“*stare super antiquas vias*”—to consent to a change only when it is loudly demanded by the great

* Lord Bacon’s Essay on Empire.

majority in parliament, but never to recommend any innovation which is not so demanded: this is the system on which all former ministers of this country have acted, and it is obvious that all ministers who wish to consult their own ease and advantage cannot do better than follow it. The liberal part of the present administration have erred in thinking too favourably of human nature—in thinking that, in departing from the old practice, and endeavouring to introduce substantial ameliorations into the commercial system of the country, they would receive such support from the people as the honesty of their intentions fairly entitled them to. We believe, in our conscience, that Mr Huskisson approaches nearer to the character of a virtuous minister—a minister to whom the welfare of the whole nation is more at heart than his own advantage—than any man who has ever been in office in this country; but we question very much whether, in the difficulties in which he has involved himself, he will be adequately supported against the attacks of his selfish enemies. Our approbation of ourselves is generally fervent enough; but our approbation of others is seldom so immoderate as to hurry us into any indiscretion in their support. We fear Mr Huskisson is doomed to experience, to his cost, the difference, in point of zeal, between his disinterested admirers and those who conceive their interests likely to be in any way affected by his measures.

“The head of a faction receives from the members the tribute of a clamorous admiration, because interest is the bond of union, and such admiration is supposed to be conducive to the ends in view; but the man who endeavours to distinguish himself by promoting the good of a whole nation, necessarily provokes the hostility of many whose interests suffer from his measures, while he makes few warm partisans.

“It will give us sincere pleasure to find that we have taken too gloomy a view of human nature, and that, if the difficulty of Mr Huskisson’s position be great, he will find corresponding support from the friends of sound principles.”

In spite of this demonstration of hostility to the measures of the liberal portion of the administration, as evinced in the fate of the silk bill, some important commercial alterations were effected in the course of 1823. Mr Wallace’s warehousing bill was passed, and two resolutions agreed to which enabled the king in council to place the shipping of a foreign state on the same footing with that of Great Britain, provided similar advantages were experienced by British shipping in the ports of such foreign states; and also to impose countervailing duties, in case such were rendered necessary by the conduct of other countries; and an act founded upon

these resolutions—usually called the reciprocity of duties act—was carried through both houses.

In the course of this session Mr Huskisson introduced other measures, connected with the trade and manufactures of the country—the merchant vessels apprenticeship bill, and that for removing the various vexatious regulations with which the manufacture of Scotch linnen had hitherto been shackled and its prosperity impeded.

He also brought forward the registry bill, which had been prepared in the preceding year, but which he had found still lying at the board of trade when he succeeded to that office. This Bill was a consolidation of all the existing laws on the subject, with many improvements, and had been much called for by every one connected with the shipping interests of the country. It was a subject very complicated in its details, and difficult to understand; but Mr Huskisson felt its importance, and lost no time in making himself master of, and bringing it before parliament; and, after some protracted delays in the House of Lords, which drew from him a firm but temperate remonstrance, these bills ultimately passed before the close of the session.

It would be tedious, in a narrative like this, to endeavour to follow Mr Huskisson through all the different measures which he introduced and carried, while he directed the commercial department of the government, or to discuss the treaties which were, during that time, negotiated with Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, the Hans Towns, several of the new States of America, and finally with France. The best history of this brilliant period of his public life—the best exposition of that system—will be found in these speeches with which he introduced and defended his various measures, and which will be allowed, even by those who differed from him on some points, to comprise a mass of the most profound and valuable information on the subjects to which they refer. In 1824 several other measures of amelioration were accomplished, and the silk bill resumed and carried into operation. (See the speeches in Sections 4, 5, &c.)

In 1825 another most important undertaking was completed—the general revision of the revenue laws. This was a task* of vast magnitude and extraordinary labour, and

* Some idea may be formed of the laborious nature of this undertaking, when it is stated that these laws had accumulated from the reign of Edward I. up to the present time, to the enormous number of *fifteen hundred*. From the contradictions and confusion attendant on such a chaos of legislation, merchants were perplexed and harassed beyond measure. It was now, under the auspices of the Board of Trade and the Treasury, compressed by Mr Hume into *eleven Acts*, in so clear and comprehensive a manner, that the meaning or application of them can no longer be mistaken.

one which, as Mr Huskisson frequently declared, could never have been achieved, but for the able assistance and unwearied diligence of Mr James Deacon Hume, then of the Customs, and now of the Board of Trade, to whom the lasting gratitude of the country is owing, for his persevering exertions, and for the essential benefit which he thus conferred on the commercial world.

In this year he spoke for the first time at any length, in favour of the Catholic Relief Bill. Could he then have anticipated the fate of that question a few years later, how well and pointedly might he have remarked, as he had done in reference to the commercial concessions which had been, at different intervals, granted to Ireland, that if parliament rejected the bill before them, the time would come when "state necessity, acting under a sense of political danger, must yield, without grace, that which good sense and good feeling had before recommended in vain." It is surely impossible for language to pourtray more faithfully the ultimate settlement of the Catholic question.

It was in June in this year that, on the third reading of the bill on the law of principal and factor—(a measure for defining and amending which had been carried by him through the House of Commons in the preceding year, but had failed in the Lords)—Mr Huskisson particularly distinguished himself in a speech, of which, unfortunately, not even an outline exists. The house had been occupied all night with the case of Mr Kenrick and Canfor the butcher, and the debate on the law of merchant and factor bill did not come on till very late. Mr Scarlett made a long and learned speech against the measure. His arguments were combated by Mr Huskisson, who, in a speech of an hour and a half, gave his entire view of the commercial polity of this country, as the natural depot of the merchandise passing between the new and the old world, and urged the necessity of affording all possible security to advances on goods warehoused, in order to make it so. There are many and great authorities now living who pronounced that he did this in a way in which nobody else could have given it. Owing to the lateness of the hour at which he rose, this elaborate speech was despatched by the reporters in a few lines; while an admirable one delivered by Mr Baring, on the same subject, was left wholly unreported. (Reporting was less perfect at all times then than it has since become.)

In the progress of the spring, Mr Huskisson, as well as Lord Liverpool, had more than once pointed out the dangers attending phrenzy of speculation which raged as an epidemic, and endeavoured to open the eyes of the public to the folly and

iniquity of their proceedings. "Such speculation," he warned them, "was the offspring of unnatural excitement, and in the body mercantile, as well as the body physical, such excitement was generally followed by depression and exhaustion." He implored the country banks not to lend their money to the encouragement of crude and hasty speculations, and urged the spirit, then so prevalent, as a reason for not wishing at that moment to let loose the Corn Laws. But, whilst he warned the public that "their high raised hopes would in the end vanish into thin air, and leave those who entertained them nothing but regret and disappointment," he admitted that he did not see how parliament could interfere. The convulsion which shook the country at the close of 1825, and which is still remembered by the denomination of the "Panic," proved how wise, as well as how unavailing, were these wholesome admonitions.

With that injustice with which the world so often shifts the blame of evils resulting from its own folly upon other causes, those whose obstinate imprudence had involved them in ruin now joined the cry which was raised by the party which had perseveringly manifested their hostility to the recent changes in our commercial system, and imputed to those changes the late deplorable disasters. This charge, however clamorously advanced, may be safely asserted to have utterly failed, whenever it was tried by the test of reason and truth, and Mr Huskisson himself repelled it with the following flat contradiction, in one of the debates which arose on the subject; "On the one hand," he said, "there is the complaint that too much has been done for free trade; while on the other, there is an equally loud complaint, that nothing has been done. I shall not now stay to discriminate between such conflicting extremes of opinion. I cannot, however, but wonder that while gentlemen within this house assert that the principles of free trade have not been carried far enough, there should be others out of this house persevering in their attempts to direct the opposition of the misinformed towards those measures, which, I am bold to declare, have in no degree contributed to the distresses lately experienced in this country."

In the various projects which disgraced that period, and were attended with such fatal consequences, Mr Huskisson had no participation. He afterwards declared, in his place in parliament, that, "neither directly nor indirectly, had he had the least share or interest in any company which had been formed in the years 1824, 1825, or 1826:—he had, indeed, an interest in one of the oldest insurance companies in the country; but it had remained of the same amount for the

last twenty years." Nor was there the slightest reservation in the nature or extent of this declaration. Those who possess the best means of information can assert how scrupulously and rigidly he exacted the same forbearance from all about him.

Besides the other weighty and laborious questions which occupied Mr Huskisson, both in his official and parliamentary character, in 1825 and 1826, must be enumerated the complicated and delicate discussions with Mr Rush, afterwards continued with Mr Gallatin, on the various points in dispute between Great Britain and the United States of America, comprising the adjustment of the north-western boundary and that of the province of New Brunswick—the navigation of the river St Lawrence—the more effectual suppression of the African slave trade—and the intercourse with the West-India colonies. In the negotiations with the American ministers, Mr Huskisson was at first assisted by Mr Stratford Canning, and subsequently by Mr Addington. The protocols of the conferences were by them drawn up, and then submitted to Mr Canning, for his final revision and sanction. The state papers and correspondence of the British ministers on this occasion may be cited as models, for purity of style, clearness of argument, and soundness of views, whilst the moderation with which the negotiation was conducted, and the absence of all bitterness or sarcasm in the communications interchanged, were hailed as an indication that a more generous and conciliatory feeling was growing up between the two countries. Notwithstanding the friendly tone, however, in which the conferences were carried on, it was found impossible to make any impression on the American government, or to obtain a repeal or relaxation of the restrictions imposed by the act of congress of 1823. It was unhappily deemed necessary, therefore, to take steps for retaliation, and a British order in council was issued in July 1826, by which our colonial harbours in the West Indies were shut against all American vessels. After a long delay on the part of the American government, they yielded.

The following dialogue, in his own hand-writing, and bearing various marks of correction in the same, has been found among Mr Huskisson's MS. papers, and as there is every reason to believe it to have been his composition, it is inserted in this note, as a specimen of that easy playfulness, which has been mentioned as one of the charms of his private society, but in its conclusion it contains the usual error of reciprocity politicians.

Fraternal Dialogue between John Bull and his brother Jonathan,
(date, July 1825)

JONATHAN—"You are a very good and constant customer, John, at my shop, for flour, hoops, staves, and many other articles of my trade; you are good pay, and I am always glad to deal with you.

JOHN—"I believe all you say—I wish to continue a good customer; but I must say your mode of dealing with me is rather hard. Every time I travel to, or send to your shop, (Sunday or not,) I am obliged to pay double toll at the turnpike-gate, which is close before it.

JONATHAN—"You need not take that trouble. I prefer sending my goods to my customers by my own porters, and as they are always ready and punctual in delivering the packages, I do not see why you should complain.

JOHN—"I complain because my own cart and horses have nothing to do, and my people are upon the poor-rate, whilst I am paying you for portorage. I will not go on in this way.

JONATHAN—"Well! we will consider of it next Christmas, when the partners in our firm meet to talk over the concern."

John remains patient for another year, when, finding the Sunday Toll still continued, he asks what brother Jonathan and his firm have decided. (July 1826.)

JONATHAN—"We have resolved to grant a new lease of the tolls, without making any alteration in the terms.

JOHN—"You have! then I withdraw my custom.

JONATHAN—"The devil you do! (*Aside.*) We mistook him for a more patient ass than he proves to be. How shall we contrive to bring him back to our shop?"

The error is in the assumption that there should be a reciprocity of "tolls" or duties. John Bull's necessities and interests send him to Jonathan, and the same causes bring Jonathan to John.

Superior to the pressure of the times, and disdaining to attribute it to false causes, the merchants of Liverpool, with that spirit of liberality which so nobly characterizes them, came forward to testify their sense of the advantages which had been derived from the alterations already carried into effect, and to mark their approbation of those yet in progress; and, early in 1826, Mr Huskisson received the following letter, which is too honourable to him in his public capacity, and to those from whom it proceeded, not to demand insertion here. It is scarcely necessary to add that the service of plate to which it alludes was worthy of the greatness of Liverpool, both in taste and magnificence.

“LIVERPOOL, 4th February, 1826.

“My dear Sir,

“As chairman of the committee, I have now the honour to request your acceptance of the service of plate presented to you by this commercial town. The motives which led to this proof of public feeling are set forth in the following inscription, and are also engraved on the centre ornament of the service; viz.—

The Service of Plate,
of which this Candelabrum is a part,
was presented to
The Right Hon. WILLIAM HUSKISSON,
by a numerous body
of the Merchants, Freemen, and Inhabitants of
Liverpool;
as a Testimony
of their sense of the Benefits
derived to the nation at large
from the enlightened system
of Commercial Policy
brought forward by him
as President of the Board of Trade;
and of their Gratitude
for the zeal and ability with which,
as member for Liverpool,
he has watched over the Interests of
his Constituents.
1825. •

“Notwithstanding the embarrassment and distress which generally prevail in manufactures, I am desired by the committee to assure you that their conviction of the wisdom of the measures introduced by you, for the removal of commercial restrictions, remains undiminished, and that they confidently anticipate, from their matured operation, the most beneficial effects to the country at large.

“It is very gratifying to me to have been selected by my liberal fellow-townsmen as their organ on this occasion; and I have only to add, that

‘I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“JOHN BOLTON.”

To this Mr Huskisson replied—

“SOMERSSET PLACE, February 6, 1826.

“My dear Sir,

“I have this day had the honour to receive from a deputation of the Committee of the Merchants and Inhabitants of Liverpool, the letter with which you, as their chairman, have been desired to accompany the presentation to me of the service of plate, prepared under the direction of that committee, in compliance with the resolutions of the subscribers.

“I receive with just pride, and acknowledge with the most lively gratitude, this mark of their approbation.

“However splendid this munificent testimony of their sentiments, the record of those sentiments in the inscription upon the plate will ever be considered by me as constituting its highest value.

“In this free country, it is the best recompense of the services of any man, filling a high and responsible situation (be his station in life otherwise what it may) to find himself supported by the cordial concurrence of those who, by their intelligence, as well as by the habits of their lives, are most competent to form a correct judgment, and whose welfare is most immediately concerned in the result of any important measures which it may be his duty to bring forward in parliament.

“Valuable as the expression of such concurrence and support must be at any time, it is doubly grateful to me under the present circumstances; and I hope I may be allowed to add (without risking the imputation of vanity) that the renewed declaration, by the merchants and inhabitants of Liverpool, of their matured and confirmed opinion, is not, under these circumstances, altogether useless to the public interest. Partial as their kindness to myself might render that opinion in easier times, it will hardly be imagined that, in times of difficulty like the present, they would allow a disposition to employ the language of compliment to overbear their sound and sincere conviction.

“To such vicissitudes as those which have recently occurred, the commerce of this country has been at all times liable. They are, perhaps, the inevitable result of activity and enterprise, stimulated by unbounded credit; and by those perpetually increasing powers of machinery, which ingenuity has created in aid of the natural industry of our population.

“But, by whatever causes the present stagnation may have been occasioned, and however deeply I lament its pressure

(more especially that portion of it which falls upon my constituents.) I am fully convinced that it has in no degree been produced or aggravated by the relaxing of any of those restrictions which parliament deemed it no longer expedient to retain.

“In this conviction I am supported, not exclusively by those who generally approve the measures of the administration, but by others of the greatest talents and authority, who look to those measures with a less friendly eye. By this coincidence of opinion, our present commercial system is (fortunately, as I conceive) withdrawn from the range of those questions which divide the two great political parties of the state upon other points of general policy; and I cannot but hope that, when confidence shall be again restored (as I trust it soon will be) in pecuniary transactions, the like general sense will prevail, among persons practically engaged in commerce, of the increased facilities and encouragement which the late changes are calculated to afford to the manufacturing industry and wholesome trade of the country.

“I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“W. HUSKISSON.”

Parliament met on the 2d of February 1826, and the recent embarrassments and distress became the subject of immediate debate. In the various discussions which ensued on the bank charter and promissory notes acts, Mr Huskisson, as might be expected, took a prominent part; and in answer to the abuse which was now scattered with no unsparing hand against the measures, of which he was considered the great champion and adviser, referred for the solution of the present calamitous state of domestic affairs to the ineffectual warnings which he had given in the preceding year; while he challenged the most searching inquiry into the share which it was asserted the changes in our restrictive system had had in producing the convulsion which terminated in the ruin of so many.

It was not long before he had an opportunity of defending himself on one of his own measures. On the 24th of February, the silk question was selected as the object of attack, and Mr Ellice moved for a committee to consider of the petition from persons connected with that trade. For the issue of this night's debate we must refer to the speeches themselves; but as we have already, in an early part of this memoir, alluded to the kind and flattering notice which Mr Huskisson's exhibition on this occasion elicited from the Marquis of Stafford, we cannot here deny ourselves the gratifica-

tion of adding to that authority a short expression of Mr Canning's feelings on the same subject.

"F. O., 24th February 1826, 2 A. M.

"My dear Mrs Huskisson,

"Having written to the King, I cannot reconcile it to my sense of duty to go to bed without writing to you, to congratulate you on Huskisson's exhibition of to-night. I do assure you, without the smallest compliment or exaggeration, that he has made one of the very best speeches that I ever heard in the House of Commons—a speech decisive for ever of his character and reputation, both as a statesman and an orator. It was of the *very first rate*—and as such I wish you joy of it with all my heart.

"Most sincerely yours,

"GEORGE CANNING."

The advocates of the new system never enjoyed a more glorious triumph than on this night. Never was there a more powerful or more unanswerable defence of that system than may be found in the reply made by Mr Huskisson to the speeches of Mr Ellice and Mr Williams!—Seldom was a more generous or more statesmanlike support afforded to a colleague than the magnificent display of eloquence with which Mr Canning eulogized his friend and overwhelmed his opponents.

It is so pleasing to consider Mr Huskisson, when speaking in his own person, that we are tempted again to have recourse to private correspondence, to mark at once the estimation in which he was held by the greatest practical authorities, and the modesty with which he received the praise bestowed upon him.

His friend Mr Gladstone (now Sir John Gladstone) had transmitted to him the following extract of a letter addressed to himself by Mr Kirkman Finlay of Glasgow, dated

"23d March 1826.

* * * "I had indeed the pleasure and the advantage of a long, and, to me, most interesting conversation with Mr Huskisson.

"I do not think that history tells us of any minister in any state who ever brought into operation so fine a system of mercantile policy. The knowledge of theory and practice were never possessed by any one in so high a degree; and he not only at once sees ultimate benefit, but the time and the manner in which that benefit may be acquired, without ma-

terial injury to existing interests. His life is a most valuable one; and I sincerely hope it may be long preserved as a blessing to the country."

Mr Huskisson's answer was in these words:—

Somerset Place, 25th March, 1826.

"My dear Sir,

"If I deserve any portion of Finlay's praise as a minister, it is only that in which he gives me the credit of uniting some practical knowledge to theory; and if I have that knowledge in any degree, it is because I am always desirous and disposed to listen to him, and such as he, upon subjects which they understand so much better than myself.

"I had ample proof of this in the conversation to which Finlay alludes. However, it is a great comfort and satisfaction to me, to find myself supported against the clamour of some and the prejudices of others, by all that are most intelligent in that very class of the community who have the best means of forming a sound judgment on the measures which I have submitted to parliament.

"Ever yours, &c.

"W. HUSKISSON.

"J. Gladstone, Esq."

The disadvantages to the existing Corn Laws had become so apparent, and a fresh revision of them had been so strongly pressed upon government in the last session of parliament, that Mr Huskisson had been induced to give an implied promise to bring the whole subject under the consideration of the house in the course of the session of 1826. At the time when this engagement was supposed to have been incurred, it was understood that a dissolution would take place in the course of the following autumn. Contrary to expectation, this dissolution did not take place, and Mr Huskisson naturally relinquished his intention. Indeed ministers announced, on the very first day of the session, their determination not to propose any change in the existing laws during the present year, as they were unwilling to bring forward so important a subject in the then agitated condition of the country, and were still more indisposed to submit a question of such extreme intricacy and delicacy to be discussed by an expiring parliament, where it was impossible to hope it could be examined with that calm and unprejudiced consideration which it so peculiarly claimed. The subject, being thus declined by government, was introduced by Mr Whitmore, in a formal motion "for a committee to inquire

into the state of the Corn Laws," and several times afterwards became matter of discussion. On all these occasions, though advocating the necessity of delay, Mr Huskisson did not disguise his opinion that the system hitherto pursued was an erroneous one—that the change which, during ten years of peace, had been operating, both internally and externally, required a corresponding change in our legislation on this subject—or his hopes that he might see a free trade in corn established, under proper and due protection.* The business was ultimately postponed to the following year, with a full understanding that ministers should then be prepared to bring forward a new-modelling of these laws on their own responsibility.

Our parliamentary history presents no parallel in the effect produced by what, for the sake of brevity, we will again call his professional speeches, to that which Mr Huskisson was accustomed to excite, whenever he brought forward or vindicated his great plans of commercial reform. He may be said, indeed, to have formed a new era in parliamentary speaking, and to have raised his department to a consequence before unknown. Subjects which, from whatever cause, had hitherto failed in attracting that general attention which their importance might have justly demanded, were now listened to with the deepest interest; and his speeches—minute and unadorned as they were—on the unpromising topics of silk and shipping, raised an admiration and interest equal to those which attended the most eloquent expositions of his colleagues on foreign policy, or the financial statements which, year after year, announced to the public successive reductions of taxation. Nor was the effect produced by these speeches confined to this country alone. They were translated into French at Paris; and he received from France, Germany, and the United States of America, frequent congratulations on his convincing justification of the new system, and warm encouragement to pursue a course which, in its consequences, tended to the general advantage, not only of his countrymen, but of the whole civilized world.

SECT. III.—LIFE OF MR HUSKISSON CONTINUED.

The parliament was dissolved in June 1826, and Mr Huskisson was re-elected for Liverpool, after a feeble effort to raise an opposition, under the pretext that the liberal policy of the government, in respect to the relaxation of the

* Such were his views; but it could not be free while any "protection" lasted.

commercial system, had injured the native manufactures and trade of the country. No candidate could, however, be found, and the attempt fell to the ground.

As the autumn approached, the inconvenience attending the actual state of the Corn Laws became strongly apparent, and the complaints of the manufacturing classes grew louder and more frequent. The oat harvest had failed very generally, and the price had risen to that of famine. Under this pressure, the government determined to take upon itself the responsibility of permitting the importation of oats, beans, and rye, and an order in council was accordingly issued for that purpose. But as this order was in contravention of the existing laws, it became necessary to assemble the new parliament, in order to enable ministers to apply for an act of indemnity. The two houses accordingly met about the middle of November, and an indemnity bill was passed without opposition; ministers, at the same time, giving a pledge that, after the christmas recess, they would be prepared to bring forward a plan for a general revision of the Corn Laws. This plan had been matured and digested during the autumn by Lord Liverpool and Mr Huskisson, who had spared no labour to procure authentic information on this difficult subject, or pains to frame such a bill as might conciliate at once the conflicting interests both of the grower and consumer; and it had been decided in the cabinet that, in order to stamp the measure with greater authority, it should be brought forward, in the one house by Lord Liverpool, and in the other by Mr Canning, as the two leading ministers.

The close attention with which Mr Huskisson had applied himself to public business, during the last two years, and the deep anxiety which he naturally felt for the accomplishment and success of his new measures, had visibly shaken a constitution already impaired by the excitement he had undergone in the winter of 1822. His spirits, too, had certainly suffered; for however philosophically he outwardly bore himself, against the calumnies with which he was assailed, those who saw and watched him in his hours of retirement, could perceive that the shaft had not been shot altogether in vain, and that his generous nature sometimes sank* under the reiterated

* The following extract is taken from a MS. book found, after his death, in a private box.

“Whatever pains I have taken for the improvement and simplification of the laws which regulate our commerce and industry, I have taken it all for the sake of the public interest. So far from serving any interest of my own, I have gained the ill-will and enmity of many, partly secret, partly declared—painful to myself, but not useless, perhaps, to the country.”

attacks of his malignant persecutors, who pursued him, as Mr Canning expressed it, "in the same doctrine and spirit which embittered the life of Turgot and consigned Galileo to the dungeons of the Inquisition."

The year 1827—so fruitful in melancholy occurrences—was ushered in by the death of the Duke of York. Mr Huskisson, who had before been slightly indisposed, suffered much from the severity of the cold during his attendance at the funeral, and he there laid the foundation of that complaint in the throat from the effects of which he never wholly recovered. He returned to Earham on the 21st of January, and on the 24th Mr Canning arrived there from Bath, where he had been to visit Lord Liverpool, and to make arrangements for the approaching session. His appearance bore evident signs of lurking malady, and the day after his arrival he had a sharp access of cold and fever; but finding himself better on the following morning, he proceeded to join his family at Brighton, and a few days afterwards Mr Huskisson removed to London. On the day when Lord Liverpool was struck with apoplexy, Mr Huskisson had been ordered not to leave the house, and the intelligence did not therefore reach him till about four o'clock in the afternoon. His anxiety to ascertain the particulars induced him to go immediately to Fife House, and this imprudence, and the excitement which ensued from the interruption of public business, produced in a few days a decided attack of inflammation on the trachea.

It has been supposed by many that, had the political life of Lord Liverpool not been thus suddenly terminated, it was the intention of that nobleman to have retired from his high office at the close of the present session. His Lordship, it has been said, felt that the time was fast approaching when the claims of the Catholics could no longer be resisted with prudence; and although he deemed it necessary for his own consistency that the concession should not be made while he remained chief minister of the crown, he had resolved, if not to give it his active support, at least to exert his powerful influence in mitigating the opposition which it had hitherto experienced in the House of Lords. With these feelings, his Lordship contemplated Mr Canning as his natural successor, and would not only have given him his cordial assistance, but would, probably, when the Catholic question had once been disposed of, have resumed his seat in the cabinet, in some office of a less laborious nature than that of first minister.

Whatever may have been the authority for these surmises, or the probability of these speculations, certain it is that never was there a more unfortunate or more perplexing state

of things than now commenced. The nature of Lord Liverpool's illness was such as to preclude all hopes of-recovery. Mr Canning, to whom, as the leading minister in the House of Commons, the charge of introducing the corn bill had been delegated by his colleagues, had had a relapse, and was confined to his bed at Brighton; and Mr Huskisson was not permitted to quit his room in London. It was, nevertheless, extremely desirable, nay, almost absolutely necessary, that he should communicate personally with Mr Canning, before the corn bill was brought forward, as, although the latter had undertaken to open the discussion, in order to stamp the measure more authoritatively with the sanction of government, the subject was one as foreign to the natural bent of his genius, and to the usual duties of his department, as it was familiar to the pursuits and habits of the president of the Board of Trade. Mr Huskisson's medical advisers, however, peremptorily refused to allow him to leave London, and he was consequently necessitated to convey to Mr Canning, through the medium of a confidential friend, those explanations of detail and calculation which were so indispensable towards unfolding the scheme clearly and intelligibly in the House of Commons.

To increase the complicated embarrassments of the moment, the Catholic question was again to be discussed, and Mr Canning's anxiety to be present, and eagerness for the result, were known to be overwhelming. It came on in March, and the hopes of the Catholics were once more defeated. It was with considerable difficulty that Mr Huskisson could be detained from this debate; but a sure anti-Catholic voter having been procured to pair off with him, he reluctantly submitted to the commands of the physician.

By the beginning of April, Mr Huskisson's health was sufficiently re-established to allow him to go to Lord Stafford's, at Wimbeldon, for change of air; but he did not resume his place in the House of Commons till after the Easter recess. On the 7th of May, after several postponements, and a long and threatening note of preparation, General Gascoyne brought forward his motion for a committee to inquire into the distressed state of the shipping interest; when Mr Huskisson, for the last time as president of the Board of Trade, undertook the vindication of the recent changes in the commercial policy of the country, and in a speech characterized by the most statesman-like views and sentiments, and abounding in the most valuable commercial information, overthrew the allegations of his opponents, not only by the most convincing reasoning, but by the clearest arithmetical proofs.

The conclusion of his reply to an attack on him made in the House of Lords by the Earl of Lauderdale, may safely be recommended to the diligent study of all who have a share in the councils of the nation in these eventful times. Let them be assured that there never was a sounder truth advanced, than that "this country cannot stand still whilst others are advancing in science, in industry, in everything which contributes to increase the power of empires, and to multiply the means of enjoyment and comfort to civilized man; this country cannot stand still so long as there exists a free press out of doors to collect and embody, and a free discussion in parliament to guide and direct, the influence of public opinion." Let the opposers of improvement lay this to their hearts, and be assured that it is in vain they array their feeble powers against the irresistible march of improvement which now pervades the civilized world.

It is barely rendering justice to the press to acknowledge that, throughout the progress of these changes in our commercial policy, Mr Huskisson met with a steady disinterested support from some of the most able of the daily journals, a support the more honourable to them, as they were politically opposed to the administration of which he formed a part. It is from one of these, *The Times*, that we copy the following remarks on this speech:—

"We look upon Mr Huskisson to be the most useful minister that England has had to boast of for many years. It is not merely that he has reasoned upon experimental questions with more discrimination and acuteness than his neighbours, but that he has watched the relative play of the national interests upon each other, with more patient and steady vigilance; embracing gradually and leisurely within his view a wider field of facts by which to qualify his principles, as well as to support them; and thus coming to the executive duties of a statesman armed with that especial branch and order of knowledge, by which those who designate themselves as 'practical politicians' profess to require that the affairs of nations should be judged, and by which Mr Huskisson has abundantly proved that your men of 'practice' when they abuse their opportunities, can best be exposed and silenced.

"The right honourable gentleman has just published, after a careful revision, his recent speech upon the state of the shipping interest. In that speech he has done more for the cause of common sense and rectitude in legislation than we have often seen effected by more ponderous and presuming means. The great beauty of this discourse is its perfect

simplicity. The documents referred to are so decisive—the demonstration offered is so clear and absolute—that the mind of the reader seems almost passive in its reception of the important and triumphant truth contended for by the minister whose system of policy has been on trial. Instead of the decline of British Shipping, consequent, as was alleged, on the partial opening of the navigation laws, it comes out, as plain as figures can make it, that, with the single exception of the silk trade—which appears to have been saved, instead of sacrificed, by the liberal regulations of the right honourable gentleman—the trade in ships has suffered less from the general revulsion of commerce since 1825 than any other department of national industry in this empire.

“ We shall not weaken the impression which a perusal of this pamphlet *must* infallibly produce upon the brain of any but a madman, by quoting particular sentences or tables, in testimony of the overthrow inflicted by Mr Huskisson on the very ignorant, or very little scrupulous, complaints brought against him, on behalf of those whose sentiments the other member for Liverpool was delegated, on the above occasion, to make known. But this much it is only fair to mention. The year 1825, being one so distinguished, or disgraced, by wild and immeasurable speculation, that no candid man would think of taking the forced importations of that disastrous year as a standard of comparison for any that preceded or may follow it—so is it obvious that, in relation to shipping no less than cotton, we must exclude the year 1825 from among the general bases of reasoning with regard to commercial prosperity or decay. With that exception, then, it is manifest from the tables that, in the year 1826, the British shipping inwards contained above 100,000 tons, and employed above 8,000 seamen more than 1824, while the shipping outwards not only exceeded every former year since 1814, but even that of 1825 itself, by upwards of 140,000 tons, and by more than 2,000 seamen. The speech ought, indeed, to be made the manual of every body who wishes for proof in matters of legislation, or who desires a sample of the dangers which might befall this country were implicit credit to be given by parliament to the assertions of interested men.”

In May, Mr Whitmore brought forward a motion for a select committee to inquire into the East-India trade. Mr Huskisson maintained the propriety of postponing the inquiry; and the statement which he made of his views on this important question proved so satisfactory to the house, that all parties joined in supporting his suggestion, and Mr Whitmore

not only consented to withdraw his motion, but expressed his readiness to leave the subject entirely in his hands. In the course of the same month, Mr Huskisson took occasion, on the presentation of a petition of the wool-growers of Dorsetshire, to explain the policy which had guided the alterations made in the duties and regulations affecting the wool-trade; and to exhibit the causes which had produced the immense increase in the growth of wool abroad, especially in Germany. He did not, unfortunately, live to hear how completely the soundness of his arguments and of his views, respecting this valuable branch of our manufactures, had been proved.

If the opposition in the House of Commons was not yet prepared for any great display of their forces, in the House of Lords it assumed a bolder front. When the new corn bill was sent up, the Duke of Wellington most unexpectedly appeared as the leader of the opposition to a measure which had been proposed and matured under the immediate superintendence of Lord Liverpool, and which had received the full approbation of the cabinet during the time that his Grace had belonged to it. In this opposition he was supported by Lord Bathurst, and an amendment, ruinous to the principle of the bill, was carried against all the efforts of ministers. The bill, thus vitiated, was abandoned altogether, but not without some sharp animadversions upon the conduct of those whose sudden change of opinion had proved fatal to it.

Certain resolutions respecting the corn trade were subsequently brought forward by Mr Western, to which Mr Canning moved and carried an amendment, which might, in some measure, palliate the inconveniences and disappointment arising from the loss of Lord Liverpool's bill. In the course of the discussions, he stated his "earnest wish that one of the first acts of the legislature, in the ensuing year, might be to reconsider the act of the present session, and his belief that, by the experience which the house should then have had, they would possess the best means of entering on that reconsideration."

The conduct of the Duke of Wellington upon this occasion was attempted to be justified, both by himself and his friends, upon the alleged misconception of a note of Mr Huskisson. This misconception, however, was no sooner known than it had been explained by a second note. The explanation, nevertheless, failed in quelling the opposition which was said to have been founded on the misconception, and the country, which had looked with so much natural anxiety to the passing of the corn bill, was doomed to disappointment.*

* Vide Speech of the 18th June 1827.

The session was closed on the 2d of July, and about the middle of the month Mr Huskisson who had been earnestly recommended by his physicians to try whether the air of the continent, and a total abstraction from business, might not have a beneficial effect on his debilitated frame, left England for Calais. On the day before his departure, he saw Mr Canning, who received him in bed. Struck with the alteration in his looks, Mr Huskisson remarked to him, that he seemed to be the person who stood most in need of change of air and of relaxation. Mr Canning answered in a cheerful tone, "Oh ! it is only the reflection of the yellow linings of the curtains." This was on the 18th of July. On the 19th Mr Huskisson embarked at the Tower, accompanied by Mrs Huskisson and his private secretary. On landing at Calais, with the ill-luck which constantly pursued him, he entangled his foot in a cable, and lacerated it so severely, that he was unable to walk for some days. The party rapidly crossed France to Strasburg, and, after a short visit to Baden, proceeded, by the route of Stuttgardt and Augsburg, to Munich. Here Mr Huskisson was induced to remain a few days in the society of Sir Brooke Taylor the English minister, and then passed on to Salzburg, intending to go to Bad Gestein, the mountainous and bracing air of which had been strongly recommended to him. At Salzburg he learnt that there would, probably, be much difficulty in procuring accommodations, and though provided with letters of introduction from the different ambassadors in England, and more particularly from the Prince Esterhazy, yet such was his dislike to anything that savoured of parade or ostentation, that instead of sending forward a courier to Gestein, or presenting his letters to the governor of Salzburg, he quietly relinquished his plan, and turned back to Innsbruck. On the 11th of August, he reached Innsbruck, and the 12th was the first day on which he appeared really to have derived benefit from his tour. He had recovered from his lameness, and was much pleased with a long walk to the Chateau d'Amras and its environs. Here, too, he had the satisfaction of receiving letters from London, mentioning Mr Canning's convalescence; and on the 13th, the party set off for the Pass of the Monte Spluga, in better spirits and with brighter hopes than they had yet felt. On that night they slept at Landeck, and on the following afternoon reached Feldkirch, in the Vorarlberg.

Mr Huskisson's health was now decidedly improving. He had been much interested in the beautiful scenery of the Tyrol, and his mind was recovering its wonted elasticity and playfulness, too soon to be again painfully unstrung. Early

on the morning of the 15th instant, just as they were setting off for Coire, an estaffette from Sir Brooke Taylor came in, bearing a letter from Lord Granville at Paris, to announce the alarming turn which Mr Canning's illness had taken. The route was instantly changed, and on the 20th the party reached the hotel of the English embassy at Paris, having travelled as fast as his own strength and that of Mrs Huskisson would permit.

The fatal termination of Mr Canning's illness had become known to him on the road; but without any of the particulars, or any of the ministerial arrangements subsequently proposed; and Mr Huskisson's impression—more than once expressed to his companions on the road—was, that his own political career had closed for ever. The meeting with Lord Granville, the painful details which he had to learn, and the rapidity with which he had travelled, completely exhausted both his physical and moral strength, and rendered some repose absolutely necessary. Nor did the melancholy incitement to tax either beyond their power, in the hope of paying the last mark of public and private regard to his departed friend, then exist; for the funeral of Mr Canning had taken place on the 16th, the day after the estaffette reached Feldkirch.

But, beyond the considerations arising from the state of his own health, Mr Huskisson was decided to remain a few days in Paris, in order to receive some official and definite information respecting the proposed arrangements for supplying the loss of Mr Canning, and continuing the existing administration. The expresses which had been dispatched from England had taken a different route from that by which Mr Huskisson had returned; and it was very desirable that either the letters, of which they were the bearers, or fresh ones, should explain to him, before he pursued his journey to England, what were the intentions of the remaining members of the administration in regard to the re-modelling of the government, as, should he decide on declining any proposals made to him, his plan was to have tried the effect of a winter in the south of Europe; and it has already been stated that the inclination of his mind, from the first moment in which he heard of the death of his friend and colleague, was to listen to the warning voice of his medical friends, and to withdraw entirely from public life.

On the 23d, one of the expresses arrived. The letters from Lord Goderich communicated that he had accepted the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and conveyed an offer couched in the most friendly and handsome terms, of the colonial department, which he had vacated, to Mr Huskisson.

Further letters from England announced that Mr Grant was, in the event of these proposals being accepted, to succeed to the presidency of the Board of Trade, and that Lord Lansdowne and the remaining members of Mr Canning's government had declared their acquiescence in these arrangements. All the letters pressed Mr Huskisson's return without loss of time, and mentioned that the King had expressed his earnest wishes that no delay might take place in his assuming his new office.

It was not without considerable hesitation—not, it may safely be asserted, without considerable reluctance—that Mr Huskisson was persuaded to decide upon continuing in office. His secret inclinations certainly leant the other way, and he only yielded at last to the arguments and expostulations of his friends, who represented the dissolution of the government, and the consequent annihilation of Mr Canning's system of policy, as the too probable result of his refusal—arguments and expostulations, it is said, which were enforced by the special command of the King.

That a latent doubt whether his own physical energies were equal to the demands of the new department, over which he was destined to preside, joined to a state of great anxiety and mental depression, arising from the recent misfortune which had deprived him of the friend and colleague, to whose person and policy he was equally attached, and with whom all the recollections of his public life were so intimately and inseparably associated, contributed to foster his present reluctance, is certain; but it may be fairly presumed that this reluctance might be further increased by a natural fear whether any other hand than that of Mr Canning would be found strong enough to hold together the scarcely, as yet, well cemented elements of which the government was composed, in the face of all the difficulties which threatened it, and the various obstacles which were thrown in its way. It would almost seem that Mr Huskisson had felt a prophetic misgiving of those complicated and unexpected accidents, which, in a few months, overwhelmed this ill-fated administration; so unwillingly did he give his final assent.

He left Paris on the 25th, and on his road to Boulogne received other dispatches, which, in the announcement of the nomination of Mr Herries as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of the misunderstanding consequent upon it, proved the first confirmation of his apprehensions, and shewed how reasonable had been the doubts which had delayed his own determination. He reached London on the 28th, and on the following morning waited on the King at Windsor, who had

been impatiently expecting him. A long negotiation commenced, and after some explanations, and much difficulty, Lord Lansdowne, at his Majesty's special request, consented to withdraw the resignation which he had tendered; Mr Huskisson at the same time accepted the seals of the colonial department, and Mr Herries was sworn in as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He had now an opportunity of following up those important commercial regulations, with respect to our colonial policy, which had occupied so much of his attention at the board of trade, and of giving to the improvement, and careful revision of the colonial system, all the resources of his powerful mind. He did not long remain idle. Within less than a month after his appointment, an official dispatch was addressed by him to Sir John Keane, the lieutenant governor of Jamaica, which was dated the 22d of September, and filled seven columns of the Jamaica Gazette. This dispatch may safely be pronounced to be a document not less remarkable for the circumstances under which it was composed, than intrinsically valuable and important for the ability with which it was executed. The interval between Mr Huskisson's return and his entrance upon the duties of the colonial department, had been filled with anxious and unremitting exertions to consolidate the new ministry; yet, with all the distractions of an unpractised cabinet, in which he bore his full share, and under the pressure of severe affliction, and of impaired and precarious health, his indefatigable mind found time, in this short period, to master the almost endless details of those thorny and repulsive subjects, which had cost a year's labour to the house of assembly, and produced a dispatch, marked throughout with temper, discrimination, comprehensive sagacity, statesmanlike power, and a disregard of all selfish clamour—a dispatch which, whether it be regarded as an analysis of a vast mass of political questions, or as calculated for the correction of a series of legislative errors, and the guidance of a deliberative body, has seldom been surpassed. Mr Huskisson's purpose was to state the objections of the government at home to the very inefficacious manner in which the house of assembly of Jamaica attempted, or professed, to carry into execution the principles laid down by the British parliament, and to fulfil the instructions transmitted by Lord Bathurst. The task was a most ungracious one, but it was performed by a master-hand. So much compression of matter will seldom be found in an official paper of such voluminous dimensions. Full of all the distinguishing characteristics of his great speeches—of per-

fect courtesy, of admirable simplicity and clearness, of vigour of application, and decision of judgment,—it contains no phrase which is not fraught with some forcible and essential argument, and exhibits the writer possessed with his subject, but holding it under the easiest and most absolute control.

But the labours of Mr Huskisson in the colonial department of his office soon received a serious interruption. The intelligence which reached England in November of the Battle of Navarino, and the difficulties which shortly after arose in other quarters, paralyzed the proceedings of government, and threw everything into a state of doubt and confusion. At length, towards the close of the year, it became generally understood that Lord Goderich's administration had melted away like a snow-wreath, and that measures were in progress for forming a new one. An ineffectual attempt had been previously made to avert the entire dissolution of the existing government. By command of his Majesty, Mr Huskisson opened a communication with Lord Harrowby. His Lordship waited upon the King at Windsor, but no inducements could prevail upon him to accept the post of prime minister, to which he pleaded his want of health as an insurmountable objection, and this proposed arrangement fell to the ground. A yet further delay then ensued; and there are strong grounds for believing that, had Mr Huskisson listened to the voice of ambition, the situation of minister was within his grasp: but the recent fate of Mr Canning was a warning which might have deterred a mind more full of aspiring ambition than Mr Huskisson's from accepting, under parallel circumstances, that post, which the fiat of the aristocracy had declared should be held only by one of their own order. After another short interval of doubt, the commission to form a new administration was finally entrusted to the Duke of Wellington; and before January expired, the new arrangements were made public.

The accusations of Mr Canning's friends against Mr Huskisson for taking office with the Duke of Wellington and Mr Peel were bitter; and the arguments in justification lengthened and long continued.

On being appointed to the secretaryship of the colonies, he vacated his seat for Liverpool according to constitutional custom: but was re-elected without opposition, and took his seat in the House of Commons on 11th of February. In the interval, much notice had been attracted to the report of something which was said to have fallen from him during his election, when explaining the motives of his continuance in office, respecting certain guarantees received from the Duke

of Wellington; and some unpleasant and angry feelings were manifested, which augured ill for the cordiality of future proceedings. Several allusions were made to this expression in both houses, and the Duke of Wellington rather warmly repudiated the idea that he could have been guilty of giving any guarantee for his future conduct. The business was, however, satisfactorily explained by Mr Huskisson on the 18th of February, when Lord Normanby brought on a discussion respecting the dissolution of the last, and the conduct of Mr Huskisson in joining the present government, and the letter which was read from Mr Shepherd on that occasion set the question of the "guarantee" finally at rest.*

The high estimation in which Mr Huskisson was held was strikingly manifested when the appointment of the committee of finance was moved. He had declined being placed upon it, from a feeling that neither his official duties nor the state of his health would allow of his regular attendance on this arduous investigation. The list of names having been read, Mr Baring rose and observed that, "without any disrespect to the members composing the committee, I may be permitted to say that the whole aggregate amount of their financial knowledge bears no proportion to that possessed by the right honourable gentleman. His information and research have penetrated into every corner of our financial and commercial systems, and to except him from the committee is to shut out the greatest light that can be thrown upon the subjects to be therein discussed." To this high eulogium Mr Brougham added, that "the knowledge of all the other members combined was as nothing, as dust in the balance, compared with the resources of his mind." Proud and unimpeachable testimonies, extorted from the candour of political opponents, at a moment when party feelings were so strongly inflamed! Mr Huskisson was consequently induced to forego his objections, and his name was added to the committee.

He now again, to use his own words, "applied himself earnestly and indefatigably to the amelioration of the colonial system, to strengthen the bonds which attached our distant possessions to the mother country, and to bring forward, expound, improve, and perfect, measures connected with the foreign commerce and the internal industry of this country"—objects to which his attention had been long sedulously applied. Strong hopes were entertained that leisure would be afforded for following up and realizing the expectations which

* Mr Huskisson always expressed himself warmly sensible of the very handsome and liberal conduct of Mr Shepherd, at a moment when party animosities were so highly excited.

had been raised on his first appointment to his present important office, and that his administration of the colonial department would be signalized by reforms and improvements similar to those which had marked the period during which he presided at the Board of Trade. If the hopes and expectations of the public were not completely realized—if the benefits derived from his direction did not entirely reach the high character which his former services and achievements had established—it must be taken into consideration that, independently of those very delicate and complicated questions of colonial policy with which he had to deal—the condition of the slave population of our West India colonies, the discontent and dissensions which prevailed in Canada, and the state of the rapidly increasing population of our Australian possessions—he was obliged, at the same time, to keep up an active official correspondence with the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, the critical position of which, with regard to Greece, was of a nature to require the greatest precautions—while the embarrassments of our foreign policy, and the long discussions on the preparation of the corn bill, every figure of which gave rise to almost interminable alterations and endless expedients to reconcile the different opinions of the opposing parties, perpetually called him off from the business of his department to deliberations of a more general nature. To these interruptions may be added the proceedings which unsettled the latter part of Lord Goderich's administration, the interregnum which succeeded, the re-election for Liverpool, and, finally, a fatiguing attendance on the finance committee. It is not, then, to be wondered at, that the eight months during which Mr Huskisson held the seals of the colonial office, however indefatigable his labours, offered to the public rather the preparations for, and the earnest of, what a longer continuance there might have ripened and brought forth, than much that was actually accomplished.

But besides his correspondence with Sir John Keane, to which we have already adverted, the few months of Mr Huskisson's colonial administration were marked by other important measures—by the appointment of a committee to examine into the state of the Canadas, where strong dissatisfaction and growing discontent had long prevailed—by a bill to provide for the administration of justice in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and by the first step towards the accomplishment of an object which, in common with every friend of humanity, he had earnestly at heart—the gradual reduction of our establishments on the slave

coast of Africa—the withdrawing of our garrisons from the forts on the Gold Coast.*

His Correspondence with the governors of the West India colonies sufficiently proves how earnestly he endeavoured to impress on the colonial legislatures the necessity as well as wisdom of giving effect, without delay, to the resolutions of the British parliament, and how carefully and steadily he applied himself to devise means materially to improve the civil and moral condition of the slave population. The speeches which he delivered on moving the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the Canadas, and on the discussions of the bill for the regulation of the government of New South Wales, are not only full of the most liberal sentiments respecting the treatment by the mother country of those important colonies, but exhibit such an intimate knowledge of their present state and comprehensive views for their future prosperity, as could only have been acquired by the most patient research and impartial communication with every source of information which was open to him.

Mr Huskisson, with the other members of government in the House of Commons, opposed Lord John Russell's bill for the repeal of the test and corporation acts; but his opposition on this occasion did not impugn the sincerity of his principles in favour of religious toleration, and he thus explained and defended the grounds of it:—"I am not, abstractedly, unfriendly to the proposition, but I cannot assent to it, because I am sure that, with reference to the Catholic claims, it will make a bad impression. I am convinced that the present measure, so far from being a step in favour of the Catholic claims, would, if successful, be the means of arraying an additional power against them."†

* In the month of May 1830 a conversation arose in the House of Commons on the abuses of the colonial system, when Mr Marryatt paid the following honourable compliment to the exertions made by Mr Huskisson, and to the hopes derived from them, during the short period in which he held the seals of that department:—

"The task is truly Herculean; but I trust, as there exists the desire, so the means of reformation will not be wanting. I should state that, during the short period in which the right honourable member for Liverpool held the seals of the colonial office, a ray of light beamed upon this unfortunate colony, (the Cape of Good Hope.) The energetic measures of reformation which he had time only to commence, and which gave a promise of brighter days, ceased however with his removal from office. That event was much regretted by the colonists, who had begun to congratulate themselves on being under the control of a minister who was both willing and able to carry his beneficial plans into effect."

† He referred to the fact that many religions seeking toleration for themselves would only use the power to continue the exclusion of the Catholics.

On these impressions he founded his opposition to the bill, and though, fortunately, those impressions proved afterwards, to a certain extent, erroneous, yet were they not wholly visionary.

The months of March and April were principally consumed in debates upon the corn bill; and from the tone of the discussions, the public thought they could gather a confirmation of the reports which had very generally prevailed, of considerable dissensions among the ministers respecting the provisions of the bill. Neither Mr Grant nor Mr Huskisson professed to consider the scale of duties as without objection, and contented themselves with recommending the arrangement as the best which, under all circumstances, could be at present realized.

However strong the suspicions of disunion in the cabinet, no open proof appeared to confirm them, and with the passing of the corn bill, whatever differences of opinion might have occurred, were supposed to have subsided the cause which had provoked them. Without entering upon the Corn Laws here, we have Mr Huskisson's own authority, on a later occasion, for stating that, "however expedient to prevent other evils in the present state of the country, they are in themselves a burthen and a restraint upon its manufacturing and commercial industry."

Mr Huskisson knew that he was regarded with a suspicious and jealous eye by what is termed the agricultural interest, and in the course of the debates on the propriety of disfranchising East Retford, and transferring the right of election to one of the great manufacturing towns, he thus plainly alluded to the circumstance:—"It has sometimes been said, I know not on what grounds, that I am not a friend to the agricultural interest; but I feel the less uneasy under an imputation of that nature, as I am persuaded that an enlarged view of the policy which I have always recommended cannot fail to lead to the conclusion that I have uniformly supported those principles which are best calculated to promote the general interests of each class, and, as a consequence, the good of the whole community."

On the 19th of May 1828, on the question of transferring the representation from the corrupt borough of East Retford to Birmingham, Mr Huskisson opposed his colleagues and supported the measure. As a matter of official courtesy he placed his resignation in the hands of the Duke of Wellington, hardly thinking it would be acted upon. But the Duke, as prime minister, acted on it, took it to the King, and advised its acceptance.

The following session, 1829, was principally occupied with the all-engrossing subject of the Catholic relief bill. Nothing could have redounded more to the honour of those distinguished persons, who had so long been the zealous and consistent advocates of such a measure, than their conduct during the whole of the discussions. Far from taunting the ministers who initiated the bill with their former opinions, they were content to yield to them the glory of this great act of justice.

All other questions dwindled into insignificance before the importance of this. Our foreign policy was forgotten or placed in abeyance, and modern times scarcely afford an instance of a session in which the opposition to government—that only excepted which was offered to the Catholic bill by the zealous Protestant party—has been so completely suspended. But notwithstanding that all general and organized opposition to the ministers was stilled by this long-wished-for boon, many discussions arose of public interest, in which Mr Huskisson took a prominent part, and displayed his profound knowledge and liberal views. When the state of the silk trade was once more brought under the consideration of parliament by Mr Fyler, the member for Coventry, Mr Huskisson came forward to maintain and defend those principles of trade which he had so long advocated, and declared that experience only confirmed him in the conviction that a gradual relaxation of the restrictive system was invariably followed by a gradual improvement in manufactures, commerce, and revenue. Mr Baring having alluded to the vituperation, the endless obloquy and calumny, which had been heaped upon him, as the organ of the government by which the changes in our commercial system had been effected, Mr Huskisson avowed that all this he had foreseen and been prepared to encounter, at the time when he felt it his duty to recommend those alterations; but he had also received his reward. In defending the principles, and exposing the advantages, of the new system, he more particularly called the attention of the house “to the fact, unprecedented in our history, that for fifteen years this country had enjoyed a commercial peace with the world—that, for the first time during so many years, parliament had not been called upon by the crown to protect, with a naval and military force, some colonial or commercial right, or to resist some commercial outrage.”* Perhaps there will nowhere be

* This remark was repeated by Mr Huskisson on several occasions. It was one on which he felt particular satisfaction in dwelling; and his conviction in the wisdom of his system was strengthened by the consideration that three-fourths of the wars which have desolated Europe for the last two centuries had

found, in the numerous speeches of Mr Huskisson, a passage more exquisite than the peroration of this case presents. Its effect was conclusive, and the silk question, that fertile source of debate for the last four sessions, now received its quietus.

In all the discussions which arose with respect to the future arrangements to be made on the renewal of the East-India Company's charter, Mr Huskisson took a warm interest, both as member for Liverpool and in reference to the great public commercial interests involved in it. But he did not confine his views to the limits of commercial considerations. His enlightened mind embraced topics of infinitely higher importance—topics which involved the tranquillity and happiness of millions of subjects, who looked to this country for protection—the improvement in civilization, the increase of comforts, and the exaltation of the moral character of the natives of India. All these formed cogent reasons for a full, fair, and deliberate inquiry into the condition of that vast empire, and into the manner in which its government was conducted and its intercourse with this country managed. Upon an understanding, however, that the government itself would move for the appointment of a committee to investigate the whole question in the following session, he acquiesced in the delay of a year. At the same time he frankly declared that his impressions were strongly in favour of further relaxations, and pointed to Singapore as a glorious instance of the immense advantages derivable from free trade. With respect to China, he used this forcible expression:—"Seize the advantages which present themselves to your grasp, even now, while you yet may;" and added, as his opinion, "that the question of a more extended intercourse with that country might—if a committee were appointed—be arranged at an earlier period than the expiration of the charter in 1834.

Here, as on so many other occasions, he incurred the displeasure of the zealots of both extremes. While the directors of the East India Company regarded him as harbouring the wish to invade their chartered rights, the opposite party reproached him for recommending a postponement till the following year.

had their origin in the irritation caused by commercial prohibition, and that, if there were any human invention by which a state of universal and perpetual peace could be secured, the secret of it would be found in a free trade, the application of which might bind nations together by the strongest and most indissoluble ties of which mankind is susceptible—those of common interest and reciprocal advantage.

It is probable that Mr Huskisson felt an additional interest in the settlement of the India question, and that he had turned his mind more closely to the consideration of it, from the circumstance that it had more than once been proposed to him to proceed thither. The government of Madras had been offered to him previous to the appointment of Sir Thomas Monro, and it was principally from the opinions of his medical advisers, as well as from his own indifference to wealth, that he determined to decline it. At a later period there is little reason to doubt that the supreme government of India might have been his. It is true that a positive offer was not made to him, but it certainly was hinted at, and the hint rejected without a moment's hesitation, his constitution being then far too debilitated to allow him to entertain the idea of a residence in a hot climate.

So often as the opportunity presented itself did Mr Huskisson endeavour to impress upon the government the wisdom of reducing the amount of unfunded debt in the hands of the bank. Of the necessity of this he appears to have been long sensible; but in the latter years of his life he became even more alive to the importance of some arrangement by which the evil might be alleviated. Accordingly, in this, as in the preceding and following session, we find him thus referring to his recorded opinions on this subject—“My right honourable friends know that I have long entertained and pressed, and I will continue to press, the expediency and importance—with a view to the best interests of the country and the ultimate safety of its credit—of the reduction of the amount of unfunded debt in the hands of the bank, in order to have our funds more at our own disposal.”

Two other valuable speeches were made this session. In one may be discovered, mixed up with many other important topics, the views which Mr Huskisson entertained of the benefits to be derived from an extended application of the principles of colonization and emigration; while in the other he urged the reduction of the duties on sugar, and the advantages which might result from rendering this country the entrepot of the sugar of the world, and thus giving employment to its capital and operatives in refining sugar for the markets of Europe.

One of the great and favourite objects of his commercial policy, and one which he never lost sight of, was the promotion of every measure which might be calculated to make England the great entrepot of the world. It was with this view that he had shewn himself so desirous that foreign cop-

per ores might be allowed to be smelted in England for the purposes of exportation—a permission which was vehemently opposed by the proprietors of mines in this country. The quantity and richness of the South American ores, with which ours could in nowise compete, and the facilities which were offered for their transport, in the convenient shape of ballast for our vessels employed in the cotton trade, had not escaped his observation; and he feared that if we neglected to avail ourselves of the present opening, capital might be found for forming establishments for the purpose of smelting these ores on the coast of South America, or that some more enterprising nation might rob us of the advantages which he foresaw might be drawn from their being brought as a raw commodity to this country, to be again exported in a more advanced stage of refinement.

In the month of August, Mr Huskisson paid a visit to his constituents at Liverpool. It was the first time he had met them as a private individual; and although no longer arrayed in the dignities and influence which high office confers—although the moment was one in which the industry and commerce of this country, in common with those of the whole world, were labouring under considerable depression—his reception was as honourable to the good taste and feeling of the commercial community of that great port as it was gratifying to himself. He also visited Manchester for the first time; but though much pressed, refused to accept a public dinner.

In the history of the session of 1830, his name is found frequently occurring in discussions of general interest and importance. It became obvious that his long experience and unrivalled abilities for business were giving to him a greater weight and importance in parliament than he had ever before possessed. Whilst, out of doors, his accession to office was regarded by a very large and enlightened part of the public as essential to the interests of the country.

Nominated a member of the East India committee, he devoted himself assiduously to acquire, from the best sources, a correct and intimate knowledge of the extent and regulations of the various branches of commercial intercourse included in the company's charter. The interest which he was known to feel on this important topic, and the reputation which he enjoyed as the great champion of all improvement and as the advocate for a liberal and comprehensive system of national and commercial policy, procured for him the most unreserved communications from all those who looked forward to a relaxation in our trade with the East; and these

advantages, joined to the clearness of his intellect and the aptitude of his interrogatories, enabled him to draw from witnesses, evidently reluctant, the most important admissions. It was in the management of an investigation like this that Mr Huskisson was, perhaps, unequalled, and vindicated the proud eulogium bestowed on him by Mr Canning. Quick-sighted and perspicuous in his views, his mind was never diverted from its object, and he speedily detected the fallacies, and swept away the web in which it was frequently attempted to entangle the question; whilst the temper and quietness with which he conducted his examinations, offered no grounds of complaint even to the most adverse witnesses.

Although the principal part of the inquiry of this session was directed to the particular consideration of the China trade, yet it was well understood that his views with regard to our Indian empire were of the most enlarged nature, and embraced not only improvements in the commercial, but such changes in the financial and agricultural systems, as well as in the administration of civil and criminal justice, as must ultimately tend to a material amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants of those distant possessions. He had long observed with regret the slow progress which was made in the cultivation of some of the great staple commodities of India. It was only very lately that any care or attention had been paid to the quality of their raw silk, and he was often known to point out and dwell upon a singular circumstance which had occurred in the course of this year, in the importation of a cargo of raw cotton from New South Wales, where the cultivation of that article had only been recently introduced, which was of a quality infinitely superior to any that had ever been brought from the East Indies, where it had long formed the principal, indeed nearly the only, manufacture of the country. When it is considered that about forty years ago the production of indigo in the East Indies was entirely in the hands of the natives; that the article then produced was inferior and the trade inconsiderable; and when it is known that, since British subjects have been allowed to cultivate it, its growth in other countries is nearly superseded, and that British India supplies the markets of the world; there is surely to be found, in this circumstance alone, sufficient reason to hope that, were British capital and skill permitted to be employed in the cultivation of the other productions of India, similar important result may be obtained.

Deaf to the admonitions of reason and experience, and obstinately blind to the change which had taken place in the feelings of the public since the East Retford question was

first discussed in 1828, as well as to the increasing interest with which the subject was now regarded by all descriptions of people, ministers determined to persevere in the course which they had so imprudently adopted, and to use the utmost influence of government in rejecting any alteration in their plan. But the signs of the times were not lost upon a mind like that of Mr Huskisson. Everything which had occurred since the question had been last agitated—everything which was passing around him—everything in the condition of the country—convinced him that the circumstances of the moment demanded a greater measure of severity towards this case of notorious and flagrant corruption than a mere extension of the franchise to the adjoining hundred.

Accordingly, when the disfranchisement bill was once more brought forward, Mr Huskisson again raised his warning voice, and emphatically urged the wisdom and justice of transferring the elective franchise to Birmingham. Again he pointed out the immense importance of this measure in reference to the general question of reform, and avowed his conviction that it was of the utmost consequence to deal with the present case, so as best to guard against the growing danger of sweeping reform on principles too abstract and general. This he declared to be his sincere and deliberate belief; and he, therefore, called upon those who thought with him to take up this defensive position against the difficulties and attacks which would soon press upon them from all quarters. If driven from it by the rejection of the present amendment, he must then, however reluctantly, retire upon another, also defensive. As to the plan of throwing the franchise into the hundred of Bassetlaw, he justly regarded it as a mere mockery of reform, and as utterly inadequate, either as a measure of punishment or as a demonstration of the readiness of parliament to meet the reasonable wishes of the people.

He then proceeded to instance the successive concessions which had latterly been wrung from government in favour of liberty, of intelligence, of commerce, and of general improvement; but, whilst he declared the satisfaction which he felt at these concessions, he asked "if it were creditable to, or consistent with, the character of the legislature of the country, that it should always appear to grant such concessions only at the moment when prudence and necessity compelled it to withhold them no longer." Notwithstanding all the exertions of government, the amendment for transferring the right of election to Birmingham was only defeated by a

very trifling majority. This effort to commence a moderate and reasonable reform having failed, Mr Huskisson, who was deeply sensible of the danger resulting from this continued resistance to the wishes of the public, next supported a motion of Lord John Russell's for giving representatives to Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham—a measure which he enforced by the most powerful arguments, and stated that the time was fast approaching when, if it were now rejected, ministers would be obliged themselves to propose such a step, as necessary for the safety and salvation of the country.

The support which Mr Huskisson gave to the motion of Lord John Russell, on this occasion, is of itself a convincing proof of the justice of this remark; and it may be that, had his life been spared, he too would have felt the wisdom and admitted the necessity of a more extensive alteration in our parliamentary representation, than, under different circumstances, he ever appears to have contemplated.

In pursuance of those opinions, which he had so often advocated, and in conformity with the whole tenor of his public life, Mr Huskisson gave a powerful and cordial support to the bill brought forward by Mr Robert Grant, for the removal of the various disabilities affecting persons of the Jewish persuasion. The charge of inconsistency having been alleged against him, for now recommending relief to the Jews, when, in 1828, he had objected to the repeal of the test and corporation acts, he recalled to the recollection of the house the motives which had influenced his conduct upon that occasion. He had not resisted that measure from any desire to exclude the dissenters from a full participation in all political privileges, and he had rested his arguments against it, at that immediate point of time, specially upon the apprehension which he entertained, in common with many others, that a partial concession to a particular class of people might have a tendency to injure and retard that greater and more urgent act of justice to the Catholics which had since been so happily accomplished. He instanced the conduct which France and the United Netherlands had wisely adopted towards the Jews, and expressed his earnest hope that, as their exclusion was the last exception remaining to the system of general toleration which was now the principle of English law, this bill might be allowed to pass, and thus form the consummation of that course of religious liberality which would immortalize the history of the present parliament.

Mr Huskisson's name will also be found in the list of the minority who voted for repealing the punishment of death in

cases of forgery. On this subject he was known to entertain considerable hesitation; but where so much doubt prevailed, even among those who had considered the question with the profoundest attention, he felt conscientiously that it became the duty of a legislator to give the benefit of that doubt to the side of mercy and humanity, and that the experiment of substituting a milder penalty deserved at least to be tried. He therefore supported the amendment moved by Sir James Mackintosh.

The weakness of the government was now every day becoming more evident. The forbearance of the whigs was rapidly vanishing before repeated disappointments, and, at the period at which we are now treating, a growing approximation was observable between them and Mr Huskisson and his adherents. These symptoms became still stronger after the decease of George IV.; and the storm of war, which had for some time threatened the ministry, burst forth in all its violence on the motion for an address to the new sovereign, the debate on which was characterized by a warmth of language almost amounting to acrimony.

Little more remains of the parliamentary history of Mr Huskisson. As a small but immediate measure of relief to the crying distresses of the West India proprietors, he proposed a reduction of the duties levied on rum in Scotland and Ireland; but, on an assurance that the government would be ready, at another time, to enter upon the question, and in consideration of the advanced state of the session, and the absence of many of the Irish members, he consented not to press his resolution to a division.

On the discussion on the labourer's wages bill, he thus expressed himself on the truck system:—"The system of paying in goods and not in money, has arisen from the exercise of power on the one side, over the necessity which existed on the other. The workman is obliged to submit, because he cannot obtain employment on any other terms. The difficulty of the master is not caused by the want of a sufficient quantity of the circulating medium; but the effect of this practice to the workman has been to lower his wages twenty, and in some instances twenty-five per cent. This is a system which ought not to be allowed to continue: it must lead to discontent and dissatisfaction throughout the country.

We will confine ourselves to one more extract from the speeches of this great statesman. It is from his speech on the regency question—the last of any importance—the last but one he ever made within the walls of that house, of which he was, for so many years, one of the brightest ornaments; and no person, we think, can read it without being

struck with its extraordinary application to the circumstances of his own approaching fate:—"My honourable and learned friend* has well observed that, of all men living, the present ministers, and the members of the present parliament, should be the last to overlook the precariousness of human life. In one session of that parliament, what solemn warnings did we not receive. Look at Lord Liverpool. On the 16th of February, discharging an important duty in the House of Lords, in the full enjoyment of health and spirits, and vigour of life, the *mens sana in corpore sano*—on the 17th, stricken to the earth, and lost for ever to his friends, to the administration of which he was the head, and to the country of which he enjoyed the confidence. * * * * The session closed on the 2d of July. In the beginning of August Mr Canning was still transacting public business;—on the 8th of that month he was numbered with the illustrious dead."

Mr Huskisson never spoke again in parliament, except a few words, on the 13th of July, in answer to a complaint of Mr Wilmot Horton, that he had omitted, in his speech on the state of the country, to advert to emigration as one essential mode of relief; to which observation Mr Huskisson merely replied, that he had only addressed himself to measures of immediate relief, and that, though no enemy to emigration, it appeared to him to be a subject demanding great and serious consideration.

Such is a brief and hasty outline of Mr Huskisson's parliamentary history; and an outline is, unfortunately, all that can be offered of many even of his most important speeches. Indifferent to his display, speaking frequently without the slightest preparation, rising late in the debate, and addressing himself to subjects the least attractive to all but those whose interests were involved, it is not to be wondered at that many of his speeches should be imperfectly reported.

The speeches which he was prevailed upon to publish, were subjected to a most careful revision; but it was a task which he undertook with considerable reluctance. In composition, he was difficult in the selection of his words and in the arrangement of his sentences, and without, perhaps, carrying fastidiousness to the extent which Mr Canning is reported to have done, it may still be fairly said that he never spared the file. This, however, is only true as applied to official papers. In his common correspondence, his style was strongly indicative of his character—simple, easy, and natural.

For some time past, his physical system had evidently been

* Mr Robert Grant, who had moved the Address.

suffering under a degree of languor and debility which required care and rest, and shewed itself by no means equal to the heavy demands made upon it by the incessant activity of his mental powers. Influenced by the recollection of past favours, and by the feelings of gratitude which he always bore towards King George IV. for the kindness and confidence with which he had treated him whilst a servant of the crown, and unmindful of the inadequacy of his strength to any fatigue, Mr Huskisson determined, on the death of the Sovereign, to pay the last mark of respectful duty, by attending the funeral ceremony. For this purpose he left town on the 14th of July, for Sir George Warrender's, at Cliefden, and on the following evening proceeded from thence to Windsor. The procession had scarcely begun to move from St George's Hall when he felt himself ill; but, as it was then impossible to withdraw, he continued during the whole of the long ceremony in a state of great suffering. As soon as he could leave the chapel he returned to Cliefden, where he remained seriously ill the whole of the following day. On Saturday, he was sufficiently relieved to be removed to London, where he underwent an operation, which was most skilfully performed by Mr Copeland, but which confined him to his room for a fortnight, and greatly reduced him.

On the 12th of July he received a requisition from Liverpool to stand again at the election, combining the names of individuals of every political sentiment, and whose commercial interests were equally various and conflicting. Notwithstanding the laborious duties attending a popular election, Mr Huskisson looked forward with pride and exultation to the period when he was again to present himself as a candidate for the second commercial port in the kingdom—not invested with the dignity of a minister, or backed by the influence of the government, but relying on the recollection of the faithful zeal and attention with which he had discharged his duties towards his constituents. This high gratification was denied him, as his medical attendants pronounced him to be utterly incapable of undertaking so long a journey, or of encountering the fatigues of an election, and peremptorily forbade the attempt. Mr Huskisson was therefore constrained to yield, however reluctantly, to their commands. To all the former proofs of regard and admiration which the inhabitants of Liverpool had already at different times conferred upon him, they now added that of re-electing him without his appearing on the hustings.

Parliament was dissolved on the 23d of July, after a long and arduous session, in which nothing had been accomplished,

and in which the vacillating conduct of the ministers had exposed them to the bitterest reproaches. A great party in the country looked forward with earnest hope for a cordial junction between the whigs and Mr Huskisson; and it was known that, at a meeting of the former, such a step had been discussed, and, after some hesitation, postponed. The demonstrations of public opinion were most encouraging to the opponents of government. In almost every place where the election was popular, ministers either shrunk from a trial or were beaten.

But, beyond the excitement which he felt in the results of the new elections, Mr Huskisson's interest was warmly raised by the extraordinary events which, in the last days of July, precipitated from the throne the elder branch of the Bourbons. As a firm and consistent friend to civil and religious liberty, he could not but admit that this change was justified by the bigoted and unconstitutional conduct which had provoked it; and when his mind recurred to the scenes of his early youth, to the dreadful excesses which had then disgusted the friends of liberty, and cast a temporary cloud over the doctrines of reform, he found in the magnanimous moderation displayed by the French nation, even in the first ebullitions of victory—a moderation which wrung from those least disposed to view their conduct with a favourable eye, the admission that “the French deserve almost all the eulogiums which they have bestowed upon themselves”—reasonable grounds for hoping that the time was at length arrived when France was to enjoy all the advantages and all the blessings which spring from a free constitutional monarchy.

Although the operation which he had undergone had been pronounced completely successful, Mr Huskisson's convalescence was so exceedingly slow, that his medical advisers became anxious that he should try the effect of sea air towards the recovery of his strength; and an opportunity of doing so presented itself, which overcame the habitual dislike entertained by him towards a residence at a watering place. Lord Anglesey had pressed him warmly to visit him at Cowes, an invitation which Mr Huskisson accepted with pleasure, not only as affording him the means of enjoying the sea air without fatigue, by frequent excursions on the water, but because he entertained towards Lord Anglesey strong feelings of private and public attachment, for the many proofs of considerate regard and manly support received from him, from the first period of their political connexion down to the present moment.

After a week's stay with the noble marquis, Mr Huskisson

proceeded to Eartham, where he remained till the beginning of September, when he set out on his ill-fated journey to Liverpool, in order to be present at the opening of the new railway to Manchester, which was to be celebrated with great magnificence and rejoicings, and which ceremony he had long promised to attend.

SECT. IV.—THE LIFE OF MR HUSKISSON CONTINUED.
HIS LAST JOURNEY TO LIVERPOOL.

Those who saw Mr Huskisson after his return from the Isle of Wight, describe him as looking better than he had previously done, and he himself appeared sensible of some improvement in his health; but he was still very deficient in strength, and had gained but little ground in that respect. On the 1st of September he made an effort to go out with his gun, but came back in the course of an hour, complaining much of fatigue and languor, and oppressed with a nervous feeling that he should never again recover his wonted strength for the purposes of exertion and exercise. He was haunted, moreover, with the prepossession that he should prove unequal to all he wished and all he should be called upon to undertake at Liverpool. Yet he was so much indebted to the indulgence which had excused his absence at the late election, and to the kindness then manifested towards him, that nothing short of positive inability could be admitted to interfere with the performance of his present engagement.

Under these discouraging circumstances, he and Mrs Huskisson left Eartham on the 4th, and, after paying two short visits at Mr Sturges Bourne's and Mr Littleton's, merely as resting-places, they reached Lord Stafford's at Trentham on the 8th of September. Here they were received with undiminished kindness by his long-tried and valued friends; but the gratification which Mr Huskisson always felt in their society was interrupted by indisposition, which confined him to his room during the greater part of the only day which he was enabled to remain with them. On the 10th, he and Mrs Huskisson arrived at Sir John Tobin's, near Liverpool, where a large party of his friends was assembled to meet them.

As the period of his intended stay at Liverpool was limited by other arrangements, every day was fully occupied either by public business or in inspecting the various improvements which had been made in the docks, and other great establishments, since his last visit. To Mrs Huskisson, who had never been at Liverpool before, everything was new; and he was anxious that she should avail herself of this occasion

to see as much as possible of this great emperium of British enterprise. In pursuance of this object, the morning of Monday was partly occupied in viewing the magnificent docks and quays upon the Mersey. On landing from the steamboat, Mr Huskisson was called away to attend some engagements in the town, and could not, by this means, accompany Mrs Huskisson to the public Cemetery. It is remarkable that he should have been known, on several occasions, to express himself in terms of the strongest admiration of the taste and liberality which had planned and completed this spot, and that he should have pressed Mrs Huskisson (who was already fatigued with the previous excursion of the morning) to visit it, with unusual earnestness.

On the morning of the 14th he went to the Exchange, accompanied by Mr Bolton, Sir John Tobin, and many of his friends, where a vast multitude, in addition to the gentlemen who usually attend about that time, had assembled to hail his arrival once more, after the disappointment they had experienced by his non-attendance during the late election. The large room was crowded to excess.

He was never more warmly greeted; and there never was a period when his observations were listened to with a deeper interest.

After quitting the Exchange, he returned to Sir John Tobin's only in time to set out with Mrs Huskisson for Wavertree Hall, in order to be in readiness to accompany Mr and Mrs Lawrence to the grand ceremony of the following day, Mr Lawrence being chairman of the railway committee. In passing the few miles which separate the two houses, Mrs Huskisson found that Mr Huskisson, though highly gratified with his reception, was much exhausted by the exertion of meeting and replying to all the marks of friendly attachment which had been heaped upon him, and she would not, in consequence, suffer him to enter into any details of the occurrences of the morning, further than to express his pride and gratitude for the cordiality and affection which he had universally experienced.

They reached Mr Lawrence's to dinner. Every person was, of course, occupied with the all-engrossing subject of the next day's business, in satisfaction at the now no longer doubtful success of which Mr Huskisson warmly participated. He had, from the earliest period of this great mechanical undertaking, interested himself zealously in promoting its ultimate accomplishment; and though, as a minister of the crown, when the application had originally been made to parliament, in 1825, he found himself precluded, according to

parliamentary usage, from taking a part in what is considered the private business of the house, he had nevertheless felt that this application, though technically a private petition, involved great public interests—interests which it should be the especial duty of the Board of Trade, of which he was then president, to countenance and encourage. On this ground he had declared that, far from considering it as inconsistent with his character of a minister, he deemed it his bounden duty to give a strenuous support to the principle of the bill on its second reading, though it was impossible for him to attend to its details in the committee.

It was well known that he regarded the result of this spirited private undertaking as fraught with important consequences to the public, and the success of it as highly beneficial to the commerce of this country, in the struggle which it had to undergo in order to maintain a successful competition with foreign rivals. He was well aware that in this struggle all efforts must prove unavailing, without the greatest economy, not of money only, but of time; and it was in this point of view that he predicted incalculable advantages from the employment of railways.

Early the next morning, the party proceeded from Waver-tree to the point where they were to join the grand procession. Notwithstanding the exertions which he had been called upon to make since his arrival at Liverpool, Mr Huskisson's spirits had appeared to rise with the demand, and even the sense of fatigue and of bodily weakness yielded to the exhilarating effects of the anticipated triumph, and of the repeated marks of regard and approbation which he had met with from all ranks of his constituents. The just pride which he felt in having been sought out and selected to represent their interests in parliament, was confirmed and increased every time that he beheld the growing prosperity of Liverpool—a prosperity, as he himself would often observe, not ascribable to an indulgence in monopolies, to extensive charters, or to privileged companies, but to the sober industry, the persevering enterprise, and the steady good sense of individuals. When he reflected, to use his own expression, that "there is no town in the kingdom which contributes proportionately so much to the revenue of the state, and which requires so little of that revenue expended upon it;" when he considered that, with a population approaching (at that time) to 150,000, Liverpool is without a barrack, a guard-house, or a single company of soldiers; a mind like his could not but ask, whence arose this beautiful order and harmony? and discover the solution of that question in the active industry which creates and receives gene-

ral employment ; while in the lesson which this example inculcates he found a fresh proof of the necessity of giving expansion and growth to the industrious powers of the country. It was for this end that he laboured through his long public life.

From reflections such as these we must now return, and resume the course of a narrative too soon to be fatally closed.

It is scarcely necessary to say that nothing could exceed the success of the opening of the railway up to the moment of the arrival of the procession at Parkside, where the engine was stopped to take in a fresh supply of water. It has been said that it was not intended for any one to leave the carriages, and that a placard to this effect was issued by the directors. If such was the case, the advice was either little understood, or at any rate wholly neglected ; for many, indeed most, of the gentlemen in the Northumbrian, in which the directors and the most distinguished of the visitors were placed, took advantage of the interval during which the procession stopped, to leave it and to disperse in various groups on the railway. According to some of the accounts in the daily journals, two of the steam-engines, the Phoenix and the North Star, passed without causing any accident, and the parties were returning into the grand car, when an alarm was given, that the Rocket was rapidly approaching. This report caused considerable confusion, and every one hurried to resume his place. In the ordinary cars there were steps on each side, by which they could be easily entered ; but these had been removed from the Northumbrian, it having been considered that a flight of steps, in the manner of an accommodation ladder, suspended at the back, and which could be brought at will to any part of it, would afford greater convenience to the ladies. Owing to this arrangement, a main chance of escape was cut off from those who were on the railroad ; and this explains the difficulty and danger experienced by Prince Esterhazy and several others, when they hastily endeavoured to regain their seats.

Among those who had descended was Mr Huskisson. When about to return, he observed the Duke of Wellington in the front of the car, and not having seen him before, he went round to welcome him on his visit to Liverpool, and to congratulate him on the satisfactory results of the morning's experiment. To the short delay, arising from this act of courtesy, may be attributed the dreadful calamity which ensued. The cry arose that the Rocket was rapidly advancing ; Mr Huskisson hurried round to the side of the Northumbrian, and, grasping at the door, attempted to get in—the door swung back, and this sudden reaction threw him on

the ground, at the moment when the fatal engine was coming on with the utmost velocity ; and before its course could be arrested, he had received his mortal injury. He was himself convinced at once that the injury was fatal. Lord Wilton and several others were instantly at his side. They raised him a little, and a tourniquet, formed with a stick and a handkerchief, was applied without loss of time. He asked earnestly for Mrs Huskisson, kissed her, and then said, "God bless you all—now let me die at once." From the hasty judgment which could be formed, it appeared to the professional gentlemen present that there was a hope of saving his life by an amputation of the shattered limb. It was therefore agreed that the most expeditious and most practicable method of proceeding would be to go on to Manchester, where the best surgical assistance could be speedily procured. A car which had been occupied by the band was emptied, and he was placed in it, attended by Mrs Huskisson, Lords Wilton and Colville, Dr Brandreth of Liverpool, Dr Hunter of Edinburgh, and Mr Wainwright. The engine was then detached from the larger carriage, and the utmost dispatch used for providing for the conveyance of the sufferer. Notwithstanding the agonies which he endured, no complaint or groan escaped him. He asked for a little water, with which Mrs Huskisson moistened his lips, and he himself suggested the seeking the quiet of some private house if any could be found on the way, in preference to the crowd and confusion which must be encountered at Manchester. Lord Wilton named the vicarage at Eccles, the residence of the Rev. Mr Blackburne, through which village the procession passed. Mr Huskisson caught eagerly at the proposal, and said, "Oh, take me there ; I know they will be good to me." He spoke as if by inspiration. Kindness would, indeed, have been shewn by any under such circumstances ; but few could have been so capable as Mrs Blackburne to arrange with ready and affectionate attention, and to perform so quickly and with such perfect judgment, everything which it could be hoped might in any way minister to his assistance. After depositing him at Eccles, Lord Wilton, whose kindness and exertions never flagged throughout all the melancholy occurrences of the day, proceeded with the engine to Manchester, and returned with incredible expedition, bringing with him Mr Ransome, Mr Whatton, and some other professional gentlemen. Mr Huskisson himself had never doubted from the first that his injuries were mortal. But when the surgeons arrived, he expressed himself willing to undergo whatever might be judged satisfactory to the feelings or wishes of those who surrounded him. He only entreated that Mrs Huskisson, who had never

quitted him, would absent herself whilst Mr Ransome and his colleagues examined what it might be possible to attempt. After a careful consultation, they decided unanimously that, in the extreme state of exhaustion to which the sufferer was reduced, amputation, though indispensable in order to effect a recovery, could not be undertaken without the most imminent danger; and Mr Ransome candidly declared his conviction that, should he commence the operation under existing circumstances, the patient must inevitably expire under it.

Mrs Huskisson was now permitted to return, and attempts were made to create a reaction by administering powerful restoratives—but in vain. Violent spasmodic convulsions rendered him gradually weaker, and occasionally wrung from him an expression of hope that his sufferings might not be prolonged. But although his agonies were almost past endurance, there were no unnecessary ejaculations, no murmurings against the dispensations of Providence; on the contrary, he evinced throughout the most patient fortitude and resignation. The clearness of his mind continued perfect and unclouded. He made a codicil to his will, and gave directions on some minute points respecting the disposal of several of his private papers. It is also perfectly true that, having signed his name, he desired to have the paper brought back to him, in order to rectify an omission which he had made in the usual mode of his signature.

Soon after six o'clock, he desired to see Mr Blackburne, in order to perform the last duties of religion. Before the sacrament was administered, he used these words—"I can safely say that I bear no ill-will to any human being." It was at first feared that this ceremony would be attended with some difficulty, as he had been for some time unable to raise his head, or to swallow, and had only had his lips moistened occasionally with a feather. He, however, summoned up all his expiring strength, and with great exertion partook of the elements. This done, he again expressed his anxiety for a speedy release; and even those about him, when they beheld his hopeless sufferings, no longer dared to wish them prolonged. Still, the kindness of his nature rose superior to his own agonies. Observing that her wretchedness had deprived Mrs Huskisson of the power of utterance, and that she was incapable of replying even to the expression of some of his injunctions, he endeavoured to console her, and the last words which he addressed to her were an assurance that he felt they should meet again. He then recommended her to Lord Wilton. Speaking of himself, he said, "The public have had the best of me, and I trust they will do me justice." This was the only allusion which he made to his

public character. He appeared to receive much gratification from the presence of Lord Granville,* to whom he spoke several times in terms of the greatest affection. He continued, indeed, to be sensible of all that had been done for him, and grateful to all those around him, especially to Lord Wilton, upon whom he said he had no claim, as little previous acquaintance had subsisted between them. Soon after eight it became evident that he was sinking rapidly, and at five minutes after nine nature was completely exhausted, and he breathed his last, after nine hours of the most excruciating torture.†

Mrs Huskisson having been removed from the room by the care of her friends, the surgeons proceeded to a nearer investigation of the injuries which Mr Huskisson had sustained. It was then discovered that he must have fallen obliquely as regarded the line of the railroad, and that the thigh and leg must have been in such a position as to have formed with it a triangle, of which the angle at the apex would be presented by the bend of the knee. The wheel of the engine thus passed over the calf of the leg and the middle of the thigh, leaving the knee itself uninjured. There was a compound fracture in the upper part of the left leg, just above the calf. The wheel must have gone slantingly over the thigh, up to the middle of it, as the muscles were all laid bare in that direction in one immense flap, and the bone was severely fractured, and comminuted almost to a powder. No great effusion of blood took place, nor did any of the great arteries appear to have been wounded; but the laceration is described to have been terrible.

The death of Mr Huskisson was made known in Liverpool at an early hour on Thursday morning; and though it had been anticipated as certain by all who knew the nature of the accident, yet it took the bulk of the people by surprise. All

* Lord Granville was one of the oldest and most valued friends of Mr Huskisson, and the one whom, perhaps, he would most have desired to be with him at such an hour. Lord Granville had hurried to Eccles, as soon as he learnt that it was determined to deposit Mr Huskisson at the vicarage there; nor did he quit the house till the moment when Mrs Huskisson set out on her mournful return to Sussex. During the whole of the painful scene he evinced, by his considerate and unvarying tenderness towards her, the sincerity of his attachment to the friend whom through life he had loved and respected.

† It is due to the character of all parties to mention that, as soon as the extent of the frightful accident became known, a general wish was declared that the procession should return at once to Liverpool. It was only upon a representation of the confusion, and even danger, which might be feared from the disappointment of the public, that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel consented to proceed to Manchester, where, however, neither of them would leave the car. The Duke, moreover, postponed the ceremony of receiving the freedom, which was to have taken place on the 16th, to some future period, and all the other arrangements for the week were abandoned.

the shops and dwelling-houses were partially closed, from one end of the town to the other. The flags on the public buildings and on the shipping in the port were hoisted half-mast, and the inhabitants, without distinction of party, were plunged into the deepest sorrow. A very general wish was expressed that the remains of their lamented representative should be interred in the new cemetery, and that a public monument should be erected over them, recording the melancholy event, and rendering a well-deserved tribute to his memory. A meeting of gentlemen accordingly took place at the Town Hall on the Thursday, to consider the subject, and the following requisition to the mayor was unanimously agreed upon :—

“ We, the undersigned, respectfully request that you, as the official organ of the inhabitants of Liverpool, will make an immediate application to the friends of our late lamented representative, requesting that his remains may be interred within the precincts of this town, in which his distinguished public worth and private virtue secured for him the respect and esteem of the whole community.”

To this requisition the names of two hundred and sixty-four of the most influential gentlemen were almost immediately attached. The request was promptly acceded to, and the Rev. J. Brooks, the rector, was desired to proceed to Eccles, to see Mrs Huskisson or her friends on the subject. The idea of Mr Huskisson's interment at Liverpool had been already broken to Mrs Huskisson ; but she had expressed the strongest repugnance to the thought of such an arrangement. All her own wishes had naturally pointed to Earham, and it was only through the powerful arguments and strong representations of Lord Granville that she was at last prevailed upon to sacrifice her own feelings and to yield to the request of the inhabitants of Liverpool. Never was a sacrifice of private feelings more honourably and solemnly required. It was forcibly remarked at the time, that if anything could supersede the necessity of endeavouring to draw a character of Mr Huskisson, it was to be found in the circumstance of his funeral. It spoke volumes. A community, composed entirely of active intelligent individuals, who, of all others, are best able to appreciate the merits of a man ruling and regulating the destinies of a commercial people, and that community consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand individuals, deploring his loss with a grief as intense and real as is occasioned by the severing of kindred ties. We quote from the “Times” newspaper the account of the last ceremony. It is given there with a force of description and a truth of detail which could be vainly

attempted by those whose melancholy duties absorbed all powers of observation.

“LIVERPOOL, Friday, September 24, 1830.

“The funeral of Mr Huskisson has just taken place, and with such marks of public respect, regard, and sorrow, as must soothe the grief of his surviving friends, and animate the exertions of future statesmen. Though the day came in with hail, and wet, and gloom, and storm, and every other disagreeable incident of bad weather, there was scarcely a single person of opulence, talent and respectability in Liverpool, who was deterred by it from attending the melancholy pageant, of which I have been anxiously watching the progress and termination.

“Had I not seen, I certainly could not have credited the deep feeling of regret which prevails amongst all classes in this place for the loss of their late able and active representative. The people seem to feel as if they had lost a friend and a brother; and though much of their attachment may be fairly attributed to their conviction of the private virtues of the man, it is impossible to deny that much is also owing to their admiration of the industry, sagacity, and wisdom of the minister. Perhaps, also, the lamentable and unexpected accident which deprived him of life, in the midst of a scene of general mirth and festivity, and upon an occasion so peculiarly interesting to the town of Liverpool, has contributed, in some degree, to increase the general sympathy created by his loss. But be that as it may, never did I see, at any of the public funerals which I have attended of late years, such sincere sorrow and such unaffected regret as I have witnessed this morning on the countenances of thousands, during the celebration of the funeral obsequies of Mr Huskisson.

“The bells of the different churches, which began to toll at an early hour this morning, and which continued to toll at intervals during the day, reminded the inhabitants of Liverpool, in very audible tones, of the melancholy duty which they had undertaken to perform that day. I was in the streets soon after eight o'clock; but though they were then much crowded, all the shops were closed, and all the private houses had their blinds down. The vessels in the docks and in the river had their flags half-mast high, but their crews had mostly deserted them to evince their sympathy with the melancholy feelings of their brother townsmen. On the line of streets through which the procession was to pass, strong bodies of special constables were patrolling, in order to prevent any interruption to its progress after it had once started. But the

excellent temper of the people, and the provident precautions of the committee in railing off the centre part of the street for the purposes of the procession, rendered their duty almost a sinecure. There was no fighting or struggling for places, nor anything but the utmost decorum of language and behaviour in the immense multitude which lined the way from the Town Hall to the cemetery.

“It was perfectly well known to be one of the arrangements of the committee, that the procession should start from the Town Hall as soon after ten o'clock as it could be conveniently marshalled into form. For the purpose of insuring regularity, the committee agreed to assemble at the Town Hall at eight o'clock this morning; and exactly at that hour, two mutes, on horseback, took their station in front of its doors, and six mutes on foot were placed in the vestibule, and on different parts of the great staircase. At nine o'clock the doors were thrown open for the reception of such gentlemen as had previously announced to the committee their intention of being present at Mr Huskisson's funeral. On reaching the vestibule, the first object which attracted their attention must have been the coffin in which the mortal remains of Mr Huskisson were enclosed, attended by mutes and numerous truncheon-bearers. It stood upon trestles, on the left side of the room, and was covered with a pall of black velvet edged with satin. Upon the pall the arms and crest of the deceased were emblazoned in all the empty and unavailing pride of heraldic ornament. After passing the coffin, the different groups of gentlemen were ushered, as they arrived, into the splendid suit of apartments which render the Town Hall of Liverpool so famous, and by ten o'clock the whole of them had made their appearance.

“Wishing to see the state of the streets through which it was designed to pass, I walked along them to the cemetery. In spite of the drizzling rain which had been falling for some time, they were crowded along the whole line. The children of the different charity-schools were assembled in the yard of St Peter's church, and upon its belfry and steeple, and in its windows, numbers of children of a larger growth were also stationed. The trees before the Lyceum and in St Mark's churchyard had their strength well tried by the number who, in every direction, were clinging to their branches. The ascent up Duke Street to the cemetery was made through one dense mass of men, women, and children; and it would have been impossible to have travelled along it otherwise than by walking through the space railed off from the street for the procession.

“On reaching the cemetery I found the whole outer area surrounded by an expecting multitude. Between Hope Street and Rodney Street, and also in Hope Street itself, there are several lofty houses not quite finished. The roofs and windows of these mansions were all occupied. Placards had been very generally circulated throughout the town, stating that the rails which surrounded the cemetery were not strong enough to support the pressure of a crowd, and requesting the people, as they wished to avoid accident, not to stand upon the stone wall, on the top of which the rails are fixed. The caution was not unattended to—a fact which speaks volumes as to the tractable spirit and chastened feeling of the crowd. Some idea of its numbers may be obtained from a knowledge of the fact, that the circuit of the rails amounts to nearly eleven hundred yards. The grass plot or lawn at the bottom of the cemetery was at this time nearly empty. There were only a few workmen in it, and these were near the vault. I had the curiosity to approach and examine it. It is twelve feet deep, and the six nearest the bottom are cased all round with iron. A heavy lid of the same material was reclining against one of the walls of the cemetery, and was to be placed over the body as soon as the funeral ceremony was finished.

“After I had gratified my curiosity, I looked up at the scene around and above, and nothing could be more imposing and magnificent than the *coup d'œil* then before me. I was at the bottom of a dell, about sixty feet below the ordinary level of the streets of Liverpool. On the east I saw a solid mass of masonry, with four different tiers of galleries diverging from a centre nearly opposite me, and running one above the other to the two extremities of the cemetery on that side. Each of these tiers was filled with respectable individuals habited in deep mourning. Above them were the people outside the railing; and above them again were houses and scaffoldings covered with spectators. Turning to the south, I beheld a double gallery filled in a similar manner. On the west the scene was still more picturesque, as the bank rises gradually till it comes to a double tier of terraces, and is then surmounted by the beautiful cluster of trees which crown St James' Walk. Every accessible point in this direction was occupied by ladies and gentlemen of the first families in Liverpool. The north side was at this time unoccupied, and in that direction I could only catch a glimpse of the multitude peeping through the rails. To prevent the decorum of the ceremony from being interrupted by individuals passing and repassing to and from different sets of galleries, boards were erected at various places

to stop the usual communication between them. The whole mass of the people in the cemetery was therefore nearly immovable. Their numbers must have been nearer twenty thousand than fifteen thousand persons. It is impossible for me to convey to you any adequate notion of the effect of the spectacle thus exhibited to my eyes, in a spot where art and nature have combined together to produce one of the most picturesque and imposing scenes that the imagination of man can possibly conceive.

“At a quarter past ten o'clock, the firing of a signal gun, which was stationed opposite the new Custom House, gave us notice in the cemetery that the procession had begun to move from the Town Hall. I am informed that twenty-five minutes elapsed from the time when the mutes started to the time when the last persons in the procession left the Town Hall. The distance which the procession traversed is about two thousand yards, and its own length was nearly half a mile.

“The head of the procession reached the cemetery at a quarter before twelve o'clock, and at that moment the view from the gateway down Duke Street was most striking. In the centre of the street, but not occupying its entire width, a long dark column of men, plumes, horses, and carriages, was seen advancing slowly through an immense crowd ranged in the most perfect order, and observing the deepest silence on each side of it. The turret of St James' Church, the wall skirting its yard, the windows and roofs of all the houses, were almost groaning under the weight of the spectators seated upon them. As the hearse advanced, all this vast crowd uncovered, and the dark appearance of the moving procession, and the mottled appearance of the bareheaded and immovable multitude, which was gazing intently upon it, formed a very marked contrast to each other. A small piece of cannon, which had been previously stationed on St James' Mount, was fired as a signal to the town, as soon as the procession began to enter the cemetery.

“The mutes on horseback took their position one at each side of the entrance. The gentlemen of the town, instead of proceeding into the chapel, filed off to the right, breaking their lines of six into lines of three deep, and descended without delay into the cemetery. Part of their path ran through an arched passage or tunnel cut through the solid rock; and to a person standing on the neighbouring heights there was something very romantic and picturesque in the manner in which they alternately appeared and disappeared from view. They then proceeded to range themselves on the serpentine walks which skirt the centre grass plot, where the vault was

dug for Mr Huskisson's remains. At a distance they appeared to have grouped themselves in the shape of a diamond, a vacant space being left at the angle nearest the spectator for the bearers of the coffin to carry it to the grave.

"Whilst this arrangement was taking place in the cemetery, the committee and the clergy were employed in forming along the road between the entrance of the cemetery and the door of the chapel. The different pall-bearers then ranged themselves in order to receive the coffin and to take the pall, and as soon as they had done this, and the mourners had taken their place in the rear, the Rev. J. Brooks, who had previously met the coffin, began to read the funeral service and to move into the chapel. As the pall-bearers and mourners passed them, the clergy and the committee filed into the procession, and thus the funeral party entered the chapel. Immediately afterwards the gates of the cemetery were closed, and the gentlemen who had followed the hearse filed off to the gate at the top of Hope Street, where accommodation had been previously prepared for them.

"The chapel was arranged with the most simple and beautiful elegance for this melancholy occasion. There is on each side of it a single row of pews. These were hung with black cloth, both on the inside and on the out. So, too, was the reading-desk. It was likewise ornamented with Mr Huskisson's escutcheon, splendidly emblazoned. The coffin having been placed on trestles under the reading-desk, the mourners took their seats in the different pews previously assigned to them. The funeral service then proceeded. When the clergyman came to that portion of it which is usually read at the side of the grave, the parties left the chapel in nearly the same order in which they entered it. On quitting the chapel, which is only visible from a small part of the cemetery, you face the dell in which it is situate, and look down upon it from a precipitous and isolated projection of rocks several yards high. The cortège, having ranged itself on the brink of this rock, became an object of intense interest to such spectators as could command a view of it. After the pause of a few moments, it was again put in motion, and winded slowly down the serpentine tunnel through which the gentlemen of the town had previously 'wound in solemn march their long array.' At the same moment the gentlemen who had followed the hearse obtained admission into the north side of the cemetery, and thus all its four sides were crowned with a living mass of anxious spectators.

"As the body was proceeding from the chapel to the grave, the weather, which had been most unfavourable during the

whole of the morning, suddenly changed, and a bright gleam of sunshine flung its radiance over the moving train. In a few minutes it reached the vault. As the bearers left the walks and entered upon the turf of the grass plots, the gentlemen extended their line and filled up the space in the walks which they had previously left vacant. At that moment the head of every man in the immense assemblage collected in and about the cemetery was uncovered, as if by general consent. There was a moral sublimity in the spectacle, which all who were present felt, but which I am afraid is not communicable to those who were absent. I have seen more than one public funeral, and I know something of the gorgeous pageantry so lavishly displayed in the burials of our monarchs; but though I saw the ashes of Grattan and Canning deposited in one of the most august of christian temples, amid the vain regrets of men the most distinguished for rank, talent, and genius, and though the interment of royalty takes hold upon the imagination from its necessary connection with the most sumptuous display of human pomp and greatness, I never witnessed any spectacle so impressive as the appearance of this vast multitude, standing erect under the open canopy of heaven, and joining in one spontaneous tribute of respect to the memory of their late representative. All eyes were then turned upon the vault, and Mr Brooks proceeded to the conclusion of the service for the dead, amid the deep attention of his hearers and the uncontrollable emotion of some of the mourners. At a quarter past one o'clock the melancholy ceremony was brought to a close, and another signal gun was fired to communicate the tidings to the people in the town."

SECT. V.—OPERATION OF THE CORN LAW OF 1815.

MR HUSKISSON'S SPEECH AND RESOLUTIONS ON THE CORN LAW IN 1822.

Introductory to those parliamentary speeches which we shall here select as specimens of Mr Huskisson's legislative oratory, and as embodiments of the history of commercial reform, we shall review the operation of the Corn Law of 1815 up to 1822.

The ports were to be closed until the average price of wheat exceeded 80s. per quarter. Colonial wheat was to be admitted when the average prices reached 67s. per quarter. But the mode in which the averages were taken greatly increased the stringency of the act. A new average was to be struck quarterly on the 15th of February, May, August, and November, from the aggregate prices of six preceding weeks, but it was provided that, if during the six weeks subsequent

to any of these dates the average prices, which might be at 80s., fell below that price, no supplies should be admitted for home consumption from any ports between the river Eyder and the Bidassoa—that is, from Denmark to Spain.

It was expected by the farmers that the act of 1815 would maintain corn prices at a rate somewhat under the scale which the legislature had adopted, which for wheat was 80s., barley 40s., oats 27s., and rye, beans, and peas, 53s. They entered upon rent contracts with the conviction that prices would fall but little below those rates. Indifferent harvests, war prices, and a false currency, had given them for a number of years much higher prices. And famine years continued them. The bad harvests of 1816 and 1817 caused 2,600,000 quarters to be admitted. But the harvest of 1818 was abundant, while those of 1819, 1820, and 1821, were a fair average. Prices fell. Added to which the change in the currency, by the act of 1819 began to operate. Prices were now measured by the gold standard—that a guinea was 21s.; whereas rents in most cases were paid on the scale agreed to when, by the falsity of a paper standard, the guinea appeared to be worth 27s.

In the week ending December 21, 1822, the price of wheat had fallen to 38s. 8d., barley to 29s. 4d., oats 18s. 9d., rye 23s. 6d., beans 28s. 10d., peas 29s. 4d. The fluctuations of prices under the law of 1815 were not less than 199½ per cent.

Such were the circumstances under which Mr Huskisson addressed the House of Commons on the 29th of April 1822.

The house having resolved itself into a committee, to consider the report of the select committee on the distressed state of the agriculture of the united kingdom, the Marquis of Londonderry, (Lord Castlereagh,) concluded a speech of great length with moving sundry resolutions, in conformity with the recommendations of the said committee, of which the following are the outlines:—1. One million to be advanced on British corn in warehouse, when the average price shall be below 60s. the quarter—2. The owners of foreign corn in warehouse to be permitted to grind it for exportation—3. The ports to be opened when the home price shall be 80s., and continue open until it be below 70s.—4. While the price shall be between 70s. and 80s., the duty to be 12s., and an additional duty of 5s. during the first three months of importation; and a duty of 5s., with a like additional duty of 5s., when the price of corn is between 80s. and 85s., after which an increased duty of one shilling only—5. One million to be placed at the disposal of the Irish government, for the relief of the country, by the promotion of public works, &c.—6. To

reduce the present burden of the naval and military pension-list, now five millions, by granting an annuity of L.2,800,000 for forty-five years to contractors, who would advance the sum now required, beyond the average of the whole period, with a view to benefit afterwards by the decrease—7. The period for allowing country banks to issue small notes to be extended to the year 1833—8. To permit country banks, sixty-five miles distant from London, to form joint-stock companies, as in Scotland, in consideration of which, the Bank of England to have its charter extended for ten years beyond 1833, when the present charter expires—9. Upwards of two millions being the estimated saving by the pension-list plan, taxes to the amount of L.1,800,000 to be remitted. On the first resolution being put, Mr Western said he was of opinion that the proposed measure was inadequate to its object, and not likely to afford any relief. Mr Ricardo considered the plan of ministers a direct attack upon the sinking fund. Mr Brougham styled it a project for hiring corn, and recommended that government should affix three golden balls to the front of the treasury. He declared himself favourable to a sinking fund, consisting of a clear excess of revenue over the necessary expenditure; but protested against relieving the present generation at the expense of posterity.

Mr Huskisson said he fully agreed with the honourable and learned gentleman, that the only real sinking fund was that which was composed of a clear excess of revenue over expenditure. He would put this proposition to the honourable and learned member for Winchelsea:—Suppose England liable to pay an annuity of five millions a year for sixteen years; and suppose her, with a view to immediate relief, to convert that annuity into a smaller annual payment for forty-five years, would not the saving upon the difference of amount to be paid for the two given periods be a positive saving, without any invasion of the principle of the sinking fund? He assured the committee that he would himself object to the plan proposed by his noble friend, if he thought it in any way invaded the law of 1792, or touched upon the principle of the sinking fund. He was bound to answer the cavil—or, more properly speaking, the misconception—of the honourable and learned member, to whose proposition in the beginning of the session, for leaving the country without any sinking fund, the house had fortunately refused to listen. He was bound to reply to that misconception; because much of the benefit of the present measure would be lost, if an impression were suffered, although but for a few days, to get abroad, that government, after reducing the five per cents. (a measure carried by the operation

of an efficient sinking fund,) had it now in contemplation to attack that sinking fund itself.

Another part of his noble friend's plan went to extend the period during which country bank-notes under the value of five pounds were to be allowed to circulate, and also to relieve the country banking-houses from their present limitation of six partners to each firm. He had really been surprised when he had heard the honourable member for Essex assert that government could not continue the circulation of country notes under five pounds without repealing a part of the bill called Mr Peel's bill. He begged to contradict that statement most decidedly. The present plan, so far from being suggested because the measure of 1819 was repented of, was at all points perfectly consistent with that measure; and, in the committee upon the bill of 1819, he himself had actually proposed that the present plan should at that time be recommended to parliament. With respect to the issue of one-pound notes, whether those notes were issued by country banks under the old limitation or by country banks with an unlimited number of partners, their credit was secured by their convertibility at pleasure into Bank of England notes or into cash; but he did not believe that, on the removal of the limitation, banks would start up like mushrooms, as the honourable gentleman opposite predicted. Let the house look at the state of the banks in Scotland, which were already free from limitation. Had any of those banks failed of late years from over-trading? Was it found that they made unreasonable and improvident advances among their own partners? Or had it been found, as was too frequently the case in England, that men embarked as traders in the banking business, in order to prop up other hazardous speculations of their own? Yet the banks of Scotland issued one-pound notes, and presented a fair example to justify the experiment. The apprehensions of increase of forgeries, of over-trading, and of diminished security, to arise from the proposed extension of license, were all disproved by the experience of Scotland. With respect to an increase of forgery, he did not believe that the amount of forgeries upon country banks having local and limited circulation had been very considerable. The number of trials for such offences, on the contrary, he believed, had been extremely small. As regarded Scotland, he doubted whether, for a great many years, a single man had been executed for such an offence. At all events, he was not to be deterred, by the existence of some minor objections, from the adoption of any measure involving a great national object.

Let the house look at the state of our circulating medium

at the present moment. What was the great circulation in the county of Lancaster? Was it bank of England notes or notes of country banks? It was neither; but it was in bills of exchange, small bills of five pounds and under. Surely those bills of exchange, which were commonly current throughout that county, were as liable to be forged as bank-notes would be. And when the honourable and learned member talked of increased convictions for forgery, from the increased circulation of bank notes, he must be reminded of the number of persons now convicted for counterfeiting, or for offences connected with counterfeiting, the coin of the realm. In the very last year, he believed there had been no fewer than two hundred and eighty convictions for offences of that class.

There were other points upon which he found it impossible to agree with the honourable and learned member for Winchester. That honourable and learned gentleman, speaking of the distress of the agricultural classes, had said that, for his part, he did not consider the other classes of the community to be in a flourishing condition; and that, even if he could consider them to be so, that circumstance would not console him for the distressed state of the agricultural classes. He agreed that the whole matter was one of an appalling nature—that the prosperity of the working classes could not be taken to have its full value when it was connected with the distress of the agricultural class; but still, although one class was suffering heavily, he could not say that it afforded him no consolation to see the other classes in comfort, and better off at present than they had been. He admitted that his consolation could not be ample, and that there could not be a wholesome state of the community while so important an interest as the agricultural was suffering to the extent of its present depression; but when the honourable and learned member came to draw pictures of the working classes, describing them as having wages just sufficient to afford the means of subsistence, he must say that he did not believe such to be the fact. He believed, on the contrary, that while, on the one hand, the necessaries of life had greatly diminished in price, on the other, the wages in all the manufacturing districts had been raised. That the manufacturers, and the working classes generally, were in a state of comparative ease and comfort was indeed undeniable. He defied any gentleman, upon any other principle, to account for the known fact, that the produce of the taxes upon consumption was gradually and steadily rising.

The honourable and learned member had mentioned a plan

which he said had been on the point of emanating from the agricultural committee, and which he had placed in a ludicrous light, calling it a pawnbroking plan, and advising that the three golden balls should be placed in front of the treasury. For himself, he knew nothing of any such plan; but he would state to the house what had occurred in the last year's committee. An honourable friend of his, not now present—he spoke of the honourable member for Taunton*—looking at the situation in which the country was placed, with a monopoly of corn, and a prohibition to trade in that article, had given it as his opinion that no plan would afford such effectual relief to the market as that government should buy up the surplus in years of abundance, keeping it to be dealt out in years of deficiency, and thereby adjusting, in both cases, the supply to the demand. To that proposal he had objected. He had objected to it upon principle; and he always should object to it. But, if a country chose to proceed out of the fair legitimate course of trade, and to take up, and to persevere in, an artificial system, some measure, not in itself desirable, might become absolutely necessary, as an antidote to the dangers of that system. If this country would place itself in the situation of having no *free intercourse* with other nations in the trade in corn, and still continued liable to the fluctuation of seasons, it followed, of course, that a wise permanent system would be to try, if possible, to hoard the surplus of a year of plenty to meet the possible exigency of a future unfavourable harvest.

He did not recommend the plan which he was about to mention; but some measure was absolutely necessary, both for the grower and the consumer; for the former, who would be ruined by an overstocked market in full years, and for the latter, who would want protection against the scarcity of bad ones. He repeated that he did not recommend the plan as good in itself; but he thought it less injurious than the plan of the honourable member for Taunton; and the plan he suggested was this:—It had long been the policy of England to give a bounty upon the exportation of corn. The suggestion was to convert that which, according to old principles, had been a bounty upon exportation, into a small advantage upon the hoarding of corn. No money was to be advanced by government. No three balls, as the honourable and learned gentleman had intimated, were to be hoisted. It was merely giving something like the amount of the old bounty in another shape. He admitted freely that this system was a bad one;

* Mr Alexander Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton.

but it was a bad system growing out of a bad course of policy.

The right honourable gentleman next alluded to the proposition of his honourable friend, as to the dead military charge—the conversion of the annuity for lives into an annuity for a term of years. The honourable and learned gentleman had talked of the expensive machinery attendant upon that proceeding. He could assure the house that no arrangement could be more simple. He then came to the report of the committee above stairs, and he said he would not, at so late an hour of the night, detain the house by opening or explaining the resolutions which he intended to move. He purposed to lay the resolutions on the table, and to remain satisfied with their being printed; but he trusted that, when the house met again on the subject, he should have an opportunity allowed him to state the cause of the difference between the resolutions proposed by himself that evening and those proposed by his noble friend. Some of his resolutions went merely to matters of fact, and others were grounded upon principles which he thought it impossible to deny; but still he was anxious to point out to the house how, in the present distressed state of England and of the world, the resolutions reached the cause of the evil, and indicated, as he thought, the appropriate remedies. With respect to the resolutions now before the committee, it was painful for him to differ from his noble friend, but he found it impossible to concur in them. The course he should suggest therefore was, that the resolutions being put *pro forma*, the chairman should report progress upon the first resolution; the whole of the resolutions might then be printed, and handed about among the members.

The right honourable gentleman was about to sit down; but several voices called for the reading of his resolutions. He accordingly read them as follows:—

RESOLUTIONS.

1. "That the ports of the united kingdom were shut against the importation of foreign wheat, for home consumption, in the month of February 1819, the average price being then 78s. 7d. a quarter, and that they have remained closed ever since; the average price of the year 1820 having been 65s. 7d.—of the year 1821, 54s. 5d.—and of the three first months of 1822, 47s. 9d. a quarter.

2. "That in the year 1819, the quantity of British wheat imported into the port of London was 300,416 quarters; in 1820, 399,000 quarters; and in 1821, 494,828 quarters; and that, during the whole of this period of three years, the supply

in all the principal markets of the united kingdom appears uniformly to have exceeded the demand, notwithstanding the wants of an increased population, and other circumstances, which have produced an increased annual consumption.

3. "That this excess of the supply above the demand must have arisen either from an extent of corn-tillage more than commensurate to the average consumption of the country, or from a succession of abundant harvests upon the same extent of tillage, or from the coincident effect of both these causes.

4. "That, in the fluctuation of seasons, the effect of the present Corn Law must be to expose sometimes the grower of corn to the losses incident to an over-redundant produce, and at other times the consumer to the pressure inseparable from dearth; that the free importation of foreign corn, (the remedy provided by the law for the latter evil,) if wanted to a great amount, must be precarious in proportion as the demand is unusual, and that against the former evil the law affords to the grower no relief whatever.

5. "That the alternate evils of redundancy and scarcity cannot fail to be aggravated by the alternate excitement and depression to which the agriculture of the united kingdom must be exposed under the present system of our Corn Laws.

6. "That another evil effect of the present system is, to convert farming into a hazardous and gambling speculation, which, however prudently managed, must occasionally involve great losses to the capitals engaged in agriculture.

7. "That a free trade in foreign corn, subject to certain duties on the importation thereof for home consumption, was at all times permitted prior to the act of the 55th George III. c. 26.

8. "That since the passing of that act, by which such importation is prohibited until the average price of wheat shall have reached or exceeded, for a certain time, 80s. a quarter, and other grain in proportion, a great accumulation of foreign corn has taken place in the warehouses of this country and of the continent.

9. "That, to obviate the prejudicial effects of that act, and to ensure a regular supply of grain at prices as much as possible steady and moderate, it is expedient to provide for the repeal of so much of the said act as prohibits, under certain prices, the importation of foreign grain for home consumption.

10. "That in order to render this repeal safe to the grower of British corn, and gradual in its operation, under the present accumulation of foreign grain in the warehouses of this country and in the ports of the continent, it is expedient to

provide that the foreign wheat now under bond in the united kingdom may be taken out for home consumption, upon the payment of a duty of 15s. per quarter, as soon as the average price of wheat, ascertained in the usual mode, shall exceed 70s. a quarter, and that at the expiration of three months from the date of such admission of warehoused wheat into home consumption, or so much sooner as the average price shall exceed 80s. a quarter, wheat from abroad may be admitted upon the payment of the like duty.

11. "That the trade in foreign corn shall thenceforth be permanently free; but subject to the following duties upon importation, or when taken out of warehouse for home consumption:—Wheat, 15s. a quarter, when the price shall not exceed 80s.; and when above that price, 5s.; and above 85s., one shilling;—rye, pease, and beans, 9s. 6d. a quarter, when the price shall not exceed 53s.; and when above 53s., one shilling;—barley, bear, or bigg, 7s. 6d. a quarter, up to 40s.; and when above that price, one shilling;—oats, 5s. a quarter, up to 28s.; and when above that price, one shilling."

May 6.—The house having again resolved itself into committee, the Marquis of Londonderry moved his first resolution, viz.:—"That his Majesty be enabled to direct exchequer bills, to an amount not exceeding one million, to be issued to commissioners in Great Britain, to be by them advanced, under certain regulations and restrictions, whenever the average price of wheat shall be under 60s. per quarter, upon such corn, the growth of the united kingdom, as shall be deposited in fit and proper warehouses."

Mr Huskisson said he would, as briefly as possible, state the grounds on which he felt himself compelled to object to this resolution. The little which he had to say upon this occasion was considerably abridged, in consequence of his understanding from his noble friend—for he could not understand it from the resolution itself—that this was not to be made a permanent measure, but was meant to be applied to the present period only. If he confined himself either to the terms of the report or to the language of the resolution, he must have contended that, whenever the price of corn was under 60s. a quarter, government must advance relief to the agricultural body to the extent of one million. The explanation of his noble friend had, however, undeceived him; and he found that the plan referred merely to the present time.

Now, looking to this as a temporary measure, his objection to it was the time to which it was to be applied. His noble friend had stated that, since the last harvest, corn had been brought into the market to nearly double the quantity which

had ordinarily been introduced, at antecedent periods of equal extent. The reason his noble friend gave for this was, that the farmers were called on to pay their rents; and, from the difficulties which pressed on the landlords, the occupiers of land, in order to meet their demands, were compelled to thrash out their corn, and to send it to market at an earlier period of the year than was generally the case. Now, if this were true, if the reason were well founded, it followed that many of the farmers, and of that class too which was most distressed, were no longer in the market as sellers of this commodity, but as purchasers for their own support, and for the maintenance of the poor in the parishes to which they belonged. The consequence, then, must be, if this measure had the effect of taking out of the market any considerable quantity of corn, and thereby of raising the price, that it would bear hard on the lower class of farmers, and render the maintenance of the poor more onerous. Supposing this measure had been resorted to when the agriculturists were making up their different charges, even then, he conceived, it would have added to the difficulties, rather than have relieved the distresses, of the lower class of cultivators of the land. He believed, if any gentleman asked a surveyor, or any of those persons connected with the agricultural districts, who were the most distressed, the answer would be, "I will tell you by looking at their stack-yards." The yards of the wealthy farmers were well stored, while those of the lower class were emptied. How, then, could they be relieved by this measure?

This plan did not at all accord with the general principles which governed the subject. The fact was, they were in an artificial state, which required frequent revision. With respect to the general principle, if there was any one article on which government ought not to lend money, that article was corn. Let the house consider what the effect of the law would have been had it been passed last session. Agricultural distress was then pressing severely on the country; and, if the corn-market could then have been operated on to the amount of a million, he would ask his noble friend, who knew the state of the market in September, whether the price would not have been forced up to 80s., and the ports, in consequence, have been thrown open immediately? On the 8th of September the price of corn was 55s. 8d., and on the 29th of September it was 70s. 8d., being an advance of upwards of 30 per cent. in twenty days. Now, if this plan had been then carried into effect, the corn-grower might, at the former

period, have called for this million; the price would then have risen above 80s., and that which the agriculturists most apprehended, namely, the throwing the ports open, would have taken place. What would be the consequence if there were a prospect of a rise in the market? Why, those persons who had received money from government at three per cent. would be speculating against those who speculated with their money at an interest of five per cent.

Considering the contingencies of this market, he thought it was truly desirable that its regulation should be left to the operation of nature. He could not agree with his noble friend in thinking that those who bought the damaged corn this year would make a good speculation; because, if there were an abundant harvest, and well got in, no one would re-purchase this damaged corn, however it might be kiln dried. If the fact were otherwise, why was it not kiln dried now? At present it fluctuated in the market from L.6:10s. to L.7:10s. per load. If a man could get three per cent. on the damaged corn, it would undoubtedly be a convenience to him; but he did not approve of disposing of the public money in that way. Prices were beginning to adjust themselves between landlord and tenant. They ought to be allowed to find their proper level; but this measure would only tend to keep up the delusion, and to add to the difficulty. It would create a most dangerous precedent, which it would be necessary to keep up if the harvest were abundant next season. Should the ensuing harvest be unfavourable, there would be no necessity for this assistance; and, if it were favourable, there would be a general scramble for this money. They would either do too little or too much. If the prices rose, there was no necessity to interfere, and if they were depressed, the measure would afford no adequate relief. It would only leave them with this damaged corn, which would be unsaleable next year, and a debt of a million, which they would not be able to recover.

Sir Edward Knatchbull and Mr Wodehouse said they would support the resolution, because they were unwilling to leave the noble marquis in the lurch. Sir John Shelley, Sir John Sebright, Mr Whitmore, and Mr Davies Gilbert opposed it, as a partial and ineffectual measure, and as being at variance with sound policy, and likely to do a great deal of mischief. The Marquis of Londonderry said that, seeing the measure so tamely supported by some members of the committee, and hearing nothing in support of it from others, who might be supposed to regard it with parental feelings, he did not feel disposed to press the resolutions to a division.

Mr Huskisson withdrew his resolutions, after a speech in which he exposed the gambling effect of the sliding scale, and indicated a preference for a low fixed duty.

SECT. VI.—MR HUSKISSON ON THE CURRENCY BILL OF 1819.

June 11, 1822.—This day Mr Western, pursuant to notice, called the attention of the house to the effect which the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England had had in producing the present agricultural distress. The honourable gentleman stated, in the outset of his address, that his object was to arraign the wisdom, the justice, and the policy of the measure passed in 1819; and he concluded with moving, “That a committee be appointed to consider of the effects produced by the act of the 59th Geo. III. c. 49, intituled, ‘an act to continue the restrictions contained in several acts on payments in cash by the Bank of England, until the 1st of May 1823, and to provide for the gradual resumption of such cash payments, and to permit the exportation of gold and silver,’ upon the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the united empire, and upon the general condition of the different classes of society.”

Mr Huskisson rose, and spoke in substance as follows:—

The subject which the honourable gentleman has brought under the consideration of the house is one of the greatest magnitude. It involves nothing less than an alteration of that standard of value by which all property is secured and all pecuniary contracts and dealings measured and ascertained. The course suggested for the attainment of this object is pregnant with consequences of the most fearful importance. These considerations—the magnitude of the subject, and the alarming consequences to be apprehended from the present motion—will, I trust, be sufficient to induce the house to afford a patient hearing to the discussion, without any personal appeal to their indulgence, even from an individual standing so much in need of it as myself.

I have listened with every attention in my power to the statements and doctrines of the honourable member, during his long and elaborate, but able speech. Some parts of it I have heard with surprise; other parts, I must candidly confess, with regret;—surprise, at the view which he has taken of the subject, and the extraordinary positions which he has laboured to establish;—regret, at some of his inferences and suggestions, which appeared to be incompatible with every principle, not only of private right and individual justice, but of public honour and national faith: although I feel perfectly

assured that, in all the relations of public or private life, there is no man more incapable of countenancing any wrong-doing than the honourable member for Essex.

It was my lot, sir, to be a member of the House of Commons in the year 1797, when cash payments were, for the first time, suspended. I have continued to enjoy the honour of a seat in this house for the long series of years which has since elapsed. During that period I have not been an inattentive observer of the proceedings in parliament, and of the effect of those proceedings in respect to the currency. In my opinions upon this subject it was my misfortune, in 1810, to differ from some distinguished members of this house to whom I was personally attached, and in whose political views I had generally concurred; but, having formed those opinions deliberately and conscientiously, I could not honestly withhold them from the public. I shall not at present advert more particularly to those differences, or to the measures adopted by this house after the report of the bullion committee; but I own that, if I had been uninformed of all that had passed on this subject since the suspension, I should have inferred from the speech of the honourable gentleman this evening that it had been something of this sort:—First, That the liability of the bank to pay all its notes on demand in the legal coin of the realm having been suspended in 1797, a difference had ensued between the nominal value of those notes and the real value of the coin which they purported to represent; and, secondly, that this difference had been acknowledged by the legislature and acted upon by the public; that it had been allowed and compensated for in the adjustment of all pecuniary contracts made prior to the suspension; that all dealing since had been made in reference to that difference, and, consequently, that it was a difference which, however fluctuating in its degree, was at any time capable of being ascertained by exact measurement, and set right by specific adjustment.

I should further have been led to infer, from the reasoning and statements of the honourable member, that at some period of this long suspension (perhaps about 1811, when the difference between the nominal value of the paper and the real value of the coin was very considerable) an attempt had been made in parliament to prevent that difference from being any longer acted upon in the adjustment of pecuniary contracts; and that, for this purpose, it had been proposed to enact, that all such contracts should be satisfied by a tender of bank notes at their nominal value, and to inflict penalties upon any one who paid a guinea for more, or received a bank

note for less, than its denominative amount. But I should have felt quite sure that this attempt, whenever made, had been rejected with scorn and indignation by the house, and particularly by the landed interest; that the leading members of that interest had vied with each other in denouncing the iniquity of a proposal calculated to defeat the just claims of age and infancy—to rob a parent of a part of that dower which had been allotted to her, in the old standard of the realm, long before the suspension of cash payments—to defraud orphan brothers and sisters of a considerable portion of those fortunes which the will or marriage settlement of their father had assigned for their education and maintenance in the world; or, if there were no widows to be curtailed of a part of their jointures, no orphans to be stript of a share of their inheritance, was there no unfortunate mortgagee (possibly a near relation or friend) to be deprived of a part of that interest which he had stipulated to receive in the same standard of value in which he had advanced the money for his mortgage? What! could it be expected that the great landowners would suffer such a proposal as this to be entertained, doing such violence to their love of justice, so offensive to their best feelings as men, at a moment, too, when they were conscious that their estates, whether liable to the portions of younger children, or charged with dower, or encumbered with mortgage, had doubled in rent since the commencement of the suspension?—and, if their personal feelings revolted at a suggestion which was calculated to injure those who were near and dear to them, their public feelings were surely equally repugnant to the idea of a measure not less fraught with injustice, and calculated to blight our national character, in the case of the public creditor.

This is the inference which, in ignorance of all that had really taken place, I should have drawn from the general tenor of the honourable member's speech; but it would even have led me one step further: I should also have imagined that the ancient standard of value being now again restored, some of those same creditors who had been so equitably dealt with during the departure from it were at this moment enforcing the higher nominal payments which they had received during the depreciation; and that the honourable member had come forward this evening, very properly, to claim the interposition of the house against such an unfair demand on their part.

But, sir, instead of this having been the real state of things, what is the course which has been pursued since the suspension of cash payments? Did the legislature recognise a difference between paper and coin? Were pecuniary transactions

adjusted with a reference to that difference? Were dealings entered into or contracts made under stipulations founded on that difference? Did not the law, on the contrary, compel every creditor, whether public or private, whether his contract was prior or subsequent to the restriction, to accept payment in bank-notes according to their denominative value? Did not that same law prohibit him, under severe penalties, from having reference to any other than the nominal value of the currency in the adjustment of any pecuniary transactions, either retrospective or prospective?

If these were the regulations in force during the depreciation, what is proposed now that money is restored to its former value? Why, that having had hitherto one measure of justice for the creditor, we should now have another measure of justice for the debtor, that the latter having been protected by one law in paying according to the nominal value, when that value was less than the standard in which he had contracted, he should now—and for no other reason than because that standard is restored—be protected by another law in paying less than that nominal value? It is no sufficient answer to state “that most of the pecuniary contracts now in force have been entered into since the year 1797, and that they were contracted in a depreciated currency.” Be it so, for the sake of argument. But then all contracts prior to 1797 have been liquidated in that same currency. By what rule of right can you allow for its depreciation in the one case and not in the other? By what designation would any impartial man describe that equity which should grant an abatement of interest upon the debt of 1811 and refuse a compensation for interest paid short upon a debt prior to 1797?

This, however, is the new principle of equity which the speech of the honourable member inculcates, and which it is the object of his present motion to establish, as a remedy for all the injustice of depreciation, and all the evils which now press upon the country. He has taken a distinction between the interference of the state to decrease or to increase, by artificial means, the denominative value of money—and what is that distinction? Is the one course more moral or more just than the other? This, indeed, is not the position of the honourable member—but that it is politically more expedient. A constantly progressive depreciation of money is, according to the doctrines of the honourable member, the great secret of public prosperity. This is no new theory. He only proposes to revive the scheme of the famous Mr Law in a more mitigated shape. If once adopted by any country, it must end as his scheme ended. You may retard its progress to matu-

rity, but you cannot perpetuate the delusion. You must either retrace your steps, or the bubble must burst at last. This was the fate of Law's scheme, as it must be of any project founded on the principle now recommended to the house. During the existence of that scheme, what country was apparently so prosperous as France, what financier so popular as Mr Law? exultingly mentioned by a French political writer of that day in the following terms—"a minister far above all the past age has known, that the present can conceive, or that the future will believe." Mr Law, it is true, outlived his popularity and his scheme.* He brought distress and ruin upon thousands, and died himself in misery and want. The more wary theorists of the present day might prolong the duration of artificial excitement, but they could not prevent the final decay and overthrow of the system. There is no escape from this result in any country that has, through inadvertency or a temporary necessity, once lost sight of a fixed standard of value, except by its restoration.

This restoration, I know, cannot be effected without pressure and difficulty. But I cannot admit the justice of the distinction which the honourable member has taken between the loss to the landowner by an increase in the value of money and the loss to his creditor by its decrease. The honourable gentleman's illustration was this—"By decreasing the value of money to one-half," he said, "you reduce the creditor of L.500 a-year to L.250, and again, by decreasing that sum to one-half, to L.125, but still he is left with some income. Now, on the other hand, a man who purchased an estate having a rental of L.1000 a-year, when the value of money was decreased one-half, is reduced to nothing if money is restored to its former value, and the purchaser has to pay L.500 a-year out of the estate."

Passing by, for the present, the right of any government, in which the nature of property is understood, and the principles of justice respected, artificially to raise or lower the standard of value, let us examine a little more closely this practical illustration. Let me for a moment reverse the *data* of the honourable member's comparison, which, ingeniously enough for this purpose, assumes the landowner to be in debt, and the monied man without any similar demand against his income. Let me suppose, on the one side, a landowner with an estate unencumbered, and his rent doubled from

* Law concluded the chequered course of his life at Venice, where he died in a state but little removed from indigence, on the 21st of March 1720, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and he lies buried in one of the churches of that city, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen.

L.500 to L.1000 a-year during the depreciation; and on the other, a monied man who, with L.500 a-year in the three per cents., purchased at L.90, had borrowed one-half of the purchase money, and found himself compelled to repay it when the price had fallen to L.50;—or, to come still nearer to the honourable gentleman's comparison, take the case of an income of L.1000 a-year, liable to an obligation to pay abroad an annuity stipulated for in some foreign currency. If that annuity had been satisfied with L.500 when the exchange with such foreign country was at par, it would have required the whole income when, by depreciating our own money one half, the same exchange was turned in that proportion against us.

But I must protest against this description of argument altogether. The price of land may rise or fall from natural causes, as may the price of commodities. Every holder of the one or the other is liable to such fluctuations; but that which is the common and fixed measure of all price is not to be tampered with and adjusted to countervail these fluctuations. In this country, where gold is the standard of value, what is it which the parties stipulate for, and the state guarantees, in every contract for a money payment? Why, that the sum tendered in satisfaction of such payment shall not be less in weight and fineness than is required by the standard; but the contract does not stipulate, neither does the state guarantee, that the quantity of gold contained in that sum shall bear, at all time to come, the same value, in relation either to land or to other commodities, as it did at the time when the parties contracted together. It is among the highest and first duties of the state, in relation to property, to maintain that standard inviolate and immutable, and it is because we have neglected that duty that we are now suffering all the evil consequences of our neglect.

But, admitting that a certain *quantum* of injustice has been done to one class of the community during the suspension, and that now, by its removal, a consequent degree of injury and hardship is inflicted upon another, does it follow that we are either to perpetuate and aggravate the first injustice, or that it is wise or practicable to attempt to revise and re-adjust all the pecuniary transactions of the last twenty-five years? The honourable member, indeed, seems to think that nothing is more simple than the first of these courses, but he only looks at one side of the question. He puts the case of hardship to the landowner who encumbered his estate during the depreciation, but let me ask him to recollect the mortgagee who lent his money before that event. Let me suppose the hon-

ourable member himself (and there is no man to whose candour and sense of justice I would with more confidence apply myself in this illustration) to have two mortgages upon his estate, the one dated in 1796 and the other in 1811. How has he hitherto settled with his two creditors, and how does he propose to settle with them now? Has he two measures of justice and value—one for the creditor of 1811 and another for the creditor of 1796? What the honourable member now says to the mortgagee of 1811, in substance, is this—"When I signed your mortgage the currency was depreciated forty per cent., and my rents have since fallen in nearly the same amount, if, therefore, I now reduce your claim in that proportion there can be no real injustice." Against the fairness of this proposal what says the mortgagee? "I lent my money," he replies, "without reference to that difference, and I produce the act of parliament which prohibits any such reference:—I further appeal to the repeated and solemn declarations of the legislature, that cash payments should be resumed on the restoration of peace. I ask, if the depreciation had increased from forty to sixty in the first year after our contract, and from sixty to eighty in the year following, would you (the mortgager) have compensated me for these differences; or would you not, if it had suited your convenience, have paid me off without any such compensation? If you did not pay me off it may be because you assumed that the value of money would go on further diminishing from year to year, but you had no right to assume that it might not be the other way; and, at any rate, you were distinctly forewarned that, in one contingency, which from the nature of things could not be very remote, the ancient standard was to be restored."

Notwithstanding this answer, conclusive, I conceive, as to the strict legal right of the creditor, it may be said that the case of the debtor may be such as to entitle him to an equitable consideration. Be it so. But then what becomes of the other mortgagee who had lent his money in 1796? Has he been paid during the whole of the suspension in depreciated money? In 1811, for instance, did his debtor force him to accept payment in the currency of that year? Did he tender to him bank-notes depreciated, as he says, forty per cent. together with the act of parliament which prohibits any reference to that depreciation? Against such a tender, backed by such a law, what would the mortgagee of 1796 have to urge? Might he not say—"At the period when I made this advance I relied on the public faith. The money which I lent you was of due weight and fineness, according to that standard which had remained unaltered since the reign of Elizabeth.

To preserve that standard for ever inviolate I know was the declared policy of the state, and that parliament, in each succeeding reign, had passed laws for that purpose. Resting upon an unbroken pledge of near three centuries, upon the positive enactments of law, upon the universal understanding of the country, upon the obvious justice of the case, upon the avowed intention of parliament, recorded in every statute that imposed or continued the suspension, that cash payments should be resumed as soon as possible, and upon the implied assurance, involved in this declaration, that it was not intended, by these temporary suspensions, to alter the standard of our money—upon all these grounds I claim to be paid with reference to the existing difference between bank-notes and that standard.” “No !” replies the mortgager, “here is a law which forbids that reference, and by that law I will abide, whether the difference be forty or eighty per cent. whether the rent of my estate, upon which your mortgage is secured, has been doubled or tripled in consequence of that difference.”

Now I ask of the honourable member, in these two cases, could he claim an equitable adjustment in the one and refuse it in the other? Could he require an abatement upon one mortgage without accounting for the arrear due upon the other? If the two mortgages were held by different persons, I will not say that the man does not exist (certainly not the honourable member) who might, and perhaps, would, contend with each separately for such an arrangement; but, if both securities were held by one and the same individual, it would require no small share of ingenuity to satisfy *him* that he was about to receive an equal measure of equity in both instances. For my own part, I should as little envy the casuistry which could countenance, as I should the justice which could award, such a decision.

But, whatever may be the difficulty in respect to mortgages, would an equitable adjustment be more easy in other pecuniary contracts, for instance, with the public creditor? Far from it. Here the principle is the same, but the difficulty would be a thousand fold. In the mass of the public debt, can we distinguish each separate loan, and the original subscribers to that loan? and if we could, can we hope to trace, and unravel, and identify, every separate purchase and sale connected with that debt, between the year 1797 and the present time? How should we distinguish the *bona fide* holders prior to 1797—those who became holders during the depreciation, and during each different state of it—and those who have become holders since the year 1814 or 1819; and, if we could distinguish them, must we not trace the money of

each purchase since 1797 through all its previous career? Can we hope to follow every bank-note through all the transactions, and to fix the date of each in which it has formed a part? It may, for instance, happen that the present holder of any given quantity of three per cents., purchased when paper was at its greatest depreciation, had made that purchase with money received in discharge of some old mortgage. Is he to be amerced, or is the loss to fall upon the seller of the stock who received that money, or upon the mortgager who paid it? or are we to trace this particular sum in all its component parts, divided and re-united in a thousand different ways, through all its prior and subsequent combinations, and to follow it up through all their ramifications? To attempt such a task would be as hopeless as to endeavour to identify, in the great mass of waters, the particular share of each tributary stream which has emptied itself into the ocean for the last twenty years.

The same difficulties would occur in the revision of all the private transactions of the community; and if we are to engage in this undertaking, we shall not satisfy the equity of the case, unless it embrace, not only all pecuniary contracts existing prior to 1797, and all which have been made since, and which are still in force, but likewise all which have been closed and settled. Surely every man must see that such a revision is impracticable; that it cannot be entertained without involving all the dealings of the community in inextricable confusion, and that any partial application of a principle, which nothing but a general re-adjustment could justify, would only tend to destroy all confidence and credit, and to aggravate all the evils which it is intended to remedy.

In arguing upon an assumed depreciation of forty per cent., I am anxious to be understood as not admitting that, upon an average of the whole period, or indeed at any part of it, the depreciation actually reached that extent. The honourable member says "the depreciation is not to be measured by the difference between the mint and the market price of gold." I should wish to ask him by what other test he would determine its extent? If, in 1811, it was open to any man, in any part of Europe, England excepted, to have bought a hundred guineas, or L.105, with L.130 in bank-notes, how can it be contended that the difference between the nominal value given and received was not the measure of the depreciation of the paper? I can conceive no other measure; although I not only admit, but have uniformly maintained, that, having once parted with all our coin, we could not again resort to a metallic currency without, in some degree, raising the value of

the precious metals all over the world. This is a good reason, as I have stated before to this house, for using them as sparingly as possible, and for maintaining the circulation with as small a proportion of gold as is consistent with the preservation of a metallic standard. But, inasmuch as any diminution in the value of the precious metals—either from *natural* causes, such as an abundant supply from the mines, or from *legitimate* causes, such as the substitution of paper, really payable on demand, or the other contrivances of credit—involves no breach of a pecuniary contract, however prejudicial to the creditor; so, on the other hand, an increased demand for the precious metals, in this or any other country, (for the effect would be the same should the demand arise elsewhere,) or a diminished supply from the mines, affords no ground for the interference of the state with the conditions of that contract, by which it would be violated for the benefit of the debtor.

I trust that I have satisfied the house that, retaining the present standard of value, an adjustment between debtor and creditor, to be equitable, must embrace all contracts, as well prior as subsequent to 1797, and that such an adjustment is impracticable. I would next inquire, what would be the effect of altering that standard without any reference to such an adjustment? An extensive alteration to this effect I take to be the plan of the honourable member for Essex. In the first place, it is evident that such an alteration would be nothing less than a direct breach of faith to all creditors generally, without any discrimination between debts contracted before the period of the depreciation, or during that period, or since the restoration of the currency.

Is the House of Commons prepared to sanction such a sweeping and monstrous principle as this? Is it prepared to say to the old creditor—"The full measure of injustice which you suffered for many years, we are now about to acknowledge, not, however, for the purpose of repairing, but of perpetuating that injustice?"—and to all creditors who have entered into contracts since the restoration of the standard—"We are about to rob you of forty per cent. of your property, because there are other creditors in this country who made their contracts when the currency was depreciated to that amount?" Can any legislature, not lost to all regard for character and to every feeling of common honesty, listen for a moment to such morality and such proposals as these?

But, apart from these considerations, let us examine this measure on the narrower grounds of policy and expediency:—If, indeed, the house can allow itself to suppose that the present case may be an exception to the general rule—that

the interests of the state can never be promoted by the violation of public justice and the forfeiture of public honour. How strange must be the condition of this country, if it can only prosper by a violation of national faith and a subversion of private property! if it can only be saved by a measure reprobated by all statesmen and all historians—the wretched but antiquated resource of barbarous ignorance and arbitrary power, and only known among civilized communities as the last mark of a nation's weakness and degradation! Does not the honourable member see that such a measure would be the death-blow to all public credit, and to all confidence in private dealings between man and man? Does he not see that if you once lower your standard, it will become a precedent that will be resorted to on every future emergency or temporary pressure—resorted to the more readily, as credit and every other more valuable resource, on which this country has hitherto relied, will be at an end? Does he not see that the expectation of such a recurrence will produce much of the mischief of its reality?—that when men find that in England there is no security in pecuniary contracts they will seek that security elsewhere? If we once embark in this career—if once, openly and deliberately, we avow and recognise this principle, England, depend upon it, will rapidly descend—and not more rapidly in character than in wealth—to the level of those countries in which, from ignorance and barbarism, such expedients are not yet exploded.

But, sir, whatever fallacious expectations of relief to the country the honourable gentleman may have conceived from a plan so pregnant with mischief and disaster, fortunately there is little danger of its being adopted. In the mysterious councils of despotism such a project may be matured, so as to burst by surprise upon the country. Here it must be discussed in parliament, and would be examined and understood by the public long before it could be ripe for execution. I will venture to say, that if this house were even to entertain such a proposition by a vote, the country would be in alarm and confusion, from one end of the kingdom to the other. All pecuniary dealings would be at an end; all pending transactions would be thrown into disorder; all debtors would be called upon for immediate payment; all holders of paper circulation would insist upon its being converted into coin or bullion; and all the coin and bullion so withdrawn, whether gold or silver, would be hoarded. Neither the bank, nor the London bankers, nor the country banks could survive the shock. Every man would be struggling to call in credits, whether in public or private hands, and either by converting

those credits into goods, or by sending them abroad, to place them beyond the reach of the honourable member's bill. What a scene of strife, insolvency, stagnation of business, individual misery, and general disorder, would ensue! All this would precede the passing of the honourable gentleman's bill, whilst it was proceeding in its several stages in this and the other house of parliament.

It would be a waste of the time of the house to follow the measure in its effects when it should have become the law of the land, because such an event is happily impossible. Let the house give the honourable member his committee, after the speech in which he has proposed it to-night, and I am perfectly sure that this first step in furtherance of his object, would, even to-morrow, create such a commencement of stir and alarm in the metropolis, and very soon in every part of the country, as would induce the honourable gentleman himself to be among the first to proclaim his abandonment of all such desperate expedients.

The house, I am sure, must be satisfied of the dangerous principle and immediate tendency of such a proposal; but it may not be altogether inexpedient to examine a little the extent to which, as I understand the honourable member, he would be disposed to go in the execution of his purpose. That extent I take to be in substance this:—That he would lower the standard of the currency in, or nearly in, the proportion of the difference between the average price of wheat taken for the period between 1797 and 1819, and the average price between 1819 and the present year; for instance, if the average price in the latter case should be 45s. and in the former 80s. he would provide that, henceforward, 45s. should pass for 80s.; and, consequently, that for every debt or contract now existing a tender in this proportion should be a payment in full.

The honourable gentleman, in order to pave the way for this proposal, has laboured hard to prove that corn is a better standard than gold. Like most gentlemen who claim to be exclusively practical men, and who rail at those whom they are pleased to designate as theorists and political economists—for no other reason than because they argue from principles which their adversaries cannot controvert, and proceed by deductions which they cannot refute or deny—the honourable member has, himself, launched into some of the wildest theories, and drawn his inferences from some of the most extravagant positions which were ever promulgated in this house.

As the foundation and groundwork of his plan, he lays

down in principle, that "the standard of value in every country should be that article which forms the constant and most general food of its population;" and therefore it is that he fixes upon wheat. It follows from this principle, that wheat could not be the standard in Ireland. There potatoes must be the measure of value. This, indeed, is a novelty even in theory. We heard a great deal, in 1811, of fanciful standards, the ideal unit, the abstract pound sterling, and so forth; but, who ever heard before of a potato standard? What a beautiful simplicity of system, and what facility it would afford to the settlement of all transactions between the two parts of the same empire, to have a wheat standard for the one and a potato standard for the other!

I will admit to the honourable member that there is no positive and absolute disqualification, either in wheat or potatoes, to prevent the one or the other being a standard of value. Wheat, like any other commodity possessing value, is capable of being made the *common measure* to which the relative value of all other commodities shall be referred, and the *common equivalent* or *medium* by the intervention of which they shall be exchanged the one against the other. But this is only saying that a given measure of wheat, a bushel for instance, instead of a given quantity of gold, a sovereign for instance, shall be the money and legal tender of the country. For such a purpose, for reasons obvious to all who have ever turned their attention to the subject, wheat is one of the commodities the least adapted—always, however, with the exception of the new Irish standard. potatoes.

But the honourable member, I shall be told, does not propose to make wheat the currency, but only the standard. I am aware of it; but how does this help his theory? How can a given weight of gold, of a given fineness, and of a certain denomination, which in this country is now the common measure of all commodities, be itself liable to be varied in weight, fineness, or denomination, according to the exchangeable value of some other commodity, without taking from gold the quality of money, and transferring it to that other commodity? All that you do is, in fact, to make wheat money, and gold the representative of that money, as paper now is of gold; but to say that one commodity shall be the money and another the standard of that money, betrays a confusion of ideas, and is little short of a contradiction in terms. As well might you propose that the Winchester bushel should be the measure of corn, and the price of a yard of broad cloth the standard by which the contents of that bushel should be determined.

What the honourable gentleman, therefore, aims at, as I conceive, is, not that wheat should be either money or standard, but that the standard of money, instead of being fixed, once for all, should be varied, from time to time, according to the price of wheat; so that if wheat, upon an average of ten or twenty years, should fall, the standard should be lowered, or, what is the same thing, the denomination of our money be raised; and, *vice versa*, if wheat should rise, that the standard should be raised.

This appeared to me the honourable member's general doctrine, but perhaps I have mistaken the application of it; for although he suggests the lowering of the standard when the price of wheat falls, I heard nothing about raising it when the price rises; and, certainly, to do the latter, however called for by reciprocity and justice, would militate against his other leading principle—that the prosperity of a state depends on the gradual but constant depreciation of its currency. One thing, indeed, would rather confirm my suspicion that this reciprocity forms no part of his plan; for, during the twenty years which preceded 1819, we never heard from him, or any other practical gentleman, a proposal to revise the standard, by a comparison of the average price of wheat for ten or twenty years preceding, the result of which might have been, that every debtor, instead of discharging a debt of 80s. by the payment of 45s., would have had to pay nearly 80s. for every 45s. of his debt, during ten or twenty years to come, according as the one or the other of those terms might have been fixed upon for the periodical revision of the standard.

Without stopping to inquire, on the one hand, what would have been the effect of such a periodical revision at stated intervals, since the discovery of the mines of America, or how that effect might be varied hereafter by the future productiveness of those mines; and without adverting, on the other hand, to the obvious objection that, in this attempt to adjust the standard of money by the price of corn, the precious metals may be stationary in their relative value to other commodities, whilst their variation in respect to corn may arise from peculiar circumstances bearing upon the price of that commodity, such as the growth of wealth and population in any particular country, its state of dependence or independence of foreign supply, the state of its corn laws, its state and relations of peace or war, the fluctuation of the seasons for a given number of years, and a variety of other circumstances of which we have witnessed the powerful effects during

the late war, and since the restoration of peace. I say, without dwelling on these considerations, I would ask what would be the condition of a civilized and opulent country in which every pecuniary contract was to be revised and altered every ten or twenty years? The wit of man, I am sure, could not devise a scheme better adapted to destroy all confidence and credit. Suppose they could survive it—which, however, is impossible—to what speculations, and struggles, and devices, would not the system give rise, to raise or depress the price of corn according to the conflicting interests of the parties? If a corn law now agitate the country from one end to the other, what would it do then? With what anxiety would the averages be watched in the last year of the term; and if their fairness be called in question now, what would be the suspicions at a time when every pecuniary contract for a pound sterling might be lowered to 15s. or raised to 25s. for the next term, according to the striking of that average? Is this the visionary plan which the honourable member for Callington* propounds, which the honourable member for Essex inculcates, whilst they are branding their opponents as theorists, because they maintain the good old principle, that the standard of money once fixed ought to be immutable; because they consider it as the guarantee, not only from the state to its own creditors, but the pledge, as far as the power of the state can extend, that, in pecuniary dealings between man and man, property shall be respected, and that all contracts entered into with sincerity, shall be settled in good faith and executed in justice?

The first essay of this notable plan, if now adopted, would be founded on an average taken from a period of war during which the country did not grow corn enough for its own consumption, during which it was afflicted with several harvests calamitously deficient, and forced to draw corn from abroad under every disadvantage of freight and expense, and during the greatest part of which period, too, Ireland was excluded from our market:—compared with an average taken from years of peace and general abundance, and when that abundance, joined to the immense produce of Ireland, has created a glut in all the markets of the empire.

Several other strange theories and positions were laid down by the honourable member for Essex in the course of his elaborate speech; but as they do not appear to me to have much connexion with the immediate object of his motion, I shall not waste the patience of the house by observing upon them at

* Mr Attwood.

any length. There is one, however, which I cannot help adverting to, because it is a point to which he seemed to attach great importance, and to illustrate by many calculations. That point, if I understand the honourable member, is this, that we ought to measure the pressure of taxation by the price of corn. "In 1813," says the honourable member, "the price of wheat being 108s. 9d., and the taxes L.74,674,798, 13,733,296 quarters of wheat were sufficient for the payment thereof; in the present year, the price of wheat being 45s., very nearly double that amount of quarters are necessary to pay the taxes thereof." I wonder, when he was making these comparisons, that he did not extend them to a few other years. If he had, he would have found in 1812, for instance, that the taxes being L.70,435,679, and wheat at the moderate price of 125s. 5d. 11,224,809 quarters of wheat were sufficient for the payment thereof. In 1815, that the taxes being L.79,948,670, and the price of wheat only 64s. 4d., 24,854,508 quarters were requisite for the payment thereof. But, then, 1817 was again a prosperous year; for the taxes being reduced to L.55,836,259, and wheat having risen to 94s. 9d. 11,786,017 quarters were sufficient for the payment thereof. Now, according to this statement, the years 1812 and 1817 must have been those of the lightest pressure, and 1815 and 1821 those in which that pressure was most severe. If distress bordering upon famine, if misery bursting forth in insurrection, and all the other symptoms of wretchedness, discontent, and difficulty, are to be taken as symptoms of pressure upon the people; then I should say that 1812 and 1817 were two years of which no good man can ever wish to witness the like again: but if all the usual consequences of general ease in the great masses of our condensed population, and all the habitual concomitants of contented industry, are indications of a better state of things, then I should say that 1815 and 1821—periods of the severest pressure of taxation, according to this new measure of its pressure—are among those years in which, judging from their conduct, the labouring parts of the community have had least reason to complain of their situation.

The high price of the necessaries of life is, at all times, a delicate topic for public discussion, from the misconceptions to which it is liable. I am not one of those who are indiscriminate advocates for cheap bread; on the contrary, I am ready to maintain that a price moderate and reasonable, but, above all, as steady as possible, is most for the interest of the consumer; though I cannot admit that the amount of the public

burthens, in any particular year, is in the inverse ratio of the price of corn, or that a scarcity price is a fair test, either of relief generally, or of the alleviation of that particular pressure. This forms no part of my creed of political economy. Indeed, I should think I was much nearer the truth in contending that such a price of corn as that of 1812, instead of mitigating the pressure of the taxes, had a tendency to abridge the profits of capital and the comforts of the people, in much the same way as they would certainly be abridged by any great addition to the amount of the previously existing taxes.

The honourable member, however, is so convinced that, whatever inconvenience the consumers may have experienced from the extreme dearness of corn, they are suffering still more severely from its present cheapness, that he did not hesitate to offer, in support of this inference, a comparison between the quantity of corn imported into London in the years 1812 and 1821. In 1812, he says, "the quantity imported was 386,921 quarters, and in 1821, 365,535 only. Here," says the honourable member, "it is undeniably proved, that with an increasing demand, we should suppose, from a generally increased population, there was a less consumption in 1821 at 50s. a quarter than in 1812 at 125s. a quarter." The quantities may be correct, but the explanation is obvious. In 1812, the country districts, as well as the metropolis, were fed in a great degree by foreign corn imported into the port of London. In 1821, all the country markets were glutted with corn of our own growth, and the demand in Mark Lane being supplied from those markets, it was, of course, limited to the consumption of London. This is the simple solution of the honourable gentleman's paradox; and I really believe that the inference which he has drawn from it is entitled to about as much weight as his unqualified assertion—"that misery and distress are rapidly increasing among all ranks of the people, not excepting those in humble life, and that the proofs of it are to be found in the great increase of bankruptcy and crime."

Except in the increase of the revenue, I have not the means at hand of refuting, by documents and figures, the gloomy statements of the honourable member; but the revenue has certainly increased in all the articles of consumption, and is, I understand, still increasing. The honourable member must either disprove this fact, or explain how it happens that universal distress leads to an increased consumption of commodities, most of which constitute the comforts and luxuries of the middling and inferior classes of the community. I believe him

to be mistaken in respect to the increase of insolvency and crime. Sure I am that Great Britain, as far as I can judge, appears to be more quiet and easily governed than at almost any period which I can recollect of those halcyon days when money was depreciated, and when, from that depreciation, among other evils which it inflicted on the labouring classes, the necessities of life were not only generally rising, but liable to great and rapid fluctuations, within short intervals of time, to which the price of labour could not accommodate itself.

Let it not be supposed, however, that I am insensible to the magnitude of the pressure which bears upon other classes of the community. It is, as I have said before in this house, the inevitable consequence of having tampered with the currency. It is an evil which has visited all classes in succession, and from the experience of which, I trust, future times will take a salutary warning. But the honourable member seems to think that this evil has fallen with disproportionate severity on the landed interest. This I cannot admit. It appears to me that its operation in this respect is rather a question of time than of degree, by a comparison with other interests. During the progress of depreciation, the evil did not reach the landowner with an unencumbered estate. In the rise of his rents he found a full compensation for the cheapness of money; aye, more than a compensation, by the excessive speculation to which the stimulus of that cheapness gave rise. If his estate was encumbered, it is obvious that he was relatively still more benefited. By the fall of rents the encumbered estate, in its turn, feels that fall more severely; but it is as *debtor*, in common and in the same degree only with all other debtors, that the interest of the landowner is affected. Taking the landowner therefore abstractedly from any pecuniary engagements, his has been the most favoured class of the community. During the depreciation he was compensated to its full amount; and he is no loser if he gives up that compensation now that the evil which it countervailed no longer exists. To this extent a fall in rent is to him no injury, although it will diminish the nominal nett income paid into his banker's hands.

On this point of rent, I know what prejudices and alarms exist at this moment; I know that it is a tender subject in this house; I know by how many other circumstances, independent of depreciation, the rents of land may be varied; and I also know the inconvenience of indulging in predictions on public matters; but I feel the opinion so confidently, that I will not hesitate to state it—that, after the struggle incident to the present re-adjustment of rents shall be over, the result

of that re-adjustment, speaking generally, will be a very considerable permanent increase upon the rental of 1797 ;—and I state this opinion with the more assurance of its being realized, because such an increase is the natural consequence of circumstances unconnected with depreciation, and over which the return to cash payments can have no control.

Taking, therefore, the landowner, simply as such, with his income doubled during the war, to meet depreciation, and with his income, when that depreciation ceases, considerably larger than when it began, is there any other class which has escaped with so little injury? It is no answer to this question to talk of increased taxation and the local burdens upon the land. These are evils greatly to be lamented ; but the comparison is between the nett money income of the landlord available for his own purposes after all local burdens have been paid and the nett income of another member of the community, for instance, the annuitant. Both are liable to the same general taxation ; and the L.100 received from land, or the L.100 derived from the funds, have no preference or distinction in this respect.

There is, indeed, I state it with deep regret, another class connected with the land whose losses are more severe, and whose reverse of fortune is one of the greatest calamities which the depreciation, in its consequences, has inflicted upon the country. I mean the tenantry. For that most meritorious body of men I feel the greatest compassion. But here again the same distinction applies, as in the case of the landlord, between the tenant carrying on business upon his own capital and the tenant under pecuniary engagements. Suppose the former to have commenced business in the year 1797 with a stock of his own worth L.1000, and money at the end of ten years from that time to have been depreciated fifty per cent., his stock would then have been nominally worth L.1500, but, in fact, he would not have been one penny the richer, all other commodities having risen in the same proportion ; and, if money had then been restored to its former value, his stock would again have become nominally L.1000 without his being in reality one penny the poorer. But, if he had borrowed that L.1000, and at the end of ten years had reckoned himself (as he had a right to do) worth L.500 more than he owed, that gain is now lost, though the capital in both cases remains the same. Still worse, if he borrowed the L.1000 during the depreciation, he is now insolvent. In this illustration, the house will trace the progress of the evils growing out of a depreciating currency. The man who has borrowed L.1000 and finds it increased to L.1500, naturally concludes that he

has been very successful in business. He enlarges his expenses and style of living—his neighbour, who witnesses his prosperity, is tempted to follow his course; and hence arises a spirit of competition which raises the rent of land far beyond even the quantum of the depreciation.

The same state of things which led to this eager disposition to borrow, created also an unbounded facility to lend. What was the result upon the moral habits and feelings of the community? The sober expectations of industry, together with the old maxims and prudent courses by which those expectations have heretofore been realized, were neglected and exploded. Profit from depreciation became confounded with the legitimate return of capital, and, in too many instances, the ancient spirit of the British tenantry degenerated into dashing speculation and consequent extravagance. But will any man say that the gain arising from a constantly growing depreciation is the fair profit of industry, that it is the profit which the law intended to countenance or encourage, or that such a principle, if once avowed, would not soon defeat or destroy itself? Can there be a man so short-sighted as to believe that, in the state in which we found ourselves at the close of the war, we could content ourselves with doing nothing? There was no alternative between resorting again to a fixed standard of value or going on in a career of constantly increasing depreciation, which must have hurried the country at last to a general catastrophe; for I believe there is no instance of an opulent country led away by such a delusion, where it has not ended in a convulsion of the property, and generally of the power, of the state.

Having to make an option between these opposite courses, parliament, in 1819, resolved to return to the ancient standard of value. It is this decision which the honourable member arraigns, and proposes to you to rescind. It would be difficult for him to contend that it was not the most manly and the most honest course; and I think he has failed to prove that it was not, under all circumstances, the wisest and the best. Could I entertain a doubt in that respect, (which I own I do not,) it would by no means follow that we ought to undo in 1822 that which we had done in 1819; and when we have undergone all the sufferings and privations incident to the restoration of health, that we should again plunge into the same vicious indulgences and irregularities as had first brought on the disease.

In deciding upon a matter of state policy of this complicated and delicate nature, we cannot do better than take experience for our guide; because, in looking to the opinions of

the wisest philosophers, and the proceedings of the greatest statesmen, of former days, under similar circumstances, we may at least be sure that we are resorting to authorities entitled, in all respects, to the greatest deference, but, above all, from their being free from the possible suspicion of their judgments being influenced by the prejudices, the passions, and the interests of the present day. I feel it necessary, on this occasion, to resort to these authorities, not on these grounds only, but because I have heard again, from the honourable member to-night, an assertion which astonished me when it was first made, in a former debate, by the honourable member for Westminster,* that "nothing like this depreciation and restoration of the currency ever occurred in any country before"—an assertion which astonished me the more, as, if my memory does not deceive me, that honourable baronet referred, on the same occasion, to the occurrences of King William's reign. Now, sir, I affirm, without fear of contradiction—first, that the state of the currency in King William's time, prior to the year 1696, was, in principle, exactly similar to the state in which it was prior to the year 1819—secondly, that the restoration of that currency, in the year 1696, was a measure precisely similar, in principle, to the present restoration of our ancient standard of value—thirdly, that it brought upon the country difficulties precisely of the same nature—and, lastly, that the remedies then proposed for those difficulties, and rejected by parliament, as I trust the remedies now proposed will be rejected, were exactly the same as those which are in the contemplation of the honourable member.

No man can read the writers and historians of those days; or the journals of parliament, without being aware that the currency was then greatly debased: so much so, that the current price of the ounce of silver (in the silver coin of the realm, then the only legal tender) fluctuated from 6s. 3d. to nearly 7s., whilst the standard or coinage price was 5s. 2d. Is not this, in principle, the same depreciation as that which we have witnessed in our time? In this state of things, parliament, in the month of December 1695, addressed the King to take measures for the restoration of a sound currency. What were those measures?—the calling in of all the clipped coin (which, having lost nearly half its standard weight, till then had passed at its full nominal value,) and recoinage it of full weight, according to the ancient standard. Again, is not this, in principle, precisely what we have lately done? To

* Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.

shew that the currency was then as much depreciated as I have stated, (a depreciation at least equal to any which we have experienced, taken at its most exaggerated estimate,) it is sufficient to mention, that it appears, by a return made from the Mint at that time, that five hundred and seventy-two bags of the silver coin called in, which ought to have weighed 221,418 ounces, did actually weigh only 113,771, leaving a deficiency of 107,647, or very nearly one-half.

In respect to my third position, that this restoration of the standard by King William brought upon the country difficulties of a similar nature to those which are now complained of, I might content myself with referring to historical memoirs which have been long known to the world. But the recent publication of a most interesting correspondence between King William and his minister, the Duke of Shrewsbury, so strikingly displays the extent of those difficulties, and so directly proves, at the same time, and in the most authentic manner, my last position—that the remedies suggested were similar to those which are now proposed—that I am sure the house will permit me to read to them a few short extracts from that correspondence. For its publication the world is immediately indebted to Archdeacon Coxe, who introduces this part of it with the following statement. Speaking of the year 1696, he writes thus:—

“The evils arising from the dilapidated state of the coinage had been so long and deeply felt, that in the preceding year an act had passed for the immediate recoinage of the silver money which was clipped, and otherwise much decreased in value. The measures, however, which were adopted to accomplish so desirable a purpose, created a great, though temporary aggravation of the evil; for such a check to the circulation immediately ensued, that all the operations of trade were cramped, the collection of the public supplies was suspended, guineas were raised to the value of thirty shillings, and paper currency was reduced to an alarming discount; bank notes falling twenty, and tallies and other government securities sixty per cent. By these causes the army was deprived of its regular pay and supplies; and the letters of the King feelingly detail the mischievous consequences which ensued.”*

Here we see that the evil, like the depreciation which it has fallen to our lot to remedy, had been of long standing; and I think this description of its effects does not fall short even of the most desponding and exaggerated pictures of our present

* Archdeacon Coxe's *Shrewsbury Correspondence*, p. 110.

difficulties. In fact, the fall of prices, upon the then restoration of the standard, was quite as great as upon the present occasion. The guinea, which was then a commodity fluctuating in its current value according to the price of bullion, fell from 30s. to 21s. 6d.; wool, from 36s. to 20s. a tod; and all other commodities in nearly the same proportion. But let us refer to the correspondence itself. On the 15th of May 1696, we find the Duke of Shrewsbury writing to the King as follows:—

“ Upon the receipt of your Majesty’s commands this morning, I engaged the rest of the justices to represent the case of the army abroad, to my Lord Godolphin, but found your Majesty’s new letter to him had made him sufficiently sensible of their condition. We discoursed this morning with several of the most eminent goldsmiths, and with some of the bank, and had the dismallest accounts from them of the state of credit in this town, and of the effects it would soon have upon all the traders in money, none of them being able to propose a remedy, except letting the parliament sit in June,” [an inconvenience it would seem much dreaded by our ancestors in this house, but to which we submit with resignation,] “ *and enacting the clipt money to go again, the very hopes of which locks up all the gold and good money, and would be to undo all that has been done.*”

Enacting the clipt money to go again! undoing all that has been done! Is not this precisely what the honourable member for Essex points at by his motion of this evening?

I shall now read a very short extract from a letter of the King to the Duke of Shrewsbury, written after he had received a communication from the Lords Justices to the same effect as the above:—“ Camp of Altere, 20th July 1696. The letter from the Lords Justices, of the 14th, has quite overcome me, and I know not where I am, since at present I see no resource which can prevent the army from mutiny or total desertion.” On the 28th July, after holding another council, the Duke of Shrewsbury writes to the King as follows:—“ It was universally the opinion of all here, that a session in your absence, and in the divisions the nation labours under now, would produce nothing but heat among themselves, and *petitions from all the counties about the state of the money; that they could afford little help as to a present supply, but by the expectation they would raise, that clipt money should be current again. or a recompense allowed for it; that the standard should be advanced, and the price of guineas improved.*”

Would not the house almost suppose, that instead of reading a dispatch dated in 1696, I was describing, from some

letter written during the present session, the feelings which parts of the country have expressed, and the advice which the weakness of some individuals has suggested for our present difficulties? I will only read one short extract from the answer of King William to this letter; it is dated, "Camp at Altere, 6th August 1696. May God relieve us from our present embarrassment; for I cannot suppose it is his will to suffer a nation to perish which he has so often almost miraculously saved."*

Sir, when we reflect that this extract is not taken from a speech to parliament, or any document intended to meet the public eye, but from a confidential letter from a king to his minister and friend, the pious confidence which it breathes, and the beautiful simplicity of the language in which that confidence is expressed, are equally calculated to raise the general character of that great prince in our estimation.

But let us see a little, in more immediate reference to the present subject, under what circumstances this affecting letter was written. It was written at the head of his army, by a king not insensible to military glory. But was military glory all that King William had then at stake? Was he not at the head of that army to defend his native land from the encroachments of an ambitious and too-powerful neighbour? Was he not engaged in a struggle for the liberties of this country, for the liberties of Europe, and (as far as a personal object could weigh with him in such a struggle) for the crown of England, which had been placed upon his head by the Revolution of 1688? It was in order to procure the pecuniary means of sustaining that struggle that, in the spring of 1696 he had sent the Earl of Portland to England. After long consultations with the ministers, with the bank, and with the monied interest, that noble person returned to the King, confirming the reports of his council, that no mode of extricating him from his difficulties could be suggested, except that which we have already seen described, namely, "*the re-issuing of the clipped money, and the undoing all that has been done.*" Did King William listen to this suggestion, and dishonour his reign by lowering the standard of our money? No, sir. He was a man that knew how to meet adversity. His life had been one continued struggle with difficulties; but it had been the fixed rule of that life to encounter them with an unshaken fortitude, and a rigid adherence to what he considered to be right. This was the quality of his mind, without

* Archdeacon Coxe's Shrewsbury Correspondence, pp. 116, 129, 132.

which his other virtues would have lost all their lustre, a quality which did not forsake him on this most trying occasion.

Instead of re-dispatching the Earl of Portland to England to concert measures "*for undoing all that had been done,*" he sent him privately to sound Louis XIV., and to endeavour to bring about a negotiation for peace; and coming himself to England, he met his parliament on the 20th of October 1696. In his speech from the throne on that day, he earnestly called their attention to the state of the currency, and the difficulties in which the country was in consequence involved. At that period, this subject agitated the country from one end to the other. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr Lowndes, had recommended the lowering the standard from 5s. 2d. to 6s. 3d. the ounce of silver—an operation equivalent to the lowering of the gold standard, at this time, from L.3 : 17 : 10½ to L.4 : 14 : 6—a degree of depreciation which, to begin with, would, I believe, almost satisfy even the honourable member for Calington.

The popular feeling was all on the side of this advice. That feeling was manifested in petitions from several counties, and most of the great towns. But did parliament adopt this advice? Far from it. With true wisdom, on the very first day of the meeting, immediately after voting an address in answer to the speech from the throne, on that same 20th of October 1696, Mr Montague, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed, and parliament adopted, the following resolution:—"That this house will not alter the standard of the gold and silver coins of this kingdom in fineness, weight, or denomination." The circumstance of coming to a resolution of this importance, on the very first day of the meeting, is the more remarkable, as in those times the address in answer to the speech was sometimes not voted till some days after the opening; but the ministers of King William felt the great importance of removing all doubts, and of at once settling the public mind on this point.

We know what followed. The ancient standard was maintained; the difficulties gradually subsided; and, everything finding its proper level, all the transactions of the country were restored to their former facility. "The receiving, that is to say, the calling in, the silver money," says a writer of that period, "could not but occasion much hardship and many complaints among the people; yet the greatest part attributed this to the necessity of affairs, and began to hope, both from the prospect of a peace, and wisdom of those at the helm, that they should enjoy more favourable times."

We are now fortunately in the enjoyment of a peace dictat-

ed by ourselves, and I trust, likely to be durable ; but it must be admitted—indeed the Shrewsbury Correspondence leaves no doubt upon the subject—that the peace of Ryswick, a peace by no means of the same lofty character, was hastened by the difficulties incident to the restoration of the currency. By that peace most of the objects of the war were either sacrificed or postponed. It was considered, at the time, as little better than a hollow truce, submitted to from necessity. But this only confirms the paramount importance which the government of King William attached to the restoration of the currency. Their view of the peace of Ryswick was certainly a just one ; and we all know that, after a few years of feverish armistice, it was followed by a long and arduous war. If I refer at all to that war, the war of the succession, it is to recall the recollection of the great share and glorious exertions of England in that contest ; and to satisfy the house that, whatever were the straits to which the country was reduced in 1696, the firm and wise resolution then adopted was not incompatible with the speedy restoration of prosperity and power. If, in 1696, this house, having then so recently restored the ancient landmarks of property, refused, under the strongest temptation, both from the state of the war on the continent and from popular feeling at home, again to alter them, shall we, after those same landmarks have now been replaced for three years, adopt a measure which would be as fatal to our national character as it would to the security of individual possession, to the maintenance of credit in private dealings, and to the very existence of the public credit of the state ?

When projects of this nature are afloat out of doors, and when they are now propounded to this house, shall we, with such mighty interests at stake, hesitate to manifest our firm determination to maintain the present standard of value ? Shall we shrink from the precedent of 1696 ? I am as little disposed as any man to call upon parliament to bind itself to any general or abstract principles, but I own this appears to me an occasion for such a proceeding. Under that impression, sir, however conscious of the humble station which I hold in this house and in the country, and of its immeasurable distance from that held by the great man by whom the resolution of 1696 was moved ; but with the same feelings for the honour and the best interests of my country which actuated his bosom on that occasion, I shall conclude, thanking the house for their indulgence, by proposing to amend the motion of the honourable member, by substituting for it the resolution of 1696 ; namely, “ *That this house will not alter*

the standard of gold or silver, in fineness, weight, or denomination."

The debate was adjourned till the following day, when the original motion was supported by Mr Bennet, Alderman Heygate, Mr H. Gurney, Mr Attwood, and Mr Brougham; and the amendment by Mr Haldimand, Mr Secretary Peel, the Marquis of Londonderry, and Mr Ricardo, who maintained that the success of the motion would be attended with all the injurious effects which Mr Huskisson had so ably pointed out. The house divided—For Mr Western's motion, 30. For Mr Huskisson's amendment, 194. Majority, 164.

SECT. VIII.—MR HUSKISSON ON PROTECTION TO BUTTER.

JUNE 20, 1822.

Sir Nicholas Colthurst moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Irish Butter Trade Act, with the intention of proposing "that an additional duty of 10s. per cwt. be imposed on foreign butter imported into this country." Mr Hudson Gurney opposed the motion, and declared that he would never consent to tax the people of England in order to keep up the exorbitant rents of the Irish landlords. Mr Ricardo said that the application was founded on a petition from Dublin, which falsely stated that the trade in butter had fallen off considerably. Mr Western thought it extraordinary that gentlemen should prefer a trade with foreign countries to a trade with Ireland, since the latter course would increase the consumption of our manufactures, and, consequently, promote the prosperity of the country.

Mr Huskisson assured the house that he was not one who preferred the interest of foreign countries to his own, and that if he thought this additional protection would be of real benefit to Ireland, and not occasion more injury to the empire at large, he would give it his support. In the present year more butter had been imported from Holland than in any preceding year since the peace. Why was this? The honourable member for Essex said it was because it was produced in Holland at less expense; but the real cause was, that it had fallen in price in Holland. The honourable gentleman had compared the means of Ireland with those of Holland in the production of this article. Now the fact was, that Holland was the most taxed country in Europe, not even excepting England. He objected to the proposed measure, because it would operate no relief to Ireland, and the effect of it would be, not to in-

crease consumption, but, by raising the price of a bad article, to draw it altogether out of consumption. In the present state of Europe, when every country was suffering from low prices, it was peculiarly incumbent upon us not to set other nations the example of imposing additional restrictions on trade, but to convince them that it was our fixed determination to pursue that liberal system of commercial intercourse which had been so auspiciously commenced, and to let commerce be carried on for the mutual benefit of all.

The motion was negatived.

SECT. IX.—MR HUSKISSON ON THE SILK TRADE.

On the silk trade Mr Huskisson was enabled to legislate by the assistance of those who dared him to interfere with corn or butter, and against the opposition of others, such as Mr Baring and Mr Denman, (Lord Ashburton and Lord Chief Justice Denman,) who would allow corn to be interfered with but not silk. On the 5th of March 1824, Mr Baring, in presenting a petition from the silk manufacturers of London, praying that the house would not suffer any bill to pass into a law which would repeal the prohibition on the importation of foreign wrought silk, and insisting that the removal of the said prohibition would be ruinous to their interests, said, that after all the consideration he could give to the subject, he was of opinion that the petitioners were in the right. With the application of their chemical knowledge to dyeing, and with their other advantages, the French would, he said, have such a start in all the branches of their silk manufacture, that he was sure there would be no person by whom the French silks would not be exclusively used. It was not London alone that would be affected. Many country towns, and Taunton in particular, had changed from another manufacture to that of silk. In this instance, he should vote against the system of free trade, and trusted that ministers would abandon their intention. Mr Secretary Canning begged the house to consider, if the reasoning of the honourable member for Taunton were adopted, in what a situation all those were likely to be placed who were desirous of introducing a liberal system of commercial policy. It should be recollected that this liberal system had been pressed upon ministers by nearly the whole house, but by no individual with so much effect and so much authority as by the same honourable member who had that night argued so strenuously against it. If the proposition of the honourable gentleman were agreed to, it would be vain to endeavour to adopt a more liberal system with regard

to silk, or to any other branch of commerce. Mr Denman said, that though he had no doubt that the ultimate result of the new system of commercial policy would be beneficial, a conviction of the inconveniences and hardships attendant on the change would induce him to vote against it.

Mr Huskisson said he was surprised, after what the honourable and learned gentleman had advanced on former occasions, that he should have overlooked the main argument for the proposed alteration; namely, the doing away with a system of prohibition the most offensive of all others in its consequences; as under it the officers of excise were empowered to search the persons and the dwellings, not of dealers only, but of any person, in search of smuggled silks, and to resort to other modes of detection and examination extremely repugnant to the character of Englishmen, and which had not unfrequently been even termed unconstitutional.

The honourable member for Taunton had stated that labour was higher in this country than it was abroad. But the honourable gentleman seemed to have forgotten that, if it were dearer, as applied to one branch of manufacture, it was dearer with respect to all. In this respect silk was not peculiar; and it was singular that a mind so acute and enlightened, should have that night discovered for the first time—(probably in consequence of some intelligence from Taunton)—that the price of labour in this country was dearer than it was on the Continent in the manufacture of silk alone. The cotton and woollen trades, and indeed all branches, laboured under the same disadvantage; yet in those measures we competed successfully with foreigners. On the authority of a French writer who had access to the best sources of information, he could assert, without fear of contradiction, that at that moment, and subject to these restrictions and to heavy duties, the export of silk manufactured goods from Great Britain to the foreign markets exceeded the whole export of France; and from that fact the house would judge whether, with a duty of thirty per cent., the British silk manufacturer could not be quite equal to compete with France in our own market.

The honourable gentleman had also expressed his astonishment that the subject had been brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, without consulting the parties interested, and without information obtained through a committee. Certainly he should have thought that government had neglected its duty if it had not, with regard to the silk trade, attended, in some degree, to the repeated admonitions of the other side of the house; and recollecting the inquiries that

had taken place in the other house of parliament before committees, the present could not be fairly called an attempt to legislate without due information. He protested against the assumption that either that house or the trade had been taken by surprise. The trade, indeed, had been the first to suggest the removal of those restrictions; and he was confident they would be nearly the first to rejoice at their removal.

Mr Davenport maintained that the proposed measure would be a damper, if not an extinguisher, to the silk trade. Mr Ellice approved of the liberal system of policy, but was unwilling to commence the alteration with that branch of industry which was exposed to the greatest chance of successful competition. Mr Secretary Peel entreated the house to consider in what a light it would stand before Europe, if, after declaiming so long in favour of the principles of free trade, it did not attempt, instead of aiming at temporary popularity, to establish sound principles of commercial policy. How greatly would those principles be prejudiced, if, knowing them to be irrefragable, parliament, not having the courage to encounter difficulties, were to yield to the fears of the timid or the representations of the interested.

March 8.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, on the acts charging duties of customs on goods, wares, and merchandise, and for granting bounties on linen and silk manufactures, Mr Huskisson rose, and spoke to the following effect:—

Although my right honourable friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he brought forward his general exposition of the finances of the country, stated, with a perspicuity so peculiarly his own, the grounds upon which he should think it expedient to recommend to parliament an alteration in the laws relating to the silk trade, yet, as considerable objections have been taken to this part of my right honourable friend's plan, both in this house and out of doors, however unable I may be to follow in the steps of my right honourable friend, I trust I shall have the indulgence of the committee while I state, in his unavoidable absence, the views of his Majesty's government on this important subject.

To the general plan proposed by my right honourable friend two descriptions of objections have been taken in this house and out of doors. The first class of objections proceeds from those who consider that it would be more desirable that any relief which can be afforded in the present state of the finances of the country should fall upon some of the direct taxes. The second class of objections is urged by those who

are desirous that the laws relative to the trade in silk should remain as they are.

Now, with respect to the first class of objections, I own it appears to me that the course in which his Majesty's government have had to travel—since the state of the finances of the country has been such as to warrant them in considering what ought to be the proper subjects for the remission of taxation—has been to make the remission in the way most consonant with the wishes and interests of the people. In commencing measures of relief, his Majesty's government felt the greatest anxiety; as it was their first duty to afford assistance to those humbler classes of society which had been more immediately affected by the increase of taxation during the war, on certain articles of general consumption. In this view, the salt and the malt taxes have been considerably reduced. The leather tax has also been reduced; and last, though not least in their operation and effects on the lower classes of the people, lotteries have been entirely abolished. A very considerable remission has also been made in the taxation affecting the middle classes of society.

Having thus extended relief to the amount of seven millions of taxes to the different classes of society, it has been asked why we did not proceed in that course by a further diminution of the assessed taxes? I am ready to admit that this would have been a desirable and a popular course; for nothing certainly is more unpleasant than the feeling with which a man pays money out of his pocket to a tax-gatherer, without having anything to shew for the money so paid but a receipt. We felt it our duty, however, to examine whether it might not be possible, not only to afford some relief in the way of taxation, but at the same time to make that relief conducive to the advancement of the industry, the wealth, and the prosperity of the country. We considered whether the present moment was not peculiarly favourable for carrying into effect those principles of commercial policy which were calculated to produce these important results.

The state of our possessions in India has been recently alluded to; and certainly it is an object of no slight importance to consider whether, by some convenient and practical arrangements, an extended mart may not be obtained for the native productions of our vast empire in that quarter. If we look also to the immense changes which are taking place in the colonial system of the world, it is peculiarly incumbent on this country not to lose sight of the great commercial advantages which may be derived from the immense

mart which is opened by those changes, for the extension of our manufactures and commerce. It is true that at this moment the provinces of South America are engaged in a struggle with the mother country, and that in many parts the government is still unsettled; but it is almost equally certain that they can never return to that state of dependance, with reference at least to commercial relations, in which they were placed before the recent changes. When we consider the immense progress in the commercial relations between this country and the United States of America, since they established their independence, it is not too much to assume—allowing for the difference on the score of industry, skill, enterprise, and wealth, between the United States and South America, but still looking to the population of the latter, and to the extent of country over which that population is spread—it is not, I say, too much to assume that, under any system calculated to promote industry, South America will open a mart to our commerce, of which our present experience is but an earnest of its future extent.

In such a state of things, if we find, in legislating with a view to extended commercial advantages, that a particular branch of our manufactures is clogged and impeded in its progress by impolitic laws and regulations—such as restrictions on the freedom of labour, duties on the raw material, drawbacks improperly or inadequately applied, being in some cases more than are necessary, and in others not sufficient—I think it then becomes the duty of a government, having a small excess of revenue, carefully to inquire whether it may not be better to forego the immediate benefit of a reduction of direct taxation, in order to remove such impolitic restrictions.

It has been truly observed by the honourable member for Taunton, that the excess of revenue, on which my right honourable friend calculated as a permanent excess on which to found a remission of taxation, did not exceed L.500,000. Indeed my right honourable friend himself stated, that he had taken a saving upon four years, amounting to L.200,000; this saving arising, in part, from sources which could not be regarded as permanent. My right honourable friend has done this, under the feeling that, if ever we were to change the system by which our commerce and manufactures were impeded, the present was a favourable moment for so doing. And he has contemplated, not merely the relief which would be derived from the extent to which taxation was remitted, but that further relief which might reasonably be expected to grow out of the increasing prosperity of the country. In pro-

moting new branches of industry, public wealth and commercial prosperity, we are sowing those seeds which, in the fulness and fecundity of future harvests, will afford us the means of future relief from other burdens; and which, if unfortunately the country should again be involved in war, will supply the best means by which our efforts will be sustained.

It is upon these principles, notwithstanding the unpopularity which they might bring upon themselves, that his Majesty's government have determined to persevere in recommending to parliament to make the alterations in the laws relative to the silk and woollen trades, the grounds of which alterations were so ably opened by my right honourable friend on a former occasion.

It has, I am aware, been said, that the views taken by his Majesty's government, of the disadvantages under which the silk trade labours from the existing laws, have not been supported by those engaged in that trade. The honourable member for Cheshire* has said that the trade is perfectly satisfied with the present state of the law; and the honourable member for Taunton asserts that no person in the trade wishes for any change. Now, until I heard the assertion made in this house, I did not believe that there were any persons in the trade who did not wish to be relieved from the shackles and disadvantages under which they have hitherto laboured; for it occurred to me that, during the last session of parliament, almost all the principal persons concerned in the silk trade petitioned the house to be relieved from these very restrictions. And on looking to the petition presented by the silk manufacturers of London and Westminster, I find that, so far from being satisfied with these restrictions, they express themselves thus:—

“Important as this manufacture is acknowledged to be, and much as it has been recently extended, it is still depressed below its natural level, and prevented, by existing laws, from advancing to a far higher degree of prosperity than it has hitherto attained, and which, under more favourable circumstances, it would, without difficulty, realize. Possessing, as this country does, access to an unlimited supply of silk from its eastern possessions, an indefinite command over capital and machinery, and artisans whose skill and industry cannot be surpassed, your petitioners hesitate not to express their conviction that, by judicious arrangements, the silk manufacture of Great Britain may yet be placed in a situation

* Mr Davenport.

ultimately to triumph over foreign competition ; and that silk, like cotton, may be rendered one of the staple commodities of the country."

With such statements before him, my right honourable friend came down to the house under the conviction that this trade was greatly depressed, and suffering especially from the duty imposed on the raw material. It will scarcely be necessary for me to enter into any arguments of a general nature, to shew the impolicy of such a duty, or the thousand checks and disadvantages to which the trade is exposed, from regulations interfering with freedom of labour. I have heard no general argument advanced in favour of the state of things to which I have alluded. I have, indeed, heard some more limited arguments put forward by honourable gentlemen opposite, which apply more immediately to the peculiar situation of this particular trade. The honourable member for Coventry, for instance, told us, on a former evening, that silk was not a native manufacture of this country. The honourable member for Taunton even went so far as to assert that the silk manufacture, like peculiar kinds of fruit, could only flourish in particular places ; and I confess that the instance which the honourable gentleman adduced in support of his proposition struck me as a somewhat whimsical one ; for he told us that Taunton, which has at present several very extensive silk manufactures, was, thirty or forty years ago, unacquainted with the article, but possessed a considerable manufacture of woollens. Now, sir, I cannot say who the individual was that represented that very respectable borough in parliament thirty or forty years ago. He might have been a very eminent merchant, and most influential and enlightened member of this house ; he might, for aught I know, have been familiarly conversant with the principles of political economy—a staunch and determined advocate of free trade—a zealous disciple of Adam Smith, whose opinions were, about that time, first published to the world ; but if the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day had come down to the house and said, " I am desirous to place the cotton manufactures"—(which were then subject to the same heavy duties which now attach to the silk trade)—" upon the same footing as other manufactures, with respect to which something like a free trade exists—I wish to give to that branch of our industry an opportunity of extending itself as far as it is capable in this country," doubtless, the then honourable member for Taunton, be he who he might, representing the woollen manufactures of his constituents, would have risen in his place and said, " How can you think of

proposing anything so injurious to the best interests of the country? The woollen manufacture has for ages been the staple trade of this country; and how can you expect that England, which possesses so little machinery, can compete with the fine and delicate textures which proceed from the Indian cotton manufactories, where labour is so cheap?" These are precisely the same objections which are now put forward by the honourable gentlemen opposite against the proposed alteration in the silk trade. The house is told that the manufacture of silk is not capable of being extended by the use of machinery, and that its production requires more labour than the cotton manufacture. Had this grave objection been taken at the period to which I have alluded, the language of the honourable member for Taunton of that day would doubtless have been—"You surely will not touch the staple manufacture of England! Look at the alteration which is taking place in the dress of our females! Only think what the consequences will be, when native flannel petticoats and woollen hose shall have fallen into disuse!" And I dare to say it would have been adduced as an instance of the "wisdom of our ancestors," and the strongest possible proof of the high consideration in which the woollen manufacture had always been held, that the very shrouds of the dead were, by law, required to be composed exclusively of that native manufacture.

At this stage of the question I entreat the attention of the committee whilst I state what has been the progress of the cotton manufacture in the short period to which I have alluded; and I do so because I feel, and indeed it cannot be doubted that the arguments which are now applied to the proposed change in the silk trade were then applicable to the cotton manufacture. I know, sir, of nothing in the history of commerce—I am not acquainted with anything in the history of our manufacturing prosperity—that can be at all compared with the wonderful change which has taken place in the cotton trade.

It is perfectly true that forty years ago the manufacture of woollens was the great staple of the country. In the year 1780, the whole export of manufactured cotton goods of every description amounted in value to only L.355,000. In 1785, which was two years after the restoration of peace, and when the commerce of the country had in some measure recovered from the difficulties under which it necessarily laboured during the war, the whole extent of our cotton exports, of every description, amounted to no more than L.864,000; whilst, at the same period, the exports of woollen manufactured goods

amounted to considerably more than four millions; the proportion between the two commodities being at that time as five to one. But how stands the case at present? Why, sir, from that period to the present, that is, from the year 1785 to the year 1822—incredible almost as it may appear—the exports alone of manufactured cotton goods have risen to the enormous amount of L.33,337,000, being forty times greater than it was in the year 1785. Of course I am speaking from the official estimate. But with respect to the woollen manufactures, the great staple trade of the country in former times, the exports do not, at the present moment, amount to more than L.6,000,000, being not so much as one-fifth the amount of the exports of cotton. Why then, sir, when I see the pre-eminent advantages which have arisen from the circumstance of allowing capital to run in a free and unrestrained channel—when I contemplate the benefits which the country has derived from the application of sound and liberal principles to this single branch of commerce—am I not justified in endeavouring to prevail upon the house to extend still further those principles which have produced such salutary results.

Hitherto, I have only stated what the growth of our cotton manufactures has been with respect to our exports. In so doing, as I have already stated, I took the official value; and this was perfectly fair, because I did so with both articles; although, of course, the official value is somewhat higher than the real. But according to the best information I have been able to obtain on the subject—and I have taken some pains to acquire it—I believe I am not overstating the fact, when I state that the real value of cotton goods consumed at home, within the last year, amounted to L.32,000,000 sterling.

Now I know I shall be asked, how does all this apply to the question of the silk trade, which is produced by little labour, and from a comparatively small quantity of raw material? But when I state that, of the thirty-two millions' worth of manufactured goods, not more than six millions were invested in the raw material, and that the remaining twenty-six millions went to the profits of the capitalists and the income of the persons employed in the manufacture, I believe no man who takes a statesman-like view of the subject will doubt the soundness of the proposition with which I set out; namely, that when you remove the restrictions and burdens from any particular branch of industry, you not only afford relief to the extent of the tax remitted, but you lay the foundation for commercial enterprise, of the beneficial effects of which it is impossible to foresee the extent. I would ask any man who

has attentively considered the resources of this country, whether, if the restrictions had not been removed from the manufacture of cotton (the continuance of which restrictions would necessarily have impeded its extension) this country could possibly have made the gigantic exertions which it put forth during the last war? I would ask whether the number of persons employed in this manufacture, to the amount, I believe, of one million two hundred thousand souls, whose wants are supplied in return for their labour, does not afford more real encouragement to the agriculture of the country than any regulation for keeping up artificial prices could possibly effect? It is to the increasing wealth of the manufacturing population and the progress of industry, and not to artificial regulations for creating high prices, that this country must look, not only for relief from her present burdens, but for the power of making fresh exertions whenever her situation may demand them. It is not in the power of any artificial measures to give that real relief to agriculture, or to any other mode of occupation, which can only flow from the increasing activity and unceasing industry of the people.

The most remarkable feature in the history of the cotton manufacture is the impetus which it has given to invention, the numerous valuable discoveries which it has brought forth, the ingenuity which it has called into action—the tendency and effect of all which have been to produce the article at the lowest possible rate. Each of these valuable improvements occasioned at the time some inconvenience to those who had before produced the manufacture by manual labour; but the result has been, that not only has much more capital been beneficially vested in machinery, but a greater number of hands have been employed to manage it, in proportion as the prospect of fresh resources were opened to the manufacturer.

But what is the situation of the silk trade under the system of entire prohibition from foreign competition which some honourable gentlemen consider as its greatest advantage? Why, sir, the system of monopoly in this trade has produced what monopoly is always sure to produce, an indifference with regard to improvement. That useful competition which gives life to invention, which fosters ingenuity, and in manufacturing concerns promotes a desire to produce the article in the most economical form, has been completely extinguished. The system of prohibitory duties which has been maintained with respect to the silk trade, has had the effect—to the shame of England be it spoken!—of leaving us far behind our neighbours in this branch of industry. We have witnessed that

chilling and benumbing effect, which is always sure to be felt when no genius is called into action, and when we are rendered indifferent to exertion by the indolent security of a prohibitory system. I have not the slightest doubt that, if the same system had been continued with respect to the cotton manufacture, it would at this moment be as subordinate in amount to the woollen, as it is junior in its introduction into this country.

I am afraid, sir, I have already trespassed too long on the patience of the committee; but I have been anxious to impress upon the house, and the country generally, that if there be a chance of giving new life and vigour to any branch of industry which has either been in a state of stagnation or slow in its progress, there are at present, in the situation of the world, circumstances calculated to afford relief which never before existed; and I must say, that those who, blindly desirous of procuring immediate relief for the country by the remission of direct taxes, would neglect the ample, extended, and tempting field which now lies open before us, do not take a wise or a statesman-like view of the subject. Now, sir, it is not merely for the reasons which I have attempted to explain that I support the proposition of my right honourable friend, but also with reference to the general principle that all prohibitory duties are bad on articles of general consumption; and I wish to direct the serious attention of the committee to the real nature of the prohibitory system. I would ask if there be any evils in our penal code which can be at all compared with that system of prohibition which some gentlemen are so desirous to uphold? By the present laws, any individual, no matter who, the commonest ruffian in the street, may snatch from a gentleman any article which he suspects to be of foreign manufacture. Can anything be less congenial to the spirit of English law than this—that a man may enter the dwelling-house of his neighbour and make a diligent search, because he suspects that some prohibited article is to be found in it? Have we not heard of excise officers stopping gentlemen's carriages, and subjecting them to a diligent search, upon the bare suspicion of their containing contraband goods?

But, sir, are these the only considerations which ought to induce us to abandon the system? See to what an extent of fraud and perjury they give encouragement? The higher classes of society will have these prohibited articles. In fact, these prohibitory regulations are like the game laws. If you continue them you must expect to have poachers. It is the higher classes of society who are responsible for all the

breaches of those laws—laws which are made, not for the protection of the subject, but to produce an imaginary benefit, which I consider a real detriment, to the very manufacture which it is intended to serve. I profess to be very unlearned on these subjects, but I understand that any man, upon applying to the Court of Exchequer, may obtain what is called “a writ of assistance,” by virtue of which he is empowered to enter any gentleman’s dwelling, which is thus placed upon the footing of a gambling-house, and subjected to the search of the police.

The arguments of those who are opposed to the plan of my right honourable friend appear to me very singular. The operative classes, and the master manufacturers, who have petitioned against the removal of the system, have done so upon the principle that the prohibition is necessary for the maintenance of the trade; and although they frankly confess that whatever goods the caprice and fashion of the day may require to be introduced into this country, may be imported at an insurance of 15 per cent., and sold in any shop in the kingdom, yet these very persons say that an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent. would be insufficient to afford them protection. Upon this subject it is necessary that I should refer to the evidence which was adduced by these very persons before the committee of the house of parliament. It is at all times a disagreeable and tedious thing to do; but it will be curious for the committee to examine the fact, since they will find that all the witnesses upon that occasion spoke to the necessity of the proposed alteration. To such inconsistencies are men sometimes driven in the pursuit of a particular object!

We are now told that thirty per cent. will not be a sufficient protection to the British manufacturer; but upon this subject it will only be necessary to refer the committee to the evidence of two American merchants who visited England and France in order to purchase silks to sell in America. One of them (Mr Farnsworth) was asked—“In what respect do you consider the French silk goods to be either inferior or superior to ours?” He answered—“Their goods are generally afforded at a less rate than the English of similar quality, and upon that account they will have the preference of sale.” He was then asked—“At what per cent. would you estimate the difference of value of goods of nearly the same quality?” He replied—“Upon examining the goods here, I have made up my mind that there is something like twenty or twenty-five per cent. difference between the French and English goods in blacks, and rather more in colours.” In the article of ribbands, he answered unhesitatingly that there was a difference

of twenty-five per cent. Here then is an American merchant who comes to Europe to make his purchases, and finds this to be the difference between the French and English manufactures, which difference, the committee will perceive, is five per cent. lower than the duty which is intended to be left for the protection of the English manufacturer.

I will now refer the committee to the evidence of Mr Hale, an eminent manufacturer in Spitalfields, well known to many members of this house for his probity, his active benevolence, and his great desire to promote the comforts and happiness of those who are in his employment. This gentleman's evidence must be considered extremely valuable, not only on account of his personal respectability, but his perfect competence to form a correct judgment on these matters. Mr Hale says—"When I was at Paris, the manufacturers there, having no idea that I was a Spitalfields manufacturer, offered, upon my payment of an insurance of ten per cent., to send me any quantity of manufactured silks which I might choose to select, to any part of London I pleased, notwithstanding their liability to be seized as French wherever they might be found." I beg the attention of the committee to what follows. On being asked—"Do not a great many French goods find their way into this country?" Mr Hale replied—"Yes; but I do not consider that an evil; because there was a disposition in this country to wear anything that comes from France, and we have frequently found that when a new pattern has been introduced, it has immediately been copied; and that for one real French piece sold there have been a thousand imitations sold." But Mr Hale did not stop here: he went on to state—"It is not an uncommon thing for our manufacturers to copy the pattern immediately, and send these goods to Brighton; where, by the aid of fishermen and smugglers, the silks are disposed of as French, at a much higher price than would have been given for them in London."

Now, sir, do not these facts prove to a demonstration that with a protecting duty of thirty per cent., the British manufacturer will be able to compete with foreign manufactures? In which case the revenue will be benefited, and there will be no ministering to the perverted taste of those who can derive no satisfaction from a garment unless it be worn in violation of the law of the land, and affords encouragement to the smuggler. It is, therefore, idle to suppose that with the great improvements which have taken place in the machinery employed in the silk manufacture since the trade escaped from the trammels of Spitalfields, and established itself in Manches-

ter and other places, the English silk manufacture, with adequate protecting duties, will not be able to compete with that of France. Indeed, I have this day seen the deputation from Manchester, and they do not hesitate distinctly to say, that if time be granted to enable them to complete their arrangements, they can meet the French manufacturer in any country in the world, and will not be afraid of being distanced. [Hear! hear! from Mr Philips.] The honourable gentleman will, by and bye, have an opportunity of contradicting this statement if it be not correct; but I can assure the committee, that since this subject was opened by my right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there has been no want of due diligence, either on his part or mine, to make ourselves masters of this difficult question, by communication with those who were the best able to afford us information; and whilst, on the one hand, we are accused of having acted too precipitately, and, on the other, of not having come with sufficient expedition to a decided result, I trust we shall at least be acquitted of any want of exertion to form the best judgment that we could upon the matter. With respect to the charge of delay, it was impossible for us to come to a final determination until we had seen how all the parties interested were likely to be affected.

I shall be told, I am well aware, that the persons concerned in the trade are the best judges of their own particular interests. I entertain, sir, as great a deference as any man for the opinions which persons connected with any branch of manufacture may express on matters of detail, and in my official situation it is my duty to consult frequently with those from whom I can obtain information; but I trust it will not be considered inconsistent with the respect which I feel for those persons to declare that, with respect to general propositions, I do not conceive them to be the best judges of what may be most conducive to the public interest. Without meaning in the slightest degree—on the contrary, disclaiming the intention—to impute to those engaged in any particular pursuit a disposition to uphold themselves to the detriment of the community, I must, nevertheless, say, that a system of monopoly must be favourable to great capitalists; although, at the same time, it cramps trade generally, and does a great injury to the community. I am perfectly aware that the proposed alterations must affect particular interests materially. The reduction of the duty on the raw material will, doubtless, create uneasiness with the broker, who at present receives his commission before the duty is paid. But there always will be partial interests that must suffer for a time:

and all that parliament can do, and all that it is its duty to do, is to deal with those interests which are affected by any great change as tenderly as possible. One of the most numerous parties interested in the system of monopoly, and most industrious in exciting a feeling out of doors against the intended change, are those persons who, under the prohibitory system, are benefited by smuggling. They are very naturally afraid that their illegal trade will suffer, and that, if there be no prohibition, no lady will fancy a French article when she can obtain an English one; so that, in fact, the ladies' maids and their mistresses are not the least part of the confederacy against the proposed arrangement.

Having now, sir, stated the general grounds on which we call upon parliament to give its support to government, in the important change which is contemplated, I shall proceed to explain the mode in which it is intended to be carried into execution. The difficulty with which government has had to contend is this:—It is obvious that, if we were to postpone the remission of the duties, an impression would be created in the mind of the consumer that, by deferring his purchases, he would be able to obtain the article at a much lower rate than the proposed remission would justify him in supposing; and the obvious effect of such a feeling on the part of the consumer would be to throw some manufacturers out of employment; a circumstance which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It appeared, therefore, to his Majesty's government, on the best consideration we could give the subject, that the wisest course we could take, with a view of putting an end to all the disquiet which at present exists among those who depend for subsistence on their daily labour in that manufacture, would be to make the remission of the duty as entire and as speedy as possible. I shall therefore propose that the remission, instead of taking place on the 5th of July, as was originally intended, shall take place as early as the 25th of the present month.

Having taken this course to prevent stagnation in this branch of our commerce, to obtain employment for those who cannot live without it, and to give a stimulus to the manufacturer to continue his present speculations and extend his future enterprises, his Majesty's government found themselves placed in a situation of some difficulty with regard to those who had a stock of the raw material on hand—a stock which will, I am afraid, from the recent sales of the East-India House, be found to be not inconsiderable. Still, however, as we conceived, it was not impossible to come to a satisfactory arrangement. The arrangement which we preferred was this—to allow all persons having a

stock of raw silk on hand, or a stock of thrown silk not in a manufactured state, to return it into the warehouse, to reclaim the duty on the quantity so warehoused, and afterwards to take it out again on the 25th of March, subject only to the new rate of duty. The result of this arrangement will be, that the present stock will only be inapplicable to the purposes of the manufacturer during the interval between the present day and the 25th of March—an interval so short as to prevent any suspension from taking place in the employment of the looms; for I am confident that the throwsters will never think of stopping their operatives for so trifling a difficulty as this measure seems likely to place in their way. It is perfectly true that, to that part of the stock which has been worked and distributed, we cannot extend the new arrangement. There some hardship must be felt; but if there be anything in this objection, it is one which applies to all similar cases, and can be urged at all times when alterations come to be made in the existing duties. But it is probable that this inconvenience will be less felt in the present instance, since, owing to the course of monopoly, the fluctuations in the price of the article have frequently been greater than the duty now remitted. But whether it be so or not, it would be an endless and impracticable task to go about to every haberdasher's shop throughout the country, to ascertain the precise quantity of the manufactured material on hand. In the course of the last year the article fluctuated from sixty, which was the highest, to forty shillings, in the course of a few months; and the committee will perceive that this was a difference exceeding the rate of the duty.

These, sir, are the principal points which I have to submit to the committee relative to the duties on silk. I now come to the other part of the proposition; namely, that which relates to the prohibition. It does appear to me—and on this point I am supported by the opinion of several eminent manufacturers—that, owing to the monopoly with which this trade has, for some time, been cursed, we are not upon a level in machinery, in working, and in colours, with the manufacturers of the Continent. That we are incapable of rising to an equality with them in this, as we have excelled them in other branches of manufacture, it would be difficult, upon any rational ground, to deny. It is the opinion of many experienced individuals, that if the prohibition were taken off, we should soon, not only be equal with, but even surpass them in every branch of the manufacture; but while we are in this state, and while the feeling exists, which is calculated to aggravate the fact to our disadvantage, it is the duty of parlia-

ment to approach the subject with some regard even for the prejudices of the parties concerned. Instead, therefore, of making the repeal of the prohibition contemporaneous with the remission of the duties, I propose that it shall continue up to July 1826.* I do this under the impression that something is due to the general feeling entertained upon the subject; and because I am, comparatively, indifferent as to the period when the principle shall come into full operation, so that I can but see a prospect of its being ultimately established.

Such, sir, are the measures which I have to submit to the committee in the shape of a resolution; and I have now to thank it for the attention with which I have been listened to, while I have explained the principles on which that resolution is founded. There is one part of the arrangement which I omitted to state; but it is of so much importance that it ought to be mentioned. I allude to a provision which we have in view, for allowing all manufactured goods intended for exportation to be deposited in warehouses, and for admitting the depositors to the full benefit of the drawback on the goods deposited. The advantage of this arrangement will be, that any manufacturer who may happen to have a stock immensely large, will be enabled to receive the drawback on it before he exports it; and will thus be placed, up to a certain point, on a level with those who have purchased the raw material under the proposed remission of duty.

It is not, sir, from an overweening attachment to any particular theory of political economy that I have been induced to urge these principles upon the attention of the committee; but because I believe them to be such as no men can call in question, and because I am convinced that the application of them, in this particular instance, cannot fail to be eminently serviceable to the country. I have, in the course of my public life, seen too much of the uncertainty of theories to be an enthusiast in favour of any. If I am accused of leaning strongly to liberal principles with regard to trade, I at once plead guilty to the charge: but they are principles founded on experience, and sanctioned by the highest authorities. In my opinion, to be liberal in matters of commercial policy is to remove the difficulties and jealousies which have hitherto prevented a free intercourse between different nations, to extend to each the advantages and enjoyments of the other, and to promote arts, sciences, and civilization: and when we

* The newspapers state, that "at this part of Mr Huskisson's speech, there was a clapping of hands among the silk manufacturers, with whom the gallery was filled."

Speak with reference to the commercial interests of this country, the argument is strengthened instead of being weakened. Her wealth, her industry, her talent, her prosperity, all are so many inducements for us to liberalize the system. In short, sir, I would be liberal to other countries, because, amongst other reasons, I feel that by being so I best consult the interests of my own.

The right honourable gentleman concluded, amidst loud cheers from all parts of the house, which were again re-echoed by the silk manufacturers in the gallery, with moving his first resolution, viz. "That from and after the 25th of March 1824, the several duties and drawbacks on the importation and exportation of the several sorts of silk hereinafter mentioned shall cease and determine; and also that, from and after the 5th of July 1826, the prohibitions on the importation of silk manufactures shall cease and determine."

Mr Baring confessed that the impression made on the house by the speech of the President of the Board of Trade was such as to render it a vain hope that anything which he could himself offer would remove it. He was, however, satisfied that the proposed measure was a dangerous experiment for the country, and that those who proposed it were completely ruining the silk manufacture of England. They would find this out when they had deprived thousands of poor manufacturers of their bread. All the shops of London would be full of silk goods. The moment this plan was promulgated, the object of all who had capitals embarked on the manufacture would be to disentangle those capitals; and those who had no capital, except their labour, would be left to struggle for themselves, and perhaps to perish for want. Mr Hume denied that the measure in question was a mere experiment. It proceeded upon such sound principles, that there could be no reasonable doubt of its success. The several resolutions were agreed to, and a bill was brought in, founded thereupon, which passed on the 25th.

SECT. X.—MR HUSKISSON'S EXPOSITION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE FREE TRADE SYSTEM ON THE SILK MANUFACTURE—THE LONDON PETITION FOR FREE TRADE.—FEBRUARY 24, 1826.

A few days after the meeting of parliament, Mr Baring, on presenting a petition from Taunton against the introduction of French silks, expressed a hope that the subject would undergo a discussion at an early period, seeing that hundreds of thousands of individuals anticipated ruin and starvation from

the late regulations. He was anxious to see whether or no the house would support ministers in their desperate resolution. Mr Huskisson said, that whenever the subject should be brought forward in a regular and formal manner, he should be prepared to meet the objections to the regulations which had been recently adopted with regard to the silk trade. Accordingly, this day, Mr Ellice moved—"That a select committee be appointed to inquire into and examine the statements contained in the various petitions from persons engaged in the silk manufacture, and to report their opinion and observations thereon to the house." In seconding the motion, Mr John Williams declared that "he could not allow the existence of half a million of persons to be used as an experiment in proving the correctness of an abstract theory. If the authors of this measure were so convinced of their principle that they were prepared to make that sacrifice in carrying it into execution, the strength of their resolution would, under present circumstances, only prove the quality of their hearts. A perfect metaphysician, as Mr Burke had observed, exceeded the devil in point of malignity and contempt for the welfare of mankind. He must look upon their perseverance, in this case at least, as a proof of overweening attention to the principle which they might have adopted, be the application, in experiment or result, either good or bad. Let the right honourable gentleman opposite and his colleagues take one admonition from him—the responsibility must, in any event, remain with them. From that responsibility no gentleman or set of gentlemen in that house could relieve them. The house might divide it with them and lessen it; but the chief burden must remain on their shoulders. Such was their fate, and to it they were bound by the constitution of the country and their acceptance of place; and answer they must to the country for the result, however great or little the discretion which had directed them. If the house professed any community of feeling with the public, among whom there were so many actual sufferers from the existing evil, ministers would be alarmed, and driven from their purpose by the vote of that night."

Mr Huskisson rose, and spoke in substance as follows:—

Sir—Although the honourable member for Coventry, who introduced the present motion, may be supposed to be under the influence of suggestions and views which have been furnished to him by his constituents, and from other sources out of doors, I am, nevertheless, ready to admit that that circumstance ought not to detract from the weight which is fairly due to the honourable member's statements and arguments in support of the motion which he has submitted to the house.

But, sir, however true this may be, as far as respects the honourable member for Coventry, the same observation applies not, in the remotest degree, to the honourable and learned gentleman who has seconded the motion, and who, acting, I must suppose, under the influence of a connection, certainly not political, but the more binding, perhaps, as having been more recently formed, has thought proper to take a wider range, and to indulge in a higher tone of declamation; or it may be that he looks forward to the expectation of becoming the colleague of the honourable mover, and, by his speech of this evening, proposes to declare himself a joint suitor with the honourable mover for the future favours of the good people of Coventry. Whatever may be the motives of the honourable and learned gentleman, I confess that I have listened with the utmost astonishment to the speech which he has just delivered.

Sir, in the course of that speech the honourable and learned gentleman repeatedly told us that he was not authorized to make certain statements—that he was not at liberty to admit this and to admit that. This, I presume, is a mode of expression in which gentlemen of the legal profession are wont to indulge, to mark that they keep themselves within the strict limits of their briefs, and that the doctrines which they advocate are those prescribed to them by their instructions. However customary and proper such language may be in the courts of law, it certainly sounds new and striking in the mouth of a member of this house.

With regard to the general tone of the honourable and learned gentleman's speech, the vehemence of his declamation, his unqualified censure, and his attempts at sarcasm, I can, with perfect sincerity, assure the house, and the honourable and learned gentleman, that I entertain no sentiment bordering upon anger, nor any other feeling save one in which I am sure I carry with me the sympathy and concurrence of all those who entertain sound and enlightened views upon questions of this nature—a feeling of surprise and regret at finding that honourable and learned gentleman, now, for the first time, launching forth his denunciations and invectives against principles and measures which have received the support of men the most intelligent and best informed on both sides of this house and throughout Europe.

Having said thus much, I leave the honourable and learned gentleman to the full enjoyment to be derived from the new lights that have so suddenly broken in upon him. I leave to him, and to his honourable friends around him, to settle among themselves the taunts, the sneers, and the sarcasms, which he

has heaped upon their heads, as the friends of those principles which are involved in the present discussion—principles which it has been their boast that they were the first to recommend, and of which they have uniformly been the most eager advocates in this house.

In whatever quarter the statements and arguments of the honourable member for Coventry may have originated, they are entitled to the serious and attentive consideration of the house; more especially if derived from individuals now suffering distress from want of employment, and who may have been led to believe that that want of employment has been caused by measures which have been adopted by this house. This circumstance adds to the difficulty in which I am placed in rising to address the house on the present occasion. In opposing the proposed inquiry, I feel that I may be represented as insensible or indifferent to the sufferings of those on whose behalf it is called for.

Sir, the honourable and learned member for Lincoln has, indeed, given countenance to this unjust imputation. He has not only chosen to assert that I am mistaken in my views—he has not scrupled to insinuate that I am without feeling for the distress now prevailing amongst the manufacturing classes. [Mr Williams here denied that he had asserted anything of the kind.] What, then, sir, did the honourable and learned gentleman mean by his quotation? To whom did he mean to apply the description of an “insensible and hard-hearted metaphysician exceeding the devil in point of malignity?”—I appeal to the judgment of the house, whether the language made use of by the honourable and learned gentleman, with reference to me, was not such as to point to the inference that I am that metaphysician lost to every sentiment of humanity, and indifferent to every feeling, beyond the successful enforcement of some favourite theory, at whatever cost of pain and suffering to particular bodies of my fellow-creatures? When the honourable and learned gentleman allows himself to talk of “hard-hearted metaphysicians exceeding the devil in point of malignity,” it is for him to reconcile such language with the general tenor of his sentiments on other occasions; to explain, as he best may, to those around him, whether they are included in that insinuation; and it is for me to meet that insinuation (as far as it was levelled at me) with those feelings of utter scorn with which I now repel it.

Still, sir, it sits heavily on my mind, that any individual, or any body of individuals, should in any quarter be impressed with the notion that I, or any of my right honourable col-

leagues, could be capable of that which has been imputed to us; and it is but perfectly natural that I should feel anxious to shew that my own conduct, and that of my right honourable friends, has not been such as, in some quarters, it has been represented to be.

The honourable member for Coventry, and the honourable and learned member for Lincoln, have, by some strange perversion, argued the whole case, as if I, and those who act with me, were hastily and prematurely pressing on some new, and, till this evening, unheard-of measure—as if we were attempting to enforce that measure by all the influence of government; instead of which we have proposed nothing, and are lying upon our oars, quietly waiting for the going into effect of an act of parliament, passed more than eighteen months ago, with the unanimous concurrence of this house—an act which is now the law of the land, and of the enactments of which, all the parties concerned were as fully apprised on the day when it first passed this house as they can be at this moment.

In the view which I take of the speech of the honourable member for Coventry, of which I do not complain, and of the speech of the honourable and learned member for Lincoln, of which I do complain, the greater part of their arguments go to impugn those principles of commercial policy which, under the sanction of parliament, have now prevailed in this country for the last two or three years—a policy which has for its object gradually to unfetter the commerce of the country, by the removal of those oppressive prohibitions and inconvenient restrictions which had previously existed, and to give every facility and encouragement, consistent with vested interests, to the extension of the skill, the capital, and the industry of the people of England.

This, then, being the real drift of the argument especially brought forward by the honourable and learned gentleman, it is, with reference to a much greater question that I find myself called upon to consider the present motion. The point at issue is, not whether we shall grant the committee, but whether we shall re-establish the prohibitory system? If we re-establish it in one instance, we shall very soon be called upon to do so in many others. If we once tread back our steps, we shall not be able, in this retrograde motion, to stop at that point from which we first set out;—we must go further, and, ere long, we should have in this country a system of commerce far more restrictive than that which was in force before the late changes. Anxious as I am to persevere in our present course, I say that, if we once depart from it, we must at least be consistent in our new career; and that, to be con-

sistent, we must impose restrictions and prohibitions far beyond those which have been lately removed.

The present question, therefore, is not simply the motion before the house—but neither more nor less than whether a restrictive or an enlarged system of commercial policy be the best for this country.

In order to come to a sound decision upon so important a subject, it behoves the house to look back a little to the course of events, and to bear in mind some of the occurrences which have materially contributed to those relaxations in the restrictive system, of which it is now the fashion to complain.

With this view, I must ask the permission of the house to call its attention to a petition presented to the house in the month of May 1820, a period which, like the present, was one of great difficulty and public distress. The petition is somewhat long, but I assure the house that those honourable members who may favour me with their attention will be well rewarded by hearing sound principles laid down in the clearest language, not by philosophers and unbending theorists—not by visionaries and hard-hearted metaphysicians, with the feelings of demons in their breasts—but by merchants and traders; men of the greatest practical experience in all that relates to commerce. This petition, sir, is a document of no ordinary interest. The house will see how decidedly the petitioners maintain the principles upon which his Majesty's government have acted; and, when I have done reading it, I am sure they will admit that those principles are therein expounded in words far more apt and forcible than any which I can command. The petition, as I have already said, is not the exposition of any speculative doctrine. It conveys to the house the deliberate judgment of the merchants and traders of the city of London; the result of their daily observation of the evils inflicted upon the country by the unnecessary restrictions imposed upon their industry and pursuits. The petition states—

“That foreign commerce is eminently conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the country, by enabling it to import the commodities for the production of which the soil, climate, capital, and industry of other countries are best calculated, and to export in payment those articles for which its own situation is better adapted.

“That freedom from restraint is calculated to give the utmost extension to foreign trade, and the best direction to the capital and industry of the country.

“That the maxim of buying in the cheapest market and

selling in the dearest, which regulates every merchant in his individual dealings, is strictly applicable, as the best rule for the trade of the whole nation.

“That a policy, founded on these principles, would render the commerce of the world an interchange of mutual advantages, and diffuse an increase of wealth and enjoyments among the inhabitants of each state.

“That, unfortunately, a policy the very reverse of this has been, and is, more or less adopted and acted upon by the government of this and of every other country; each trying to exclude the productions of other countries, with the specious and well-meant design of encouraging its own productions; thus inflicting on the bulk of its subjects, who are consumers, the necessity of submitting to privations in the quantity or quality of commodities; and thus rendering what ought to be the source of mutual benefits, and of harmony among states, a constantly recurring occasion of jealousy and hostility.

“That the prevailing prejudices in favour of the protective or restrictive system may be traced to the erroneous supposition that every importation of foreign commodities occasions a diminution or discouragement of our own productions to the same extent; whereas it may be clearly shewn that, although the particular description of production which could not stand against unrestrained foreign competition would be discouraged, yet, as no importation could be continued for any length of time without a corresponding exportation, direct or indirect, there would be an encouragement for the purpose of that exportation of some other production to which our situation might be better suited, thus affording at least an equal, and probably a greater, and certainly a more beneficial, employment to our own capital and labour.”

I will not trouble the house with reading the whole of this valuable document. (Cries of “Read, read.”) I will then, sir, read the whole, for it is a most valuable document; and, indeed, so it was thought at the time, for it is one of a few, if not the only one, which is given at length in the published reports of our proceedings.

“That of the numerous protective and prohibitory duties of our commercial code, it may be proved that, while all operate as a very heavy tax on the community at large, very few are of any ultimate benefit to the classes in whose favour they were originally instituted, and none to the extent of the loss occasioned by them to other classes.

“That among the other evils of the restrictive or protective system, not the least is, that the artificial protection of

one branch of industry, or source of protection against foreign competition, is set up as a ground of claim by other branches for similar protection; so that, if the reasoning upon which these restrictive or prohibitory regulations are founded were followed consistently, it would not stop short of excluding us from all foreign commerce whatsoever.

“ And the same strain of argument, which, with corresponding prohibitions and protective duties, should exclude us from foreign trade, might be brought forward to justify the re-enactment of restrictions upon the interchange of productions (unconnected with public revenue) among the kingdoms composing the union, or among the counties of the same kingdom.

“ That an investigation of the effects of the restrictive system at this time is peculiarly called for, as it may, in the opinion of the petitioners, lead to a strong presumption that the distress which now so generally prevails is considerably aggravated by that system; and that some relief may be obtained by the earliest practicable removal of such of the restraints as may be shewn to be most injurious to the capital and industry of the community, and to be attended with no compensating benefit to the public revenue.

“ That a declaration against the anti-commercial principles of our restrictive system is of the more importance at the present juncture, inasmuch as, in several instances of recent occurrence, the merchants and manufacturers in foreign states have assailed their respective governments with applications for further protective or prohibitory duties and regulations, urging the example and authority of this country, against which they are almost exclusively directed, as a sanction for the policy of such measures; and certainly, if the reasoning upon which our restrictions have been defended is worth anything, it will apply in behalf of the regulations of foreign states against us—they insist upon our superiority in capital and machinery, as we do upon their comparative exemption from taxation, and with equal foundation.

“ That nothing would more tend to counteract the commercial hostility of foreign states than the adoption of a more enlightened and more conciliatory policy on the part of this country.

“ That although, as a matter of mere diplomacy, it may sometimes answer to hold out the removal of particular prohibitions on high duties, as depending upon corresponding concessions by other states in our favour, it does not follow that we should maintain our restrictions in cases where the desired concessions on their part cannot be obtained; our

restrictions would not be the less prejudicial to our own capital and industry, because other governments persisted in pursuing impolitic regulations.

“That, upon the whole, the most liberal would prove to be the most politic course on such occasions.

“That, independent of the direct benefit to be derived by this country on every occasion of such concession or relaxation, a great incidental object would be gained by the recognition of a sound principle or standard to which all subsequent arrangements might be referred, and by the salutary influence which a promulgation of such just views, by the legislature and by the nation at large, could not fail to have on the policy of other states.

“That in thus declaring, as the petitioners do, their conviction of the impolicy and injustice of the restrictive system, and in desiring every practical relaxation of it, they have in view only such parts of it as are not connected, or are only subordinately so, with the public revenue; as long as the necessity for the present amount of revenue subsists, the petitioners cannot expect so important a branch of it as the customs to be given up, nor to be materially diminished, unless some substitute less objectionable be suggested; but it is against every restrictive regulation of trade not essential to the revenue, against all duties merely protective from foreign competition, and against the excess of such duties as are partly for the purpose of revenue and partly for that of protection, that the prayer of the present petition is respectfully submitted to the wisdom of parliament; the petitioners therefore humbly pray that the house will be pleased to take the subject into consideration, and to adopt such measures as may be calculated to give greater freedom to foreign commerce, and thereby to increase the resources of the state.”

It will be clear to all who have been at the trouble to attend to the very able document which I have just read, that it embraces all the great principles of commercial policy upon which parliament has since legislated

Why do I lay so much stress upon this petition? For the purpose of shewing—first, that if the government have pursued this course, we have done so, not on the recommendations of visionaries and theorists, but of practical men of business; secondly, that the merchants of the city of London (the great mart of the commerce and wealth of the country) felt convinced, in 1820, that the distress of that period was greatly aggravated by the narrow and short-sighted system of restrictions and prohibitions which then prevailed; and that, in their judgment, the alleviation, if not the cure of that

distress was to be sought for in the removal of those restrictions and prohibitions.

And, because we have followed up, cautiously and respectfully, the recommendations of the mercantile community, are we to be told, by men who know nothing of commerce, that we are unfeeling projectors and metaphysicians, insensible to the wants and the miseries of our fellow-creatures? If this be a just charge against us, what are we to think of the parties who could sign, or of the member who could present, such a petition as this? This morning I took the trouble to look at the names of the merchants who signed it, and the first signature I read is that of one of the most distinguished of that class in the city of London; a gentleman who was many years ago governor of the Bank of England, who is now one of the directors of that establishment, and who was, for a long time, a valuable member of this house; a gentleman who, in the best sense of the word, is a practical man, and one whose conduct in private life would protect him (if any man can be protected by his conduct) from the suspicion of being a "wild and unfeeling theorist"—a "hard-hearted metaphysician"—"alike indifferent to the wants and the miseries of his fellow-creatures"—I mean Mr Samuel Thornton. And besides his name, the list contains the names of others, who, like him, have been governors of the Bank of England; of several who are now in the direction of that establishment; and of many who hold the highest rank in the commercial world.

Let it not, however, be supposed that I offer this petition to the house in the way of an apology for myself and my right honourable colleagues—in the way of extenuation of anything which we may have done to excite the wrath of the honourable and learned member for Lincoln. Sir, I think now, as I have always thought, that our measures require no apology. I believe now, as I have always believed, that they are calculated to promote the best interests of the people. I say now, as I have always said, that those who, either by their speeches in parliament, or the exertions of their talents out of it, have contributed to bring the people of England to look with an eye of favour on the principles recommended in this petition, have done themselves the greatest honour, and the country an essential benefit.

If, however, I refrain from troubling the house with apologies, where I feel that they are not required, neither do I wish to claim for his Majesty's government any participation in the merit of these measures beyond what really belongs to us. By a reference to many other petitions and proceedings of a

like nature with those to which I have already adverted, I could shew that, in all these matters, the first impulse was not given by the government. We claim for ourselves no such credit. The changes hitherto made have been the result of public opinion, sanctioned by the concurrence of practical men, and confirmed by the proceedings and inquiries of the two houses of parliament. We did not create that opinion; we did not anticipate it; we did not even act upon it, until it was clearly and distinctly manifested. And in what we have done, we have not exceeded the sober limits prescribed by the authority of those who, by the habits and pursuits of their lives, were most competent to form a sound judgment. But when that judgment was pronounced and recorded, it was our duty to act upon it. From those who fill responsible situations, the country has a right to expect, not that they should be slow of conviction to important truths in matters of political economy, but that they should be cautious in deliberating, before they attempt to give them a practical application. The goad which is used to give increased impetus to the machine, is an instrument more properly placed in other hands: the care of government should rather be to regulate the drag, so as not to check the advance, but to maintain a safe and steady progress towards improvement.

Has this been the principle of our policy on the subject now under consideration? Before I sit down, I think I shall prove, sir, that the system upon which his Majesty's government have acted has uniformly been guided by that principle. Need I remind the house how frequently, and with what asperity, we have been charged from the opposite benches with reluctance and tardiness in carrying into execution those principles of an enlarged and enlightened policy, in matters of commerce, upon which all parties were said to be agreed. Year after year have we been urged, by the force of public opinion out of doors, and by the earnest remonstrances of honourable members within, to adopt the very measures against which a senseless clamour is now attempted to be excited.

Who were the first and the most earnest in suggesting these measures—aye, and in wishing to push them to extremes—but some of those very persons whom we now find arrayed against us, and against those principles which they formerly supported? By whom was the petition which I have just read to the house presented? By whom was the prayer of it advocated?

After great note of preparation—after a formal notice of what was about to come—this petition, sir, was brought down, on the 8th of May 1820, by the honourable member

for Taunton,* whom I now see in his place. He it was sir, who introduced it to the attention of the house, in a long, but able and elaborate speech; too long to be read by me now, as I have read the petition; although by so doing I should add a most luminous commentary in support of the doctrines of that petition, and should best shew by what force of argument and weight of authority the honourable member then contended for those measures which the house is now called upon to condemn, and in which condemnation he himself appears disposed to concur.

After mentioning the petition, and the great respectability of the gentlemen by whom it was signed; and after regretting that "there was in the then circumstances of public embarrassment much to which no remedy could be applied, at least no parliamentary remedy," the honourable gentleman went on to say that "the first *desideratum* was such security and tranquillity in the country as would enable the possessor of capital to employ it without apprehension."

The house will recollect, that the period at which this petition was laid upon our table was one of great public distress; and, in that respect, it but too much resembled the present time. Now, however, though the country is again visited with pecuniary pressure, and though the labouring classes (many of them) are suffering great privations from the want of employment, I feel confident that we shall not witness the same danger to property, or the same disposition to violence, which at that time prevailed in the manufacturing districts. I feel confident that the unfortunate individuals who, in 1820, allowed themselves to be misled by unprincipled agitators, will recollect how much their sufferings were increased by listening to pernicious counsels—counsels which may prolong and aggravate, but which can in no case abridge or relieve their privations—and that they will not a second time lend a willing ear to those who would lead them on to their destruction. I trust they will so conduct themselves under their present difficulties, as to conciliate the regard and sympathy of every other class, and to excite in the bosoms of those from whom alone they can expect assistance no other feelings than those of kindness and benevolence.

Sir, after "security and tranquillity," the honourable member for Taunton proceeded to say that "the second *desideratum* was as great a freedom of trade as was compatible with other and important considerations." In the opinion of the honourable member, at that time, a free trade was the very

essence of commercial prosperity, and, therefore, he pressed us to adopt, all at once, the system which we have since gradually introduced.

The honourable member then proceeded, as he has since done upon several occasions, and done, indeed, this session, to tax my right honourable friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (who then filled the situation which I now hold,) and the other members of his Majesty's government, with apathy, and a total indifference to the distressed state of the manufacturing districts. "So far were they," said the honourable member, "from being sensible of the necessity of some exertion, that they went on, from year to year, trusting that the next year would be spontaneously productive of some favourable change, and, apparently, with very indistinct notions of what the real condition of the country was. Whenever a question arose between two classes of the community, government, without seeming to have any opinion of their own, stood by until they ascertained which party could give them the most effectual support. If the house looked back to an earlier period of those which were still our own times, they would behold a different picture; they would find Mr Pitt engaged in framing a commercial treaty, and, amidst difficulties of every description, boldly taking whatever steps appeared to him to be best calculated to advance our commercial prosperity. He wished that he could see a little of the same spirit in the present day; but instead of that, his Majesty's ministers were balancing one party against another, and trying how they could keep their places from year to year, neglecting, in the meanwhile, all those great commercial and national questions to which their most lively attention ought to be directed."

The honourable member for Taunton then went on to say—and I perfectly agree with him—that "the first doctrine which the petitioners wished to combat was that fallacious one which had of late years arisen, that this country ought to subsist on its own produce; that it was wise on the part of every country to raise within itself the produce requisite for its consumption." "It was really absurd to contend," continued the honourable member, "that if a country, by selling any article of manufacture, could purchase the produce which it might require, at one-half the expense at which that produce could be raised, it should nevertheless be precluded from doing so."

This is unquestionably sound doctrine, and I readily admit it. But how is it to be reconciled with the doctrine which is now maintained by great authorities out of doors, as that

which ought to be the rule of our commercial policy? According to these authorities, to which we have now to add that of the honourable and learned seconder of the present motion, prohibition is the only effectual protection to trade; duties must be unavailing for this purpose, because the influence of soil and climate, the price of labour, the rate of taxation, and other circumstances, are constantly varying in different countries, and, consequently, the scale of protection would require to be varied from month to month. But what is the legitimate inference to be drawn from this exclusive system? Can it be other than this—that all interchange of their respective commodities, between different countries of the world, is a source of evil to the one or the other?—that each country must shut itself up within itself, making the most of its own resources, refusing all commerce with any other country, barbarously content to suffer wants which this commerce might easily supply, and to waste its own superfluous productions at home, because, to exchange them for the superfluities of that other country, instead of being an exclusive advantage to either party, would afford an equivalent benefit to both. This is the short theory of prohibitions, which these sage declaimers against all theory are so anxious to recommend to the practical merchants of this country.

But if this system be wise and just in itself—if, for the reasons alleged in its support, it be necessary for the protection of British industry, let us see to what it leads. Can this country command labour on the same terms as Ireland? Is the scale of taxation the same? Are the poor rates the same in the two countries? Is there any country in Europe which, more than Ireland, differs from Great Britain in these and many other particulars affecting their commercial relations? Does it not follow that, if we admit the system of prohibitions now recommended to us by the honourable and learned member for Lincoln, we must prohibit all commercial intercourse with Ireland—we must revive those laws which forbade the manufactures, and repelled the productions of her soil—we must sacrifice the mutual benefits which both parts of the empire now derive from the unrestricted freedom of intercourse—we must again revert to the prejudices of our ancestors?

And for what?—because, from prejudices certainly less pardonable, if not from motives less sincere, than those of our ancestors, a senseless clamour has recently been raised against the present system of our commercial policy. I have no desire to disturb the partisans of the opposite system in the enjoy-

ment of their favourite theory. All I ask of them is a similar forbearance towards us. Let each system be fully and fairly tried. For the sake of freedom of trade and industry, and for the sake of England, let England be the field of trial for our system. For the sake of prohibition and monopoly, let the system of our adversaries also be fairly tried ;—only let the trial be made upon some other country.

But can prohibition ever be tried under circumstances of greater favour than it now experiences in Spain? In that flourishing country prohibition has been carried to the very extreme. There, restriction has been added to restriction—there, all the fruits of that beautiful system are to be seen, not yet, perhaps, in full maturity, but sufficiently mature to enable every one to judge of their qualities. Spain is the best sample of the prohibitory system ; the most perfect model of fallen greatness and of internal misery, of which modern civilization affords an example—an example to be traced, not only in the annihilation of her commerce and maritime power, but in her scanty revenue, in her bankrupt resources, in the wretchedness of her population, and in her utter insignificance among the great powers of the world. The commercial policy of Spain is simply this—to admit nothing from other countries except what the smuggler brings in. And the commercial wisdom of the honourable and learned seconder of the present motion is equal to that of Spain.

I must now beg of the house to indulge me for a little, while I endeavour to go through the detail of the specific measures recommended in the speech of the honourable member for Taunton on presenting the London petition. It will be perceived how false and unfounded are all those clamours which have been heaped upon me and my right honourable colleagues, for having unnecessarily made those alterations in our system of commercial policy which, if I am to believe certain gentlemen, have plunged this country into misery and ruin.

The honourable member for Taunton, who is so great a practical authority—the greatest, perhaps, this country affords—did not content himself in his speech with stating general principles. He referred to details ; and, as I have just observed, he proposed measures of relief of a specific and particular nature. These propositions the house, I hope, will permit me to go over, one by one, in order to shew that his Majesty's government have not been wanting in attention to the suggestions of the merchants of the city of London, nor backward in adopting their remedies, and recommending them to the consideration of the house.

The *first* measure pointed out, upon that occasion, and

recommended in the warmest terms to the attention of his Majesty's ministers for the relief of the country, was an "alteration of the duty on the importation of wool." What "can be so absurd," said the honourable member, "as a tax on "the raw materials of our manufactures?" Accordingly, he urged the abolition of the duty on the importation of foreign wool, dyeing drugs, and such other articles as are used in the great manufactures of this country. What, at that time, was our answer to this proposition? why, this—"We have no objection to take off the duty on the importation of foreign wool provided you will consent to allow the free exportation of British wool."—"No," said the woollen manufacturers, "take off the duty on foreign wool if you please, but keep in force the law which prohibits the exportation of British wool from this country." To this proposal we would not agree. We could not, upon any principle of justice, open our markets to an untaxed article of foreign growth, unless the manufacturer would concede his monopoly over the like article of our own growth. After years and years of struggle and conflict, we at last succeeded in convincing our opponents that the duty on foreign wool might be taken off and the prohibition to export British wool be repealed without endangering their interests.

And what has been the result? Where is the ruin that was so confidently predicted? I own I am more and more distrustful of the predictions of these practical authorities. Instead of our manufacturers being ruined—instead of the fulfilment of the assurances that all the British wool would be exported to the utter destruction of our manufacturers, and that from their destruction the foreign wool would no longer be wanted in this country—what has been the real effect of this measure? Why, that since the removal of the restrictions on the export, we have sent abroad the amazing quantity of 100,000 lbs. weight of British wool; while of foreign wool we have imported no less a quantity than 40,000,000 lbs. weight. This, sir, is not speculation. It is practice and result against speculation. We removed the restrictive and prohibitory duties, and the consequences were, that we imported an excess of the foreign raw material, while we exported, comparatively, none of native growth; because we have a better market for it at home. Good or bad, therefore, the first measure recommended to the attention of his Majesty's ministers by the honourable member has been carried into complete effect.

The *second* measure proposed for our adoption by the honourable member for Taunton, was a general revision of the revenue laws, with a view to their simplification. The hon-

ourable member stated—and he stated truly—that those laws were so numerous, so complicated, and so contradictory, that mercantile men could not understand them—that they were at once a great impediment to trade, and a source of vexation and oppression to all who were engaged in it—that no man, however innocent his intention, could escape their penalties; that, therefore, it was the bounden duty of his Majesty's government to simplify and consolidate them.

The task was one of great magnitude and difficulty; but we did not shrink from it. Mr right honourable friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, devoted a great deal of time and attention to the subject; but I am free to admit that we never could have succeeded in our undertaking without the assistance of an official gentleman in the service of the customs—a gentleman* of the most unwearied diligence, and who is entitled, for his persevering exertions, and the benefit he has conferred on the commercial world, to the lasting gratitude of the country. Of the difficulties of the undertaking the house will be enabled to judge, when I state that there were no fewer than five hundred statutes relative to the customs alone to wade through; independently of the numerous enactments concerning smuggling, warehousing, the plantations, &c. In the performance of this duty we had innumerable difficulties to encounter and battles without end to fight. And now, sir, in one little volume,† which I hold in my hand, are comprised all the laws at present in existence on the subject of the management and the revenue of the customs, of navigation, of smuggling, of warehousing, and of our colonial trade, compressed in so clear and yet so comprehensive a manner, that no man can possibly mistake the meaning or the application of them. I do not say this to boast of the successful result of our labours. It was the duty of government to do what it has done. I only adduce it to shew that this, the second recommendation of the honourable member, as the organ of the commercial world, has not been disregarded.

Then comes the *third* recommendation of the honourable member for Taunton; namely, that we should do away with prohibitions altogether, and substitute, in all cases, protecting for prohibitory duties. I will beg leave to read a short extract from what I consider a very accurate report of this part of the honourable member's speech. "Another desirable

* J. D. Hume, Esq., Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs in the Port of London.

† Laws of the Customs, by J. D. Hume, Esq.

step," said he, "would be to do away totally prohibitions as much as possible." To be sure, sir, it may be difficult to reconcile "totally" and "as much as possible;" but I have no doubt the honourable member's meaning was to express his thorough detestation of the prohibitory principle. "Where," he continues, "protection for particular manufactures is considered to be necessary, it ought to be in the form of duty, and not in that of prohibition. Prohibitions had, no doubt, seriously injured the revenue, by the encouragement which they gave to smuggling. The customs had fallen off a million and a-half in the course of the last year. He was sure that a good deal of that defalcation might be ascribed to prohibitions."

I intreat the house to attend to what follows in the speech of the honourable member:—"Nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that any prohibition would prevent the introduction of the articles which were in demand. The fact was, that, at an advance of twenty or twenty-five per cent., all *light* prohibited articles might be had at our doors. He would not say which sex was most to blame, but such was the fact." Now, here we have the opinion of a practical man, who had come to this conclusion, after collecting the best evidence upon the subject, during his repeated visits to Paris. Indeed, I cannot help thinking that the honourable member had silk, and nothing but silk, in his view, at the time when he made these allusions. The honourable member has long been a professor of those doctrines which he now reprobates me for upholding as much as he then censured the government for not more readily adopting. Even in the year 1817, also a period of distress, I find the honourable member declaring to the house that, "in the article of silk, smuggling was carried on to a very great extent; a proof of which was to be found in the fact, that although silks were in much greater use now than formerly, yet that the British manufacturer was ruined." So that it appears, sir, that in the year 1817, the silk manufacture, which, according to the doctrines of the present day, can only flourish under a system of prohibition, was, in that year in a state of ruin, owing to prohibition.

The stagnation and embarrassment of 1816 and 1817 were followed by a state of unusual commercial activity. In like manner the depression of 1822 and 1823 terminated in the extraordinary spirit of speculation, which marked the autumn of 1824 and the spring and summer of 1825. It is not irrelevant to the present discussion to compare these two periods, each commencing with commercial distress, and each ending in over trading—each marked, in its first stage, by a

great contraction of our paper circulation, and the accumulation of a vast amount of gold in the coffers of the bank, and, in its second, by a great expansion of our circulating credit, and by the re-exportation of most of the gold which the bank had previously accumulated. This comparison, whilst it connects itself with the question now under our immediate consideration, is calculated to throw some light on the equally important question of the currency, which at this moment occupies so much of the attention of parliament and of the country.

- At the beginning of the year 1817, "the bank," as we are informed by the report of the committee of 1819, "possessed a larger amount of cash and bullion in their coffers than they had been in the possession of at any former period since their establishment." With this accumulation, they gave notice of a partial resumption of cash payments, engaging to pay in gold all notes under L.5. From the beginning of 1817 till the month of July in that year, the whole demand for gold coin, under this notice, did not exceed L.38,000; but, in consequence of a great augmentation of bank paper in August 1817, (exceeding, by upwards of three millions, the amount of the corresponding month in the preceding year,) and of a like augmentation of country paper, the foreign exchanges were turned against this country, and from that moment the gold was withdrawn from the bank with much greater rapidity. In the course of the following eighteen months many millions of coin were thus put into circulation, without any corresponding diminution in the amount of bank notes; or rather, to speak more accurately, these millions, as soon as they were taken from the bank, were sent to France, and other parts of the continent, till the treasure of the bank was very much reduced at the beginning of 1819; and then the amount of their notes was again contracted. This contraction was followed by a great depression of commerce and of prices in the subsequent years. During this depression, the government were frequently called upon, as they are now called upon, to give relief, by an issue of commercial exchequer bills; but our first object then was permanently to restore, as our first object now is effectually to secure, a system of cash payments, the success of which might have been endangered by this mode of relief. So much for the first period, as far as relates to our currency.

In the first stage of the second period—1822, 1823, and a part of 1824—the bank again accumulated an amount of gold greater even than what it possessed at the beginning of 1817. Between September 1824 and November 1825, that gold was

again taken out of the bank, under all the like circumstances of the foreign exchanges being against this country, and with the like results as had occurred in 1818. Again, notwithstanding the issue of so many millions of coin, the amount of bank notes and of country paper was increased. Again, these millions so issued were, for the greatest part exported: and again, in the autumn of 1825, the bank was driven to take precautions, by contracting its circulation, in order to protect its remaining treasure. What has since occurred is known and felt by all.

So much for the currency; now for the trade.

In 1816 and 1817, during the first absorption of treasure by the bank, the amount of silk imported was, upon the average of the two years, 1,150,807 lbs.; in 1818, during the first flight of our coin to the continent, that importation was raised to 2,101,618 lbs., being an increase of 81 per cent. Of sheep's wool, the average importation of the first two years was 11,416,853 lbs.; in the year 1818 alone the quantity was 26,405,486 lbs., being an increase of 130 per cent. Of cotton wool, the average of the two first years was 423,580 bales; the amount in 1818 was 660,580 bales, being an increase of 57 per cent.

Let us now compare the import of the same articles in the years 1823 and 1824 with the import of 1825. It will turn out as follows:—Silk, average import of 1823 and 1824, 2,780,600 lbs.:—import of 1825, 4,231,673 lbs., being an increase at the rate of 50 per cent. Sheep's wool, average import of 1823 and 1824, 19,225,306 lbs.:—import of 1825, 38,705,682 lbs., being an increase at the rate of 100 per cent. Cotton wool, average import of 1823 and 1824, 167,120,065 lbs.:—import of 1825, 222,457,616 lbs., being an increase at the rate of 33 per cent.

I will not go more at length into this subject. It would lead me too far away from other topics growing more immediately out of this debate, to which I have still to advert; but I have said enough to point out, to those who take an interest in these matters, the intimate relation that exists between our currency and our trade; to shew in what manner the expansion of our paper circulation, combined with an unfavourable foreign exchange, leads to overtrading, till overtrading again forces a contraction of the currency: thus producing those alternations of extravagant excitement and of fearful depression, which this country has so often experienced of late years; alternations, of which the consequences are at once so dangerous to men of capital, so distressing to the labourers who depend for employment on that capital,

and so subversive of those principles of security to property on which the prosperity of every commercial state must ultimately rest.

The immediate inference which I draw from this comparison is, that the present stagnation in the silk trade is more produced by the late alternation than by any effect of the law which will come into operation next July.

To return, sir, to the speech of the honourable member for Taunton. The *fourth* point to which he called the attention of government was the state of the navigation laws. The change which the honourable member recommended would, in fact, have amounted to the total repeal of those laws. He thought "that no restriction ought to be held on foreign ships importing into this country, whether the produce was of their own or any other country." Accustomed to look on these laws as the prop of our maritime power, and to watch with a jealous eye any encroachment upon them, we could not consent to this sweeping principle of innovation. On the other hand, we professed ourselves ready to inquire how far some of their regulations, inconvenient for trade, might be dispensed with, without prejudice to the higher political objects for which those laws were originally enacted. This inquiry was gone into with great care by a committee, over the labours of which, my right honourable friend, the master of the Mint, presided; and the result has been that, by his zeal and diligence, several measures have been introduced to the house, which have led to a relaxation in those laws, highly beneficial to the commerce of the country, and in no way injurious to our strength as a maritime power. But the principle of those laws is still retained. In this instance, certainly, we have not been able to go all the lengths recommended by the practical men; but, be it recollected that the charge against which I am now upon my defence is that we are theorists.

The *fifth* point which was strongly recommended by the honourable member for Taunton was the removal of the transit duties on German linens, and some other articles of foreign produce. At the very time that the honourable member was pressing for this removal he must have been aware that his Majesty's ministers were sensible of the impolicy of these restrictions, and that they were desirous, not only to get rid of them, but also to revise the whole system of bounties and drawbacks. But he could not be ignorant of the complication of interests and the difficulty of detail which we had to encounter in every stage of this undertaking. He

could not be ignorant of the prejudices by which this system was upheld. For the abatement of those prejudices, we thought it more safe and more expedient to trust to the influence of time and reason, than, at all hazards, to encounter them at once by an act of power. This was our theory in 1820; and I am now happy to add that, by adhering to it, we have been completely successful. The transit duties have been all removed; and the system of bounties and drawbacks has undergone an entire revision, and been remodelled on an improved plan.

To come to the *sixth* recommendation of the honourable member for Taunton. He told us that "it was of importance that we should alter our commercial regulations with respect to France. It was desirable," added he, "that restrictive regulations between the trade of England and France should be removed; but to do so we must begin at home. It would be unfair to attempt a negotiation for a commercial intercourse while we kept our ports shut against them. Let it be considered that it was not by a restrictive system that this country had grown to such a pitch of greatness; but, on the contrary, that such a system was a bar to that greatness. It was necessary also to remove an impression which our system of commerce had made abroad. We were looked up to as the first commercial nation in the world; and it was, therefore, believed that we had adopted our restrictive or protecting system from a conviction of its beneficial effects on our commerce. This impression it was our interest as well as our duty to remove, by altering our commercial regulations with foreign powers."

This advice of the honourable member for Taunton his Majesty's government have also attended to. What have we done in this case? We have "begun at home." We have set an example to the nations of the continent. We have put an end to the restrictive system affecting France, as far as we could put an end to it. And we have invited France to follow in our track, by doing away with the obstacles existing on her part to a greater freedom of trade. France has taken a first step towards placing the intercourse between the two countries upon a footing of greater facility. This is a practical approximation on her part to the principle of a more enlarged system of commerce—a principle equally recognised by the most enlightened statesmen and the most leading merchants of that country—a principle which cannot fail to make its way in France, as it has made its way in this country, by discussion and inquiry, and which, in pro-

portion as it gains ground, will confer advantages upon France, and, by her and our example, furnish a salutary lesson to the rest of the world.

As I have adverted to this subject, I will beg leave to say one word as to the convention of navigation recently concluded between the two countries, upon which a misconception appears to have gone abroad. I allude to the decree of the French government against the introduction of the produce of Asia, Africa, and America, through this country into France for home consumption. The regulation of this decree has been mistakenly considered as the effect of a stipulation under the convention. This I beg leave to deny. The decree is an act of the French government, quite independent of the convention. It might, and probably would, have been passed had no such convention been made between the two countries. A similar law was proposed to the chambers last year, and then only postponed. It is a regulation of which we have no right to complain, and against which we have no right to stipulate; because the like restriction exists in this country. That for which we had a right to stipulate, and for which we have stipulated, is, that if, in relaxation of this decree, any of the productions of Asia, Africa, or America, are admitted into France for home consumption from this country, they shall be equally admitted, and upon the same duties, in British as in French vessels.

I do not deny that, beyond what is provided for by this convention, much might be done to improve the commercial relations of this country and France; but the basis is laid down, and the contracting parties have expressly reserved to themselves "the power of making, by mutual consent, such relaxations in the strict execution of the article, as they may think useful to the respective interests of the two countries, on the principle of mutual concessions, affording each to the other reciprocal or equivalent advantages." The development and further application of this principle must be left to time, and to an improved state of public opinion in France. But I confidently appeal to the house, and to the honourable member, to say whether the best course for doing away with prejudices and unfavourable impressions on the continent would be for us to retrace our steps, to re-enact the old prohibitions and restriction, and to exclude foreign merchandise and foreign shipping, as we had formerly done.

Seventhly, and lastly, The honourable member for Taunton recommended to his Majesty's government "an extension of our trade with British India." In answer to this suggestion it is only necessary for me to say, that our attention has

been incessantly directed towards that desirable object. We have left no steps untried to prevail on the East India Company to consent to an enlargement of the private trade. To a certain point we have succeeded, though not to the extent of our wishes. If all that the honourable member sought for has not been done the fault is not ours; we have no means of compelling the company to comply with the wishes of the merchants. The vested rights of that corporation have been conferred upon them by parliament; and, inconvenient or not, we are bound to respect those rights, till the expiration of that period for which they have been granted.

These are the principal improvements which were urged on the government of the country, in the year 1820, by the honourable member for Taunton; speaking—be it always remembered—in the name, and on the behalf, of the merchants of London. To all of these suggestions, I say, his Majesty's ministers have attended. My right honourable friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who then filled the situation which I now hold, replied to the speech of the honourable member on that occasion. He repelled the accusation of the honourable member, that the government were insensible to the sufferings of the people. He avowed his desire to proceed in the course that was recommended; but he, at the same time, represented the difficulties by which his endeavours had, till then, been opposed. Did the honourable member acknowledge himself satisfied with the assurance and explanation of my right honourable friend? By no means, sir.

So eager was the honourable member for Taunton for the immediate enforcement of these important changes, that he concluded his reply to my right honourable friend in the following terms:—"As to the petition itself, the principles which it contained had met with so unanimous a support, that he wondered whence that opposition could come, by which the right honourable the President of the Board of Trade seemed to be deterred from attempting any reform of our commercial system; and he could not help expressing a hope that, for the future, that right honourable gentleman would not listen entirely to the suggestions of others, but, in treating the subject, would rely on his own excellent understanding."

With this admonition the debate closed. The recommendations of the honourable member—the great authorities from which they originated—convinced the government that the time was come when they might go forward with measures to which they had long before avowed a friendly disposition. The consequence was, a determination, on their part,

to institute an inquiry before a committee of this house, in order to ascertain how far, and by what course of proceeding, the steps recommended, and any others founded on the same principles, could be acted upon for the general improvement of the commerce of the country.

In the other house of parliament a committee was sitting whose labours were directed to the same object. This committee had been appointed upon the motion of a noble Marquis,* who had at all times taken the liveliest interest in whatever relates to the trade and commerce of the country, and whose principles in these matters, unlike to the *grass-hopper* on the Royal Exchange, do not veer about with every change of the wind, or with every fluctuation in the speculations of those who transact business in that Exchange.

One of the subjects which particularly engaged the attention of the noble Marquis, and of the committee over which he presided, was the state of the silk trade. They heard evidence, they called for papers, and they examined witnesses from every quarter. What was the result of their investigation? Why, sir, they state in their report that, "It appears to the committee that there are no bounds to smuggling under the prohibitive system; and that, in the opinion of the committee, protecting duties might advantageously be substituted for prohibitive ones."

Such was the view taken by the committee of the House of Lords in 1821. I will not detain the house by going at length into the course of inquiry by which they arrived at this conclusion. But some attempt has been made this night to undervalue the evidence of two merchants from the United States, who were examined before the committee, and examined, be it recollected, upon oath. These two merchants came to Europe for the purpose of purchasing silks. They first visited France, and then they came to England. They could be actuated by no other interest than that of procuring silks on the cheapest terms.

And what was their evidence? On being asked as to the relative cost of the silks of France and the silks of England, one of them said that "he had bought goods in France and in England, and that the difference, when the quality was equal, was from twenty to twenty-five per cent.; and the other said that "the difference did not exceed twenty per cent.;" but both of them stated that, in the article of silk hosiery, price and quality considered, they greatly preferred the English manufacture to that of France."

* The Marquis of Lansdowne.

The report containing this evidence recommended an alteration of the laws relative to the silk trade, by the removal of the duty on the raw material and of the prohibition on wrought silks. Honourable members, however, are aware that the House of Lords could not, from the nature of the proposed change, initiate a measure to carry into effect the object of this report.

Nothing further took place till the year 1823, when the honourable member for the city of London* came down to this house with a petition from the master manufacturers of Spitalfields, praying for a repeal of what is generally called "the Spitalfields' Act." This, as the house well knows, was a law for regulating the modé of working in that district; and for enabling the magistrates to fix the rate of wages to be given for each description of work. In short, a most unfit law to remain upon the statute book; but the professed object of which was, to protect the men against the exactions of their masters. The only possible excuse for having ever passed such a law is, that, when it was passed, the masters had a monopoly of the silk manufacture in this country.

I will tell the house why I state this. A deputation of the weavers of Spitalfields waited upon me and my right honourable friend the other day. They are a sincere, well-meaning, and, certainly, a well-behaved body of men. After hearing their representations, I was satisfied that, if I had put it to them to make their choice between the revival of the Spitalfields' Act or of the prohibitory system—if I had said to them, "You cannot have both a prohibition and the Spitalfields' Act, but you may have either the one or the other—take your choice!"—they would have instantly said, "Give us the Spitalfields' Act, and let the prohibition go to the winds." So much for practical feeling, which is now urged in opposition to what is called theory.

And here I must beg leave shortly to refer to the doctrine laid down in the petition presented in 1823, by the honourable member for the city of London, to which I have just alluded. The petitioners state, "that with our unlimited supply of silk from our territories in India, we might be independent of the rest of the world; that with our great command of capital, and the unrivalled skill of our artisans, the manufacturers did not fear the competition of any foreigners; and that, with a free trade, silk would become, like cotton, one of the staple manufactures of the country."

* Mr Thomas Wilson.

I do not mean to accuse these petitioners of making this statement in order to entrap the public, and to induce the parliament to take measures which they know would involve their own manufacture in distress; but I have a right to refer to their petition, as well as to the more general petition of the merchants of London, to shew that the measures which his Majesty's ministers have taken are neither the offspring of theory, nor measures which they carried in opposition to the prevailing opinion of the country or of the trade. They brought forward these measures because they were convinced that they were founded in sound policy; but not till they were satisfied that they would meet with the concurrence and support of those who had a more immediate interest in their result. So far was government from any precipitation in carrying them into effect, that it was not till the year 1824 that they determined to propose the repeal of the duty on the raw material, and to permit the importation of foreign manufactured silk, subject to a protecting duty. They were aware that, without taking the duty off the raw material, they could not attempt this improvement; but as soon as my right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer was enabled, by the flourishing state of the finances, to reduce taxation, he did not hesitate to remit this duty, as the necessary preliminary to the removal of the prohibition.

From that moment we lost the support of the honourable member for Taunton, to whom I have so often alluded; and his voice was only heard in opposition to measures which he had so long been recommending for our adoption.

My right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer having, on the 23d of February 1824, stated generally to the house what it was our intention to do, it fell to my lot, on the 8th of March, to open the measure more in detail. Then it was that I heard, for the first time, of the serious opposition which the proposed measure would receive from the honourable member for Taunton. Then it was that, seconded by the honourable member for Coventry, who opened the debate of this evening, he declared that, by the end of the two years, which I proposed to allow before the prohibition should finally cease, the silk trade would be destroyed.

This delay I now consider to have been the greatest error that was then committed, and the origin of our present difficulty, as far as this trade is concerned. "Those," said the honourable member for Taunton, "who propose this new plan, are completely ruining the silk manufacture of England. The moment this plan is promulgated, the great object of all who have capitals embarked in the manufacture will be to disen-

tangle those capitals; and those who have no capital except their labour will be left to struggle for themselves, and probably to perish for want of employment."

Such, in 1824, were the gloomy forebodings of the honourable member for Taunton. Experience has made me rather obdurate to all such prophecies; for so many are daily made by individuals whose fears are excited, or who, when they suppose their particular interests to be at stake, attempt to excite fear in others, that I must have abandoned every measure which I have brought forward for improving our commercial policy, had I allowed myself to be acted upon by such forebodings.

Last year, for instance, I received representations from the iron trade—day after day, and month after month; but I could not share in their alarms. I must state this, however, with one exception. There exists in this country one considerable establishment, in which iron is smelted by charcoal in great perfection, but at a heavy expense. This iron is held in equal estimation with the best from Sweden; but there was reason to apprehend that it could not, under the reduced duty, maintain itself in competition with the latter. The establishment in question belongs to a most respectable and scientific gentleman, well known to many members of this house—Dr Ainslie. Having heard his statement, I told him that, although I could not alter a general measure to meet one particular case, I would endeavour to devise some other mode of relief, if he should be overwhelmed by the competition.

And what does the house think has been the result. Sir, within the last fortnight, that respectable individual has sent me word, through an honourable member of this house, not only that his fears have not been realized, but that my most sanguine hopes had been confirmed—that his trade, in fact, had in no degree suffered by those very measures which he apprehended would have been fatal to it, and that it was, upon the whole, in a very flourishing state.

Let us now see how far the predictions of the honourable member for Taunton and the honourable member for Coventry have been realized. These predictions were, that the silk trade would be annihilated in the course of the two years allowed to the manufacturers to prepare for the change.

The bill passed this house in the spring of 1824; and during the rest of that year the silk trade went on flourishing and increasing, in the face of this threatened annihilation. In the spring of 1825 there prevailed a degree of excitement—a spirit of speculation—an extension of demand in this

manufacture—to a greater degree than ever had been witnessed before in almost any branch of trade. It was in 1825 that so many new factories were erected; so many new mills set at work; so many new looms occupied. The old mills were not sufficient; many new ones were raised; the erection of each of which, I am assured, did not cost less than from L.10,000 to L.15,000; and several of these new mills have not even yet been roofed in.

Thus, at the very time when, to satisfy the prediction of the honourable member for Taunton, this trade should have been in a state of rapid decline, the manufacturers were building to an excess that had never been equalled in the periods of their greatest prosperity.

The honourable and learned member for Lincoln has alluded to the present condition of the town of Macclesfield. I know what misfortunes and bankruptcies have occurred there, and I feel the deepest and most undissembled sorrow for the sufferings of that population. I am aware of their distressed state at this moment. But I cannot help thinking that the honourable and learned member, in stating their situation, should also have stated some of the circumstances which have aggravated, if not created, their present difficulties; for certain it is that the spirit of speculation has, in that town, been carried to the greatest extravagance. According to the last census in 1821, the whole population of Macclesfield amounted to 17,746 souls. Now I will suppose that, between that year and the year 1825 it increased to 20,000. What then, in that year, was the demand for additional labour in the silk manufacture alone of that town? I have seen, and many other gentlemen have no doubt seen, in a Macclesfield newspaper, of the 19th of February 1825, the following advertisement:—"To overseers, guardians of the poor, and families desirous of settling in Macclesfield. Wanted immediately, from four to five thousand persons."—[Loud cries of hear, hear!]
—The house may well express their surprise; but I beseech their attention to the description of persons required by this advertisement—"from seven to twenty years of age"—so that the silk manufacturers were content to receive children of the tender age of only seven years—"to be employed in the throwing and manufacturing of silk. The great increase of the trade having caused a great scarcity of workmen, it is suggested that this is a most favourable opportunity for persons with large families, and overseers who wish to put out children—[children of seven years of age!]
—as apprentices, to ensure them a comfortable livelihood. Appli-

cation to be made, if by letter, post paid, to the printer of this paper."

Humanity is not the least remarkable part of this precious document; and the house will not fail to observe how admirably the cruelty of confining children of *seven* years of age to labour in a silk mill, for twelve or fifteen hours out of the four-and-twenty, is tempered by the inducement to parents to provide for their families for life. What sort of provision that has been the present wretched state of those helpless infants will best evince. And here I cannot help observing, that at the very time such an invitation was sent forth to overseers and parents by the owners of silk mills, this house was very properly occupied in passing a bill to prevent the employment of children under *nine* years of age in cotton factories.

Very soon after this advertisement, and before the mills were finished in which these children were to be immured, there appeared, I have been assured, another advertisement, nearly in the same extravagant style:—"Wanted to be built immediately, *one thousand* houses!"—doubtless to contain the five thousand new inhabitants.

Yet all this took place in the year 1825, just one year, according to the honourable member for Taunton, before the silk trade was to expire for ever. I ask, then, what weight can be given to the predictions of those who, in the face of these striking facts, continue to assert that the silk trade of this country will be annihilated before the end of the next twelve months? Can any man wonder, after such an enormous extent of speculation—after such inhuman efforts to induce so many destitute children to flock into the manufactories—after such an influx of population—can any man, I say, wonder—all branches of this trade being now in a stagnant state—at most of these new-comers being out of work at Macclesfield—or at the fact stated by the honourable and learned member for Lincoln—his hair almost standing on end with horror—"that eleven orders for the removal of as many paupers had been made out in one week?"

Under ordinary circumstances, it could scarcely have been expected that the silk manufacture alone could have formed an exception to the general re-action which has followed overtrading and speculation in every other branch of commerce; but, under the circumstances of peculiar excitement which I have now stated, it would, indeed, have been matter of surprise had it escaped its full share of the common pressure.

Sir, I feel that, upon this occasion, a heavy burden is im-

posed upon me. I feel that I have not only to defend myself from the attack of the honourable member for Lincoln, but to say something in behalf of my right honourable colleagues—something in vindication of the house itself, for the course which they have pursued in the adoption of the system of commercial policy which we recommended.

As the whole of that system has been so vigorously attacked, I shall, I trust, be excused if I touch, very briefly, upon the proceedings of the last session of parliament, when, in furtherance of that system, and with the cordial concurrence of this house, I brought forward measures of a more general nature than the silk bill of the preceding session, inasmuch as they went to effect an important and more extensive change in the colonial as well as in the commercial policy of the country. The colonial part of the subject had not, I admit, been much pressed upon his Majesty's government, either by representations in this house or in discussion out of doors. But there are occasions in which it is the duty of a vigilant government, instead of waiting for such pressure, to watch the signs of the times, and to accommodate their policy to those changes in the world, under the continued operation of which a blind adherence to our former system would no longer be either safe or expedient. Upon this principle I shall be ready to vindicate the alterations, great as they are, in the policy of our colonial commerce, whenever those alterations may be called in question; but as hitherto they have not been attacked in this house, and as they received the special approbation of the honourable member for Taunton, I shall now say no more upon that part of the subject.

With respect to the alterations in our general commercial system, however extensive in their application, what were the objects which they embraced? They went to the removal of useless and inconvenient restrictions, to the doing away of prohibitions, and to the lowering of duties so excessive, as to be in fact prohibitory on the productions of other countries—restrictions, prohibitions, and duties, which, without benefit, nay, highly mischievous to ourselves, have produced all the evil effects, and given rise in other parts of the world to the retaliatory efforts of foreign governments to put down the commerce of this country. These were some of the bad consequences justly attributed to our exclusive system by the honourable member for Taunton and the merchants of London, in the speech and petition to which I have so often referred.

And here I cannot but express my astonishment that

gentlemen (I am now speaking of persons out of doors) who must be better informed—whose sincerity I cannot doubt—but whose judgment, in this respect, seems to be most unaccountably perverted, impute all the prevailing distress, as well as the derangement in the foreign exchanges which preceded, and, in a great degree, produced that distress, to this lowering of excessive duties, and removal of unnecessary prohibitions.

I have called for the production of a paper which has not yet been printed, but which will, I hope, in the course of twenty-four hours be in the hands of every honourable member, for the purpose of shewing what have been, during the last year, the actual imports of most of the principal articles, the duty on which has been most materially reduced. From this document it will be manifest that, although there has been some increase of import in most of those articles, in none has it been carried to any great extent. In manufactured goods—cottons, woollens, linens, &c.—the increased import of the whole does not exceed a few thousand pounds. And yet, in opposition to this decisive evidence, there are those, I understand, who had dealings for millions in foreign loans, who, to facilitate the payments of those loans, and other financial operations of foreign governments, have sent million after million of our gold coin, drawn from the Bank of England, to the Bank of Paris, and who, in the face of such gigantic operations, the benefit of which to this country (whatever it may be to themselves) it is difficult to conceive, have been pleased to attribute the unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges during the last summer and autumn to the commercial measures adopted by parliament in the preceding session.

I am happy to say that where the duties have been lowered upon articles of consumption, the result has hitherto fully borne me out in all my anticipations. In the six months which immediately followed the reduction of the duty on coffee, the consumption of that article has nearly doubled, without occasioning any decrease in the consumption of tea. In wine, the duty upon which, we were told, ought not to have been reduced, without some reciprocity to the productions of this country, the consumption has also increased in an equal degree. And thus it will appear that the same amount of revenue has been attained by the government from diminished burthens, thereby leaving the greater means of comfort and enjoyment to the people.

I come now to the real jet of the silk question, and which

—I say it with all due deference to the honourable mover and seconder of the present motion—has not been in the slightest degree touched upon by either of them.

It is admitted on all hands that silk is an article which can be easily smuggled; and that it is now smuggled, to a very considerable extent, in spite of all the preventive measures that have from time to time been adopted. Now the object of the British manufacturer is, as much as possible, to shut out the competition of his foreign rival. If smuggling could be prevented, I would concede to him that prohibition would be most effectual to this object; but if it cannot, what is the advantage of prohibition over a protecting duty of 30 per cent.? I say 30 per cent., because I never yet conversed with a single merchant or manufacturer who did not admit that, if a higher protecting duty were imposed, the supply of foreign silk goods would be thrown into the hands of the smuggler.

The question then, looking at it practically, is this—In what degree is prohibition better, as against smuggling, than a well-regulated duty?—by which I mean a duty sufficient to protect the British manufacturer, without being so high as to afford a premium to the smuggler.

In the first place, it cannot be denied that the feelings of mankind are more likely to restrain them from committing a fraud than from violating a custom-house prohibition. I am sure it would be conceded to me that many honourable persons who would not, for any temptation, be parties to a contrivance to evade a tax, and thereby to evade the public revenue, would feel very little scruple in wearing an article that is absolutely prohibited, and the introduction of which is not in opposition to any moral duty.

So far, then, the argument in support of the assertion that a prohibitory law is the best check upon smuggling makes directly the other way, and is in favour of protecting duties.

But the great, indeed the only, argument in favour of prohibition in preference to a protecting duty is this—that after the forbidden goods have been landed in this country, and when they are in the possession of individuals, even for their own use or consumption, you may follow them into private dwellings, nay, into the very pockets of the wearers, and seize them upon their persons, in the king's name, at the bare suggestion of any common informer.

To what does this power of seizing and examining all who may be suspected of possessing prohibited articles amount? Sir, it amounts to this—that if any man, no matter what may be his rank, be he the humblest peasant or the highest peer in the realm, be suspected of wearing or possessing a silk hand

kerchief of foreign manufacture, he is liable to have it taken from his neck or his pocket, and to have his house ransacked, from the garret to the cellar, in quest of contraband articles. If, without such a subsidiary regulation as this—a regulation which encourages the worst passions, engenders the most appalling perjury and crime, and which opens so wide a door either to fraud and collusion, or to intimidation and personal violence—prohibition cannot be sustained, then, sir, I say, in preference to such a system, let us, in God's name, have a well-regulated duty.

And here I hope I may be permitted to digress for one moment, to ask how a great constitutional lawyer—a staunch advocate for the popular character of our constitution—a zealous stickler for the inalienable rights of the people—a watchful guardian of the sanctity of an Englishman's private abode—how he could so entirely discipline and subdue his warm and boasted feelings for the liberty of the subject as to pour forth the declamatory harangue which we have heard this night from the learned member for Lincoln in favour of this system of prohibition?

But, even with the aid of this power of search and seizure, is prohibition an effectual remedy against smuggling? I have lately taken some pains to ascertain the quantity of smuggled silks that has been seized inland, throughout the kingdom, during the last ten years, and I find that the whole does not exceed L.5,000 a-year. I have endeavoured, on the other hand, to get an account of the quantity of silk goods actually smuggled into this country. Any estimate of this quantity must be very vague; but I have been given to understand that the value of such goods as are regularly entered at the custom-houses of France, for exportation to this country, is from L.100,000 to L.150,000 a-year; and this, of course, is exclusive of the far greater supply which is poured in through all the channels of smuggling, without being subjected to any entry. In fact, to such an extent is this illicit trade carried, that there is scarcely a haberdasher's shop, in the smallest village of the kingdom, in which prohibited silks are not sold, and that in the face of day, and to a very considerable extent.

The honourable member for Coventry has mentioned the silk goods from India as those against which anything but prohibition would prove an unavailing protection. Now, in my opinion, it is scarcely possible to conceive a stronger case than those very silks furnish against the honourable member's own argument. I believe it is universally known, that a large quantity of Bandana handkerchiefs are sold every year for exportation by the East India Company. But does any

gentleman suppose that these Bandanas are sent to the continent for the purpose of remaining there? No such thing! They are sold at the company's sales to the number of 800,000 or a million of handkerchiefs each year, at the rate of about four shillings each. They are immediately shipped off for Hamburgh, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Ostend, or Guernsey, and from thence, they nearly all, illicitly, find their way back to this country.

Mark, then, the effect of this beautiful system—this system so lauded by the learned member for Lincoln. These Bandanas which had previously been sold for exportation at *four* shillings are finally distributed, in retail, to the people of England, at the rate of about *eight* shillings each; and the result of their prohibition is to levy upon the consumer a tax, and to give to those who live by the evasion of your law a bounty of *four* shillings upon each handkerchief sold in this country.

That nearly all the Bandanas sold for exportation are re-imported and used in this country is a fact not denied, even by those who are now most clamorous for prohibition. In a printed letter from a manufacturer of Macclesfield to the Marquis of Lansdowne, I find the following anecdote:—"It is the custom, in the parterres of the theatres in France, to secure the place by tying a pocket handkerchief on the seat. I had the curiosity, at the Theatre Francois, to notice the appearance of them; and, out of twenty-five immediately around me, there was not one silk handkerchief." I should have little doubt, if a similar custom prevailed in the pit of our theatre, that this accurate observer would find most of the seats decorated with handkerchiefs of prohibited silk. Nay, sir, if strangers were, at this moment, ordered to withdraw from the gallery, and every member were called upon (of course in secret committee) to produce his handkerchief, with the understanding that those who had not prohibited handkerchiefs in their pockets were obliged to inform against those who had, I am inclined to believe that the informers would be in a small majority. Upon every information laid under this prohibitory law, the chances are that the informer and the constable have Bandanas round their necks, and that the magistrate who hears the charge has one in his pocket!

Upon the motion of this evening, then, we have to make our choice between a moderate protecting duty which can be collected and is likely to be available, and the going back to the system of prohibition, which I have shewn to be productive of such mischievous consequences.

But, since the repeal of the old law, a further difficulty has

occurred in respect to prohibition. Two years ago, when a piece of silk was seized as foreign, the British manufacturer could, upon inspecting it, at once say, "I know and can prove that this is not the manufacture of this kingdom." If asked, "What is your proof?" he would reply, "The superior quality and workmanship of the article; it is quite impossible that anything equal to it should have been manufactured in England; it wants that stamp of slovenliness and indifference to improvement which is the sure characteristic of all silk goods made at home." This is a very natural answer for monopoly to make, but it comes with a bad grace from a British manufacturer.

But it may be asked if excellence of fabric was at that time the proof that the article was not British why is it not so still? I shall give the best answer to this question by stating what has recently occurred.

Soon after the alteration of our law, an extensive French manufacturer removed from Lyons to this country. He brought with him his looms and his patterns. Under his management and superintendence, two establishments were formed, one in Spitalfields, the other at Manchester. At both of these places he set weavers to work, fully satisfied that a duty of 30 per cent. would afford him sufficient protection. His improved methods—with sorrow I state it—excited the jealousy, and drew down upon him the persecution of the English manufacturers. They charged this industrious foreigner boldly, and rashly, and—as in the end it was proved—most unjustly, with carrying on his trade here, merely as a cloak to cover the smuggling of foreign manufactured goods. In their mortification at his success, they even went the length of charging my honourable friend, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the whole Board of Customs, with being cognizant of the fact, and parties to this nefarious scheme for ruining the silk trade of England. This accusation was not merely insinuated in whispers; it was contained in a published report, inserted in the newspapers, and thus conveyed from one end of the kingdom to the other.

This was not to be endured. The treasury determined to sift the matter to the bottom. They knew that neither at the board of treasury nor at the board of customs could any countenance or facility have been given to smuggling; but they thought it not impossible that this French house might have been guilty of the irregularities imputed to them, and that these irregularities might have been connived at by some of the inferior officers. The accusers, therefore, were called upon to substantiate their charge, and were distinctly told

that the inquiry should be directed in whatever mode they might point out as most effectual. They said the clearest proof would probably be found in the books of the party accused, if they could be got at. The books could not certainly be inspected without his consent. Did he hesitate on this point? So far from it, that his immediate reply was, "You are welcome to inspect all the books of our house; and that there may be no suspicion of garbling or concealment, let an officer go with me *instantly*, and they shall all be brought here" (to the treasury) "in a hackney coach."

This was accordingly done. His books were subjected to a rigid examination. Every transaction connected with his business was found regular—the names of the weavers employed by him, the work which they had in hand, and their places of residence, were all duly entered. Taking with them a plan of Spitalfields, and without the possibility of previous notice or concert, proper persons went round to the particular houses, which these books had pointed out, and in every instance they found the names of the men at work, and the goods upon which they were working, to correspond with the entries in the books.

All this was most satisfactory to the treasury and the customs. But the accusers persevered in their charge. They insisted that the whole was a concerted plot; and that many pieces of silk in the warehouse of this foreigner, which he asserted that he had manufactured here, were in truth the productions of France.

The treasury, in consequence, resolved to sift the matter still farther, and again it was left to the accusers to point out the mode. In order to prosecute the inquiry they selected from their own body the person whom they considered the most skilled in the knowledge requisite for the detection of such articles as might be contraband. And what towards him was the conduct of the party accused? "Go to my warehouse," said the Frenchman, "turn over all my goods; select from among them whatever pieces you please; and on the proof of their being of English or of French manufacture, let my guilt or innocence be finally established."

The offer was accepted. The person employed by the British manufacturers turned over and over several hundred pieces of silk; and at length, after the whole ordeal was passed, the board of customs made known the result, in an official report which they transmitted to the treasury. That report I hold in my hand. What is the substance of it? Why, that thirty-seven pieces had been selected by this agent of the accusers, as being, beyond all doubt, of French manu-

facture. What followed? These thirty-seven pieces were seized, and the Frenchman was put upon his proof that they were made in this country. How did he prove it? By producing, one after another, the very men by whom every one of these thirty-seven pieces had been made, who proved, upon their oaths, in the most irrefragable manner, that every inch of these goods had been woven by themselves—Where? Not at Lyons—not in France—but in Spitalfields and Manchester!

I have stated these facts with feelings I own bordering on disgust. I cannot but think it humiliating, if not discreditable to my countrymen, that an unprotected foreigner should have been maligned and persecuted, instead of receiving countenance and encouragement, for having transported his capital and skill to this country, and for being the first to set the example of great and successful improvement in our silk manufacture.

But how does this detail into which I have entered bear upon the present argument? It shews in the clearest manner, that if you continue to seize silk goods in private houses, in shops, or upon individuals, you have now lost your former test, by which you could prove them to be of foreign origin. The most expert judge of such articles, it is now legally proved, cannot discriminate between the British and the foreign manufacture. Prohibition, therefore, has lost its only recommendation; it retains no advantage over a well-regulated duty.

But appeals have been made to our compassion; and our feelings have been alarmed by the statement that above 500,000 individuals are at present engaged in the silk trade, and that ruin must inevitably be entailed on this large and meritorious class of the community if the old law be not restored.

Now, supposing the number of persons employed in the silk manufactory to amount to 500,000, their wages, I assume, cannot be less, one with another, than 10s. a-week for each person. I have been told, indeed, that a considerable portion of this number are children, some of whom do not receive more than 1s. 6d. a-week, and for this pittance, the hours of work in the mills, when the trade was brisk, I have been assured were from five in the morning till eight or nine at night.

If this be so, let us not talk of the difference in the expense of labour between this country and France. Will it be said that a French child cannot earn in the silk manufactory one shilling and sixpence a-week, and that without

working from fourteen to fifteen hours out of the four-and-twenty? Certainly not. Supposing, however, the average earnings of these 500,000 persons (an exaggerated number, I am convinced) to be ten shillings a-week, thirteen millions of money would then be the annual amount of wages alone in this manufacture. To this are to be added the interest on capital and the price of the raw material, so that the value of the goods sold could not be less than eighteen or twenty millions sterling. This, however, I consider too high a calculation. The Lords' report estimates the whole amount at only ten millions; but allowing for increased consumption since 1821, it may perhaps be fairly rated at twelve or fourteen millions, exclusive of the quantity smuggled in from the Continent.

If, then, fourteen millions of silk goods are about the annual consumption of this kingdom, what would happen if, according to the predictions of the honourable member for Taunton, the British manufacture should be annihilated after next July? We should not, I take it for granted, consume a less quantity of silk goods; the only change would be, that we should have them, as it is alleged, of a better quality and at a less price. But all the goods so consumed would, on this supposition, have paid a duty of thirty per cent. on their importation; and the produce of that duty consequently would exceed four millions sterling. This large sum would be levied without in the smallest degree abridging the comfort or enjoyment of any other class of the community. It would bring with it no increase of burthen upon the consumer of silk goods, and consequently no diminution of his means of consuming other articles. It would simply be the premium of monopoly transferred to the Exchequer, and the capital for which this monopoly was created would be set free, to give employment to other branches of industry.

Such certainly would be the ultimate result, if the speculative fears of the silk trade should be realized. But of such an issue, I am persuaded, there is no risk. The whole consumption of silk goods in France is not equal to the consumption in England. Now supposing, when the bill comes into operation, there should be a greatly increased demand in this country for French silks, this new and additional demand would produce a corresponding advance in the price of the goods, and in the wages of labour in France. To a certain extent there may be such a demand, especially at the first opening of the trade; but I am convinced that, with the attention to economy which competition excites, with our im-

proved machinery, our industry and ingenuity, and perhaps with the lowered prices of labour, and the means of subsistence—a protecting duty of 30 per cent. will be found to be sufficient.

The house is called upon, by the motion of the honourable member for Coventry, “to inquire.” Has it never inquired before? Has the House of Lords entered into no investigation of the subject? And did not that investigation take place at a period when taxation and prices were very considerably higher than at present? The country, too, at that time was labouring under much distress; and the silk manufacture was suffering its full share of the existing difficulties. Was that inquiry loosely conducted? Certainly not. A noble Marquis* presided over the labours of the committee, alike distinguished for talent, for diligence, and for the soundness of his views on all subjects connected with the commercial policy of the country. It was the opinion of that committee, after taking a mass of evidence on oath, that a duty of fifteen per cent. would be an adequate protection, instead of a duty of double that amount, under which the experiment is now to be made.

I have stated, too much at length I fear, the grounds on which it appears to me that this house ought not to entertain the present motion. This statement, I feel, must have appeared unnecessary to those who think with me on the subject of our commercial policy; and I dare not hope that it has made much impression on those who are the declared advocates of the restrictive system—those who belong to the same school of political economy as the honourable baronet the member for Staffordshire. In his enmity to all improvement, he told us, the other evening, that the ministers of the present day were only fit to form a council for the island of Laputa. Since this intimation of the honourable baronet’s wish to see us banished to that island, I have turned in my own mind what recommendation I could take with me to that land of philosophers. Not a letter from the honourable baronet, I can assure him; for he has given us to understand that, in mind at least, he belongs to the Brobdignagian age of this country. But I think I have hit upon that which would infallibly make my fortune at Laputa—I will tell the honourable baronet what it is.

At the time of the great bullion controversy in 1810–1811, the main question in dispute turned upon what was the real

* The Marquis of Lansdowne.

standard of our money. We wild theorists said, as our simple forefathers had always said before us, that the standard was, and could be, nothing else than the weight and fineness of the gold or silver in the coin of the realm, according to the commands of the sovereign, specified in the indentures of the mint. Had this definition been admitted by the practical men, there would at once have been an end of the contested point—whether our then currency was or was not depreciated. But for that very reason, this definition was denied by all who maintained the negative of that question. More than a hundred pamphlets were published on that side, containing as many different definitions of the standard. Fifteen of these definitions, most in vogue at the time, I have since retained as a curiosity to laugh at; but they may now, perhaps, be turned to a more valuable purpose. Of that number I only recollect three at this moment. The first defined the standard to be “the abstract pound sterling.” This had great success, till another practical writer proved that the standard was the “ideal unit.” These two practical standards were, however, finally superseded by a third, of which the definition was, “a sense of value in currency (paper) in reference to commodities.” This last standard was at once so perfectly tangible, and clearly intelligible, that I consider it as the parent of the famous resolution of this house by which the question was to be finally set at rest.

Now, if I should take with me to Laputa this little but invaluable collection of definitions, I have not the slightest doubt that my pretensions to have the whole monetary system of that island placed under my direction—to be master of the mint, governor of the bank, and superintendent of all the country banks—would be immediately and generally admitted. It is true we have had no authentic account of the progress of political science in that celebrated island for about a century past; but it is scarcely to be imagined that it can have been so rapid as to enable their greatest philosophers to challenge the pre-eminence of these definitions on the score of abstraction, metaphysics, and absurdity; and, at any rate, if the philosophers should cabal against me, the practical men could not fail to be on my side.

I am not aware, sir, that I have omitted to notice any of the objections which have been urged against the important changes lately made by parliament in our commercial system. That these changes are extensive as well as important I readily admit. Whether they will work ultimately for good or for evil it becomes not fallible man to pronounce an over-peremptory opinion. That the expectation of those who pro-

posed them was that they would work for good no man will do us the injustice to deny. That up to this hour I am fortified in that expectation, by the deductions of reason in my own mind, by the authority of all who are most competent to form a dispassionate opinion upon the subject, by the beneficial result of everything which has hitherto been done for giving greater freedom to commerce in this country, and by the experience of the opposite effect which vexatious and unnecessary restraints are daily producing in other countries—is what I can most solemnly affirm.

I make this declaration, I can assure you, sir, in all sincerity of heart, and, as far as I know myself, without any mixture of false pride, or any mistaken feeling of obstinate adherence to consistency. I am the more anxious to make this declaration in the face of the house and of the world, because of late I have been assailed and distressed, I will own, by ungenerous appeals to my feelings, calling upon me to commune with my conscience and my God, and to say whether I am under no visitations of compunction and remorse at having thrown so many persons out of bread, in the trial of a rash experiment and in the pursuit of a hollow theory. Good God! sir, that man must have a heart of stone who can witness without sympathy and the greatest pain the distress which now, unfortunately, exists in most of our other great manufactures as well as in that of silk. But whilst I hope that I am not wanting in the duties and feelings of a man, I have also a duty to perform as a minister. If immediate relief be, in a great degree, out of our power, it the more becomes us, as the guardians of all that is most valuable in civilized society, to trace the causes of the present calamities, and to prevent, if possible, their recurrence. It is on this principle that I am anxious to put an end to a system of currency which leads to ruinous fluctuations in trade and in the price of all commodities, which, whether in excitement or depression, is alike undermining the sober habits and the moral feelings of the community, which confounds honest industry with unprincipled gambling, which injures the poor man in the earnings of his labour, and takes from the rich man all security in his property—a system which creates delusive hopes, only to terminate in aggravated disappointments—of which every succeeding convulsion must add to our inability to bear it—and of which the inevitable tendency is, to drive capital and industry to other countries; not in Europe only, but even across the Atlantic. The growing dread of instability here, the growing assurance of increased stability in those countries would ultimately produce this transfer, and

with it the further transfer of the rank and power which England has hitherto maintained among the nations of the world.

If I have ventured to intrude upon the house by any allusion to my personal feelings, they will, I trust, make some allowance for the provocation which I have received. This is the only place in which I can properly reply to the unmanly appeals which have been made to me through other channels. Such appeals, however painful to receive, have no influence on my conduct; neither can they detract from the sanguine hope which I entertain of better prospects and increased happiness for my country. I hailed with great delight, the other evening, the assurance of the right honourable member for Knarborough,* that he saw nothing in our present difficulties to create despondency or alarm. In this sentiment I most entirely concur. The existing pressure may, for a short time, bear heavily upon the springs of our prosperity, but if we pursue a temperate course, there is nothing to fear, and everything to hope for our future progress. With confidence I cling to that cheering hope, and, without looking forward to a long life, I trust that I shall witness its realization.

Whether in a public station or in retirement, my greatest happiness will be, to feel assured that the power and resources of this country have been increased by those measures of commercial policy which it has fallen to my lot to submit to parliament.

That such will be their ultimate result is my firm and conscientious conviction, and in that conviction I claim for those measures the continued support of this house.

On Mr Huskisson's resuming his seat, Mr Baring rose; but the cries of "adjournment" and "go on" were so general, that the honourable gentlemen seemed unwilling to proceed. Upon which Mr Canning observed, that if the question before the house were confined merely to the motion of the honourable member for Coventry, there could be no difficulty in disposing of it on that night; but as the eloquent and powerful speech of his right honourable friend had, most happily for the country, involved the whole of the principles on which the commerce of the country was to be conducted in future, he would move that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow.

* Mr Tierney.

SECT. XI.—THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING.

We shall dwell briefly on Canning's life. His times were Huskisson's times ; the commercial reforms of his administration were those of the great President of the Board of Trade, whose life, acts, and speeches have filled so many of the preceding pages. We cannot select a more appropriate specimen of Mr Canning's impromptu orations than that which was delivered in the same debate with Mr Huskisson's great speech, which constitutes the preceding section.

Mr Secretary Canning rose, amidst cries of " Question !" but was loudly cheered as he presented himself to the house. He proceeded nearly as follows :—

" Sir,—After the direct appeal made to me by the honourable member for Coventry, after the appeal also made to me by another honourable member, (Mr J. Williams,) I do feel it necessary, before the debate closes, to state to the house fairly, and as shortly as I can, the views and opinions which I entertain upon the present question. On the one hand, I am sure the house will believe that I cannot feel disposed to enter at large into a subject which has been already so fully discussed, and has, I may say, been disposed of so much to the satisfaction of this house and the country—to the satisfaction at least of those who had before approved of the principles on which his Majesty's government have acted, and to the conviction of others who, doubting the soundness of those principles, found their doubts set at rest by the powerful and unanswerable speech of my right honourable friend. As I say, the house on the one hand will not suspect me of having the bad taste, after his luminous exposition, to intrude on their time, by discussing the whole of this vast subject ; on the other hand, it would feel that I did not do my duty by the house, by the country, or by my right honourable friend, if, leaving to him the whole weight of this debate, I omitted to claim for myself a full participation in the responsibility incurred by the introduction of those measures which he has so successfully explained and defended. It is for this purpose, then, that I now present myself to the house ; and I do so because I have witnessed, for the last six months—I might perhaps say during a longer period, but principally for the last six months—the diligent, the systematic attacks made upon the plans and measures, as well as upon the public character, of my right honourable friend—attacks made, no doubt, with the cherished hope that they would prove injurious to his fame, and subversive of the sound commercial

principles which he has so long and so anxiously exerted himself to introduce and establish.

“I agree with the honourable gentleman who has spoken to-night for the first time, and spoken in a manner which gives promise of the ability with which he will hereafter fill the station to which he has been called; I agree with him, that if there were any prospect that, by consenting to go into the committee for which the honourable gentleman has moved, anything could be done to soothe the feelings, or to relieve the distress of those on whose behalf the committee has been required—or if it were merely a neutral measure—a measure in which parliament might innocently indulge the petitioners, or one calculated, perhaps, to give satisfaction to a few, though without benefit to any, I would even now forego my opposition to it. But it is because I feel that we should practise a delusion upon the petitioners, at the expense of the interests of the country, if we were to hold out a hope, an expectation, of altering—nay, even if we were to utter a doubt of our determination to persevere in that course which, after the most serious deliberation, parliament, in its wisdom, resolved to pursue. What, I will ask, would be the effect of our going into the proposed committee? The question, let it be beaten out into as many shapes as you please, is simply this—Would a prohibition of foreign silks protect our trade as well as a moderate duty, such as that proposed by my right honourable friend? I will not fatigue the house by an unnecessary repetition of the arguments which have proved the negative of this proposition; but, to my mind, it is clear that a law of prohibition would fail as a measure of protection, while it would re-introduce in our system those vicious principles which we have found such difficulty in expelling from it. The evil which we have put down would re-appear, and, like a noisome weed, rapidly increase in growth, till it overspreads the whole soil of our commercial industry.

“But, sir, this is not the point upon which I felt myself most immediately called upon to answer the appeal of honourable members—this is not the point upon which I feel called upon by my public duty to express my sentiments. It cannot be denied, sir, that, under cover of the measure which the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr Ellice) has thought proper to bring forward—and that he has brought it forward in the sincerity of his heart, and with the view solely to the relief of the sufferers whose cause he has advocated, the house must feel convinced—but it cannot be denied that, under cover of that motion, an opportunity has been taken, not by the honourable member, but by others, to attack the commercial

regulations now in progress; measures more seriously deliberated upon, and introduced with the more universal consent of all those whose judgments were likely to be best enlightened on such matters, than any other acts of our public policy within my recollection.

“The honourable gentleman who introduced the motion was of opinion that it was advisable to adopt a sound and settled system of commercial policy. But the honourable and learned gentleman who seconded it, addressed you with a very different feeling, and in a very different spirit. That honourable and learned member, departing from those professional topics, in descanting upon which he had so often arrested the attention of the house, disported himself upon this, to him novel subject, certainly with all the confidence of a novice, but at the same time in a manner which evinced a total incapability of using his weapons, as he was wont to do in his more practised exhibitions. The honourable and learned member has not disdained to call to his aid, in the course of his address, all the vulgar topics of ribbald invective with which my right honourable friend has been assailed elsewhere; and, in the spirit of these attacks, has attributed to him feelings unknown to his heart, and sentiments utterly alien from his nature. And why, I ask, has my right honourable friend been subjected to these attacks? Because, sir, with an industry and intelligence never exceeded, and rarely equalled, he has devoted his daily labour and his nightly toil to the improvement of the commercial system of his country. Sir, when this attack was made, the house felt, as one man, the injustice done to my right honourable friend; and if, in addition to the conscious rectitude of his own mind, and to the gratifying acknowledgment by this house, of his splendid exertions, he wished for another gratification, he had it in the universal feeling of indignation at the attempt so wantonly made to lower him and his measures in the public opinion. And then, forsooth, came the assertion, that nothing personal was meant. Nothing personal, sir! Did we not hear mention made of hard-hearted metaphysics, and of the malignity of *the devil*? Nothing personal!—certainly nothing personal to *the devil*—who, by the way, and it is a curious coincidence, is, according to an old proverb, the patron saint of the city which the honourable and learned gentleman represents! But could any one fail to understand that the fiend-like malignity, the coldness of heart, the apathy of feeling, that all these abstract qualities, which the learned gentleman had described as distinguishing *features* of those who indulged in abstract speculations, were intended by the

learned gentleman to be embodied in the person of my right honourable friend; qualities especially calculated to render a man contemptible in the performance of his public duties, and odious in the eyes of his fellow-citizens, for whose benefit those duties are discharged? These topics, sir, are as vulgar as they are unjust. Why is it to be supposed that the application of philosophy—for I will use that odious word—why was it to be supposed that to apply the refinement of philosophy to the affairs of common life indicates obduracy of feeling or obtuseness of sensibility? We must deal with the affairs of men on abstract principles; modified, however, of course, according to times and circumstances. Is not the doctrine and the spirit which now animate those who persecute my right honourable friend, the same which, in former times, stirred up persecution against the best benefactors of mankind? Is it not the same doctrine and spirit which embittered the life of Turgot? Is it not a doctrine and a spirit such as this which consigned Galileo to the dungeons of the inquisition? Is it not a doctrine and a spirit such as these which have at all times been at work to stay public advancement and to roll back the tide of civilisation? A doctrine and a spirit actuating the little minds of men, who, incapable of reaching the heights from which alone extended views of human nature can be taken, console and revenge themselves by calumniating and misrepresenting those who have toiled to those heights for the advantage of mankind.

“Sir, I have not to learn that there is a faction in the country—I mean not a political faction—I should, perhaps, rather have said a sect, small in numbers and powerless in might, who think that all advances towards improvement are retrogradations towards Jacobinism. These persons seem to imagine that, under no possible circumstances can an honest man endeavour to keep his country upon a line with the progress of political knowledge, and to adapt its course to the varying circumstances of the world. Such an attempt is branded as an indication of mischievous intentions, as evidence of a design to sap the foundations of the greatness of the country.

“Sir, I consider it to be the duty of a British statesman, in internal as well as external affairs, to hold a middle course between extremes; avoiding alike extravagances of despotism or the licentiousness of unbridled freedom—reconciling power with liberty; not adopting hasty or ill-advised experiments, nor pursuing any airy and unsubstantial theories; but not

rejecting, nevertheless, the application of sound and wholesome knowledge to practical affairs, and pressing, with sobriety and caution, into the service of his country any generous and liberal principles, whose excess, indeed, may be dangerous, but whose foundation is in truth. This, sir, in my mind, is the true conduct of a British statesman; but they who resist indiscriminately all improvement as innovation, may find themselves compelled at last to submit to innovations although they are not improvements.

“My right honourable friend has been actuated by the spirit which I have endeavoured to describe. Convinced in his own mind of the justice and expediency of the measure which he has proposed for the improvement of our commercial system, he has persuaded the house to legislate in that sense; and, as the fruits of that legislation, I anticipate increasing prosperity and growing strength to the country.

“Two objections have been stated to the course which his Majesty’s ministers are pursuing under the guidance of my right honourable friend: we are charged with having abandoned the principles of Mr Pitt, and of having borrowed a leaf from the book of Whig policy. If the latter accusation refers to the useful and honourable support which we have received on questions of commerce from some of those who are habitually our antagonists in politics, I have only to admit the fact, and to declare the satisfaction which I derive from it. God forbid, sir, that I should withhold due praise from those who, forgetting political animosities and the vulgar divisions of party, have concurred with us in attempting to do public good.

“But if it is meant to say that the commercial policy which we recommend to the country is founded on the principles of Whiggism, history proves that proposition to be untrue. I mean neither praise nor blame of Whig or Tory, in adverting to matters which passed long before the political existence of the present generation; but, historically speaking, I must say that freedom of commerce has, in former times, been the doctrine rather of Tories than of Whigs. If I look back, for instance, to the transactions between this country and France, the only commercial treaty which I can find, beside that which was signed by me and my right honourable friend but the other day, since the peace of Utrecht, is the convention of 1786. With respect to the treaty, the house need not be afraid that I am now going to discuss the principles of the treaty of Utrecht. But by whom was the convention of 1786 proposed and supported? By Mr Pitt. By whom was it

opposed? By Mr Fox. I will not go into the arguments which might be used on either side. I enter not into the question who was right or wrong. I mention the circumstance only to shew how easily facts are perverted for particular purposes of vituperation. It is an old adage, that when a man wishes to beat a dog, he has no difficulty in finding a stick; but the stick in the present instance has been unfortunately chosen.

“Equally false are the grounds of the charge brought against us of having deviated from the principles of our great master. Sir, I deny that we have departed from the general principles of Mr Pitt. It is true, indeed, that no man who has observed the signs of the times can have failed to discover, in the arguments of our opponents upon this occasion, a secret wish to renew the bank restriction; and it is upon that point, and with respect to measures leading in our apprehension to that point, that we are accused, and not unjustly, in differing from those who accuse us. We are charged with a deviation from the principles of Mr Pitt, because we declared our determination not to renew an expedient which, though it was forced upon Mr Pitt by the particular circumstances of the times, is one that ought not to be dragged into a precedent. It never surely can be quoted as a spontaneous act of deliberate policy; and it was an act, be it remembered, of which Mr Pitt did not live to witness those consequences which effectually deter his successors from the repetition of it. But it is singular to remark how ready some people are to admire in a great man the exception rather than the rule of his conduct. Such perverse worship is like the idolatry of barbarous nations, who can see the noon-day splendour of the sun without emotion; but who, when he is in eclipse, come forward with hymns and cymbals to adore him. Thus there are those who venerate Mr Pitt less in the brightness of his meridian glory than under his partial obscurations, and who gaze on him with the fondest admiration when he has accidentally ceased to shine.

“My admiration ‘on this side only of idolatry’ of that great man is called forth by the glorious course which he ran, and for the illumination which he shed over his country. But I do not think it the duty of a most zealous worshipper to adopt even the accidental faults of the illustrious model whom we vainly endeavour to imitate. I do not think it a part of fealty to him to adopt, without necessity, measures which necessity alone forced upon him. Treading, with unequal pace, in his steps, I do not think it our duty to select, by preference,

those footmarks in which, for a moment, and from the slipperiness of the times, he may have trodden awry.

“ If, sir, I have said enough to satisfy the house, that with my whole soul I adopt, with my whole strength I will endeavour to maintain, the measures of my right honourable friend, I have said enough; and I will not detain them by going into the details of a question of which he is himself a perfect master, and of which he has made the house equally master with himself. But I should have been ashamed to let this debate go by without declaring that I will readily take my share of responsibility for his measure, leaving to my right honourable friend the full and undivided glory.

SECT. XII.—MEMOIR OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING.

There need be little said of the life of George Canning in a biographic history of the reformers and pioneers of commerce. He was not of them; yet he was a political debater over a space of thirty-five years or more; a minister, or adherent of ministers, for nearly as long; and had the privilege of sharing in the government of Britain at a time when the reflex of Mr Huskisson's commercial reforms gave that government such popularity as it then enjoyed, and all the honours of history which now attach to it. He defended Mr Huskisson's commercial reforms with vigour and eloquence—vigour, because the opponents of Huskisson were those who estimated himself at a low price; with eloquence, because he was a professional debater of a high natural order, skilled by practice. He defended the details of those reforms imperfectly, because he did not understand them. He did not defend that policy on principle, because the principles of commercial politics were then undeveloped and misconceived, and because political principles of any kind had neither abiding place nor being in him beyond the party friendships or party animosities, the party hopes or party distrusts, of the House of Commons.

George Canning was a member of the political prize ring. He was an intellectual wrestler, challenging all opponents boldly at the beginning, his fortune with them various, but wearing the belt at last. Yet he wore it rather because the *Cribbs* and *Springs* of politics had retired from the arena than for his own victories. George Canning was one of those whose political employment served the country as the employment of the sparring or wrestling men promote the interests of sober and profitable industry. It is true that a Cumber-

land wrestler may be found at plough turning over his acre, and contending for a prize at night; and Canning in the foreign office and elsewhere did occasionally his acre a-day, and trusted to gain a higher prize, or to retain what he had got at night. What he might have become cannot be told. When men were peering into the dim futurity of his fortunes with a dim light, death found them and blew out the lamp.

That succession of debaters, the constellation of parliamentary stars or comets, erratic in their courses, brilliant, cold, profitless, wonderful to the ignorant, which rose with Pulteney and Pitt the elder; which culminated in Burke, Francis, Fox, and Sheridan, and set with Canning, is succeeded by a lost ray of light, or the "after glow" of the twilight of Palestine in Benjamin D'Israeli; that succession of professional debaters can never be repeated. Intellectual nature would still supply the material of the lamp; but while, on the one hand, ministerial corruption cannot, as before, supply the oil to the adherent, nor the flaming spirit to the assailant, on the other hand, the nation cannot submit to stand by and look on, and applaud and throw prizes at the feet of professional combatants. Legislation has become a matter of practical business, and must be so performed. Ambitious debaters should join the discussion classes of the literary clubs, and save parliament and the nation the loss of listening to them.

George Canning was born on the 11th of April 1770, either in Paddington or the parish of Marylebone, London. The register of the latter parish bears the date of his christening 9th May of the same year. His father was an Irish gentleman, talented, foolish, and poor. His mother was an Irish lady, (Miss Costello before her marriage,) more talented, less foolish, but united to him, was united also to his poverty.

The Cannings were long ago citizens of Bristol. Subsequently some of them had address and good fortune sufficient to obtain grants of land in Ireland, which had been confiscated from the Catholics, who chose to yield up all earthly inheritance rather than renounce their religion.

One of the Cannings of Bristol married the heiress of the Marshalls of Foxcote, Warwickshire, where the name still endures; and in 1618, George, a younger son of Richard Canning of Foxcote, received a grant of the manor of Garvagh, in the county of Derry, from James I., and, proceeding to Ireland, established a junior branch of the family on that property.

The new proprietors of Garvagh could hardly hope to

escape the common penalties of a position so odious in the eyes of the people; and the Cannings accordingly had their share of the wild justice which made reprisals upon the settlers for the misdeeds of the government. One of them was killed by the populace, and another attainted by the parliament of James II.; but, notwithstanding these disasters, the family managed to retain possession of their property. George Canning, the grandson of the first settler, married a daughter of Robert Stratford, Esq. of Baltinglass, aunt of the first Earl of Aldborough, by whom he had two sons, Stratford and George. The line was continued through Stratford Canning, who had three sons; George, the father of the subject of this memoir; Paul, whose son was created Baron Garvagh; and Stratford, afterwards a London merchant, father of Sir Stratford Canning, the diplomatist, and the kind relation who took his nephew, George Canning, our subject, from a life little above vagrancy, and bore the expense of his Etonian education.

After many vicissitudes, the mother of this boy found herself a widow, with a dreary prospect of vicissitude still before her as an actress, clever it is reported, but not fortunate on the stage. Her second marriage with an actor named Reddish, into which she suffered herself to be drawn against the advice and remonstrance of her friends, was the source of many trials more bitter than any she had yet endured. She continued for several years to perform in the provincial theatres, chiefly in the west of England, and live a very precarious, if not a wretched life. Subsequently, when Reddish died, she married a third time, and became Mrs Hunn, wife of a Plymouth silk mercer, who neglected his business, and failed in it, and attempted the stage, and failed in that also.

Mr Canning, when he grew to manhood, manifested a laudable desire to take his mother from the stage, and place her in a position of comparative independence. When he retired from the office of under secretary of state in 1801, he was, according to the government regulations, entitled to a retiring pension of L.500 a-year, which, instead of appropriating to his own use, he requested to have settled upon his mother. Were all pensions of a similar kind as praiseworthy disposed of, less complaint of them would be made. Yet there were many hundred thousands of poorer women than Mrs Hunn, in the dear years of 1800 and 1801, whose sons had not been, like hers, successful political adventurers, who had to go with their children poorly clothed and poorly fed, to pay the heavy taxes of those times. If George Canning

had provided for his mother out of his own income, his merit as a dutiful son would have stood higher.

The childhood of this young man was passed under the guardianship of Mr Reddish the actor, the profligacy of whose life, it is said, communicated its reckless tone to his household. The talents of the child attracted the notice, and its unhappy prospects excited the sympathy, of Mr Moody, an actor. Moody was a blunt honest man, of rough bearing, but of the kindest disposition; and foreseeing that the boy's ruin would be the inevitable consequence of the associations with which he was surrounded, resolved to bring the matter at once under the notice of his uncle, Mr Stratford Canning. The step was a bold one, for there had been no previous intercourse between the families, although the boy was then seven or eight years old.* But it succeeded. Moody drew an indignant picture of the boy's situation; declared he was on the high road to the "gallows," (that was the word;) dwelt upon the extraordinary promise he displayed; and warmly predicted, that if proper means were taken for bringing him forward in the world, he would one day become a great man. Mr Stratford Canning was at first extremely unwilling to interfere; and it was not until the negotiation was taken up by other members of the family, owing to honest Moody's perseverance, that he ultimately consented to take charge of his nephew, upon the condition that the intercourse with his mother's connections should be strictly abridged.

Having undertaken this responsibility, Mr Stratford Canning discharged it faithfully. He was a member of the banking firm of French, Burroughs, and Canning, at that time largely concerned in the Irish loans, and a strong liberal in politics. At his house George Canning saw Fox, Burke, General Fitzpatrick, Sheridan, and other leaders of the Whig party.

Mr Stratford Canning died before the entrance of his nephew upon public life; but he saw the dawn of his talents; and had the satisfaction of making favourable arrangements for his education. At the age of thirteen he was removed from the school of a Mr Richards, near Winchester, and sent to Eton. There he became known as a sweet versifier, and subsequently as a contributor to, if not the founder of, a school-boy journal called the "Microcosm."

His holidays were spent among the Whig friends of his uncle, and he was rash enough, when still a youth, to become

* Life by Robert Bell.

a partisan of the buff and blue side—the Whiggish—in a contested election at Windsor. A standing toast of the Whigs in their social moments is said to have been

“Buff and blue,
And Mrs Crewe,”

—a lady famous for her graceful person and fashionable political *soirées*, at which the Prince of Wales and the leading Whigs were always present. Young Canning spent some of his holidays at Mrs Crewe’s country seat in Cheshire, to which she retreated on beginning to fade. Some of his verses in her praise as a beautiful and good woman are preserved.

At the approach of his eighteenth year, in 1788, Canning left Eton and went to Oxford, where it is recorded that he was an accomplished Latin poet and persevering student. On leaving Oxford he went to London to study as a lawyer in Lincoln’s Inn. While so studying, or when he should have been studying, he attended political debating clubs in various taverns, and, though not personally known in them, became remarkable for his eloquent declamation and artistic oratory.

He now wavered between the blandishments of popularity, with profitless opposition to the Tories who ruled the country, and an attachment to that party and profession of belief which might procure some solid remuneration for his oratorical abilities. He chose the latter; and, in 1793, obtained a seat in parliament, under the favour of Mr Pitt, for the borough of Newport in the Isle of Wight.

Fox had marked him for his own—had advised his education at Eton—had watched him to and from Oxford—obtained invitations for him to spend his holidays in such Buff and Blue families as that of Mrs Crewe, and now had the mortification to see the young orator deliver himself over to the enemy. In 1794, he made his first speech in favour of a grant of money to the King of Sardinia out of the English taxes. He was vehement in his declamation, and bitterly satirical against the French. His whole soul was thrown into the effort to justify the war with France and the lavish expenditure of public money in warlike preparations at home, invading armies abroad, and subsidies to foreign states.

In 1795, he was appointed Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and obtained a seat in parliament for the village borough of Wendover. He spoke little during the next two years; and, when he did address the house, it was, as before, in repudiation of peace, in justification of war, and, above all, in justification of new taxes and a larger expenditure of public money.

He also projected and carried out, in conjunction with one Gifford, who had been a shoemaker, and had risen from his stall to be at once the most celebrated and most savage political writer, a weekly paper called the *Anti-Jacobin*. Canning played with men, manners, and principles, in it brought them upon a stage and exposed their deformities to derision. Gifford tore them to pieces with red-hot pincers.

In 1799 and 1800, Canning spoke more frequently in parliament. In the latter year he was married, 8th of July, to Miss Joan Scott. This lady was the youngest daughter of a General Scott, who had amassed a fortune, as it was alleged, by gambling. He bequeathed £200,000 to his daughters; but, having a dislike to the aristocracy, (probably because he had got the fortune from foolish young lords,) added this condition, that if either of them married a lord, her share of the fortune was to go to her sister. Other conditions disposed of the money to the disadvantage of both, should both be so married. The eldest sister was wooed and won by the Marquis of Litchfield, afterwards Duke of Portland; but the younger declined to act upon the will of their eccentric father, and so the Duchess of Portland enjoyed her fortune. She became the mother of a family, one of whom, Lord George Bentinck, was private secretary to his uncle, Mr Canning, when the latter reached the post of prime minister, and lived to take an active part as leader of the Protectionists in parliament against the free trade policy of Sir Robert Peel in 1846, as will be seen hereafter.

Mr Canning, by the fortune of his wife, was placed in a position of pecuniary independence. They lived happily, and had a peaceful home—no small privilege to a public man embarked in the conflicts of ambition and faction as Mr Canning continued to be for the next twenty-six years.

On the retirement of Mr Pitt in 1801, he also retired, and seems, so we read in the records of the time, to have been engaged incessantly in forming plots to upset the Addington administration which succeeded. On the return of Mr Pitt to office in 1804 for the brief period which closed that statesman's career, Mr Canning was admitted to the place of Treasurer of the Navy. Once more he was the vehement declaimer against "French interests," "French principles," "French sympathies," &c., appealing to the ignorance and prejudices of the nation, as he and his party had done during the previous ten years, they having taken up the cry which had been raised by Fox and his party when opposing the free trade measures of Mr Pitt in the preceding nine years—the cry of France being the "natural enemy" of Britain. They

are humiliating periods of history—those which tell how the country was roused in opposition to sound legislation for nine years by the ignorant delusion, propagated and earnestly worked out by Charles James Fox and his party, that Ireland was the “enemy,” by commercial competition, of Britain; that France was the “natural enemy” of Britain, geographically and politically; and which again tell how the war party availed themselves of the mischievous delusion to obtain the national sanction to the continuance of war against France; while Fox, again, to oppose Pitt, took the opposite side—the two parties buffetting each other—the national interests a shuttle-cock between them;—humiliating periods of history those.

When Mr Pitt died “of *old age* at forty-six,” as it has been truthfully said, he was succeeded in office by the Fox party—Canning and the bereaved orphans of Toryism whom Pitt left behind going out. That the death of their great leader had been hastened by the incessant toil of repelling his assailant cannot be doubted. Those assailants now in office were attacked by all the parliamentary arts, fair or foul, which Canning could devise; and one of them, Charles James Fox, soon yielded in the conflict. He was missed from his accustomed seat in the house, and then came the story of his death. He had endeavoured to reach his own house, near Windsor, there to repose, or recover, or die, but only reached Chiswick, where the Duke of Devonshire’s house was opened to admit him; there that chieftain of parliamentary faction closed his career.

Twenty years passed, and George Canning went to the same house to die, wearied to death by factious opposition and intrigue, similar in spirit, though less bitter in kind, and less outrageous in moral decency than that in which he gave such a pernicious example while persecuting Fox.

Twenty other years passed, and one of those who were in 1806–7 accused, either by rumour or by truth, of having worried Canning to death, as Canning had worried Fox, was in turn hunted, and, in all the bitterness of unprincipled rancour, assailed night after night, week after week, month after month, by Lord George Bentinck and Mr Benjamin D’Israeli. That last victim of ungenerous faction was Sir Robert Peel. But more fortunate than Fox in 1806, or Canning in 1826, he has survived 1846, and still (1849) lives. One of his troublers is no more, but the most formidable of the two is left. It is a question of curious speculation to inquire if Mr Benjamin D’Israeli will be a distinguished leader at the end of the next cycle of twenty years, in 1866, and if parliament-

ary morals will be then, as heretofore, subordinated to personal ambition, spite, or pocket interest.

Mr Canning died on the 8th of August, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was, at the time, Prime Minister, and had filled various offices chiefly in connection with foreign affairs. The acts of statesmanship which he performed were of a kind peculiar to British ministers of the foreign office, and so dangerous to the peace and well-being of nations—a continual interference with the internal affairs of other countries—that Britain, Europe, peace, and human happiness, had one peril the less when George Canning ceased to be minister.

SECT. XIII.—MEMOIR OF DAVID RICARDO.

Some specimens of David Ricardo's writings were given in connection with "Adam Smith's" and the "Theory of Rent." His theory of rent we have pronounced to be erroneous, and have shewn it to be so. In like manner, some of Mr Ricardo's commercial and currency theories might be objected to; yet he was an exact thinker, and the most useful writer on political science between Adam Smith and Perronet Thompson. He induced others to think.

David Ricardo was the third of a numerous family, and was born on the 19th of April 1772. His father, a native of Holland, and of the Jewish persuasion, settled in this country early in life. He is said to have been a man of good talents, and of the strictest integrity; and, having become a member of the Stock Exchange, he acquired a respectable fortune, and possessed considerable influence in his circle. David, the subject of the present memoir, was destined for the same line of business as his father, and received, partly in England and partly at a school in Holland, where he resided two years, such an education as is usually given to young men intended for the mercantile profession. Classical learning formed no part of his early instruction; and it has been questioned, with how much justice we shall not undertake to decide, whether its acquisition would have done him service, and whether it might not, probably, have made him seek for relaxation in the study of elegant literature, rather than in the severer exercises of the understanding, and prompted him to adopt opinions sanctioned by authority, without inquiring very anxiously into the grounds on which they rested.

Mr Ricardo began to be confidentially employed by his

father in the business of the Stock Exchange when he was only fourteen years of age. Neither then, however, nor at any subsequent period, was he wholly engrossed by the details of his profession. From his earliest years he evinced a taste for abstract reasoning, and manifested that determination to probe every subject of interest to the bottom, and to form his opinion upon it according to the conviction of his mind, which was a distinguishing feature of his character.

Mr Ricardo, senior, had been accustomed to subscribe, without investigation, to the opinions of his ancestors on all questions connected with religion and politics, and he was desirous that his children should do the same. But this system of passive obedience, and of blind submission to the dictates of authority, was quite repugnant to the principles of young Ricardo, who, at the same time that he never failed to testify the sincerest affection and respect for his father, found reason to differ from him on many important points, and even to secede from the Hebrew faith.

Not long after this event, and shortly after he had attained the age of majority, Mr Ricardo formed a union, productive of unalloyed domestic happiness, with Miss Wilkinson. Having been separated from his father, he was now thrown on his own resources, and commenced business for himself. At this important epoch of his history, the oldest and most respectable members of the Stock Exchange gave a striking proof of the esteem entertained by them for his talents and character, by voluntarily coming forward to support him in his undertakings. His success exceeded the most sanguine expectations of his friends, and, in a few years, he realized an ample fortune.

According as his solicitude about his success in life declined, Mr Ricardo devoted a greater portion of his time to scientific and literary pursuits. When about forty-six years of age, he began the study of some branches of mathematical science, and made considerable progress in chemistry and mineralogy. He fitted up a laboratory, formed a collection of minerals, and was one of the original members of the Geological Society. But he never entered warmly into the study of these sciences. They were not adapted to the peculiar cast of his mind; and he abandoned them entirely, as soon as his attention was directed to the more congenial study of Political Economy.

Mr Ricardo is stated to have first become acquainted with the *Wealth of Nations* in 1799, while on a visit at Bath, to which he had accompanied Mrs Ricardo for the benefit of her health. He was highly gratified by its perusal; and it is most probable that the inquiries about which it is conversant, continued henceforth to engage a considerable share of his

attention, though it was not till a later period that his spare time was almost exclusively occupied with their study.

Mr Ricardo came, for the first time, before the public as an author in 1809. The rise in the market-price of bullion, and the fall of the exchange that had taken place in the course of that year, had excited a good deal of attention. Mr Ricardo applied himself to the consideration of the subject; and the studies in which he had latterly been engaged, combined with the experience he had derived from his money transactions, enabled him not only to perceive the true causes of the phenomena in question, but to trace and exhibit their practical bearing and real effect. He began this investigation without intending to lay the result of his researches before the public; but, having shewn his manuscript to the late Mr Perry, the proprietor and editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, the latter prevailed upon him, though not without considerable difficulty, to consent to its publication, in the shape of letters, in that journal. The first of these letters appeared on the 6th of September 1809. They made a considerable impression, and elicited various answers. This success, and the increasing interest of the subject, induced Mr Ricardo to commit his opinions upon it to the judgment of the public, in a more enlarged and systematic form, in the tract entitled "*The High Price of Bullion a Proof of the Depreciation of Bank Notes.*" This tract led the way in the far-famed bullion controversy.

The *fourth* edition of this tract is the most valuable. An appendix added to it has some acute observations on some difficult questions in the theory of exchange; and it also contains the first germ of the original idea of making bank notes exchangeable for bars of gold bullion.

Among those who entered the lists in opposition to the principles laid down, and the practical measures suggested, in Mr Ricardo's tract and in the report of the bullion committee, a prominent place is due to Mr Bosanquet. This gentleman had great experience as a merchant; and as he professed that the statements and conclusions embodied in his "*Practical Observations,*" which are completely at variance with those in the report, were the result of a careful examination of the theoretical opinions of the committee by the test of fact and experiment, they were well fitted to make, and did make, a very considerable impression. The triumph of Mr Bosanquet was, however, of very short duration. Mr Ricardo did not hesitate to attack this formidable adversary in his stronghold. His tract entitled "*Reply to Mr Bosanquet's Practical Observations on the Report of the Bullion*"

Committee," was published in 1811, and is one of the best essays that has appeared on any disputed question of political economy.

The merits of these pamphlets was duly appreciated, and Mr Ricardo's society was in consequence courted by men of the first eminence, who were not less pleased with his modesty and unassuming manners than with the vigour of his understanding. He formed about this time that intimacy with Mr Malthus and Mr Mill, the historian of British India, which ended only with his death. To the latter he was particularly attached, and readily acknowledged how much he owed to his friendship.

Mr Ricardo next appeared as an author in 1815, during the discussions on the bill, afterwards passed into a law, for raising the limit at which foreign corn might be imported for consumption to 80s. Mr Malthus and a "Fellow of University College, Oxford," (afterwards Sir Edward West,) had, by a curious coincidence, in tracts published almost consentaneously, elucidated the true theory of rent, which, though discovered by Dr Anderson as early as 1777, appears to have been entirely forgotten. But neither of these gentlemen perceived the bearing of the theory on the question in regard to the restriction of the importation of foreign corn. This was reserved for Mr Ricardo, who, in his "*Essay on the Influence of a Low Price of Corn on the Profits of Stock*," shewed the effect of an increase in the price of raw produce on the wages and profits, and founded a strong argument in favour of the freedom of the corn trade, on the very grounds on which Mr Malthus had endeavoured to shew the propriety of subjecting it to fresh restrictions.

In 1816, Mr Ricardo published his "*Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency, with Observations on the Profits of the Bank of England*." In 1817 he published his great work on the "PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AND TAXATION." This was a step, says M'Culloch, which he did not take without much hesitation. He was not, and did not affect to be, insensible of the value of literary and philosophical reputation; but his modesty always led him to undervalue his own powers; and having acquired a very high degree of celebrity as a writer on currency, he was unwilling to risk what he already possessed by attempting to gain more. Ultimately, however, he was prevailed upon, by the entreaties of his friends, to allow his work to be sent to press. Its appearance forms a memorable era in the history of political science, exclusive of many valuable subsidiary inquiries. Mr Ricardo has pointed out in this work the source and limiting

principle of exchangeable value, and has traced the laws which determine the distribution of wealth among the various ranks and orders of society. The power of mind displayed in these investigations; the dexterity with which the most abstruse questions are unravelled; the sagacity displayed in tracing the operation of general principles, in disentangling them from such as are of a secondary and accidental nature, and in perceiving and estimating their remote consequences, have never been surpassed, and will for ever secure the name of Ricardo a conspicuous place among those who have done most to unfold the mechanism of society, and to discover the circumstances on which the well-being of its various orders must always mainly depend.

That part of Mr Ricardo's work in which he applies his principles to discover the incidence of taxes on rent, profit, wages, and raw produce, is more practical than the others, and must always be a subject of careful study to those who wish to make themselves well acquainted with this department of political science.

He had now become an extensive landed proprietor, and had wholly retired from business, with a fortune acquired with the universal respect and esteem of his competitors. But he did not retire from the bustle of active life: he determined to extend the sphere of his usefulness by entering the House of Commons. In 1819 he took his seat as member for Portarlington. His diffidence in his own powers had, however, nearly deprived the public of the services which he rendered in this situation. In a letter to one of his friends, dated the 7th of April 1819, he says—"You will have seen that I have taken my seat in the House of Commons. I fear that I shall be of little use there. I have twice attempted to speak, but I proceeded in the most embarrassed manner, and I have no hope of conquering the alarm with which I am assailed the moment I hear the sound of my own voice." And, in a letter to the same gentleman, dated the 22d of June 1819, he says—"I thank you for your endeavours to inspire me with confidence on the occasion of my addressing the house. Their indulgent reception of me has in some degree made the task of speaking more easy to me; but there are yet so many formidable obstacles to my success, and some I fear of a nature nearly insurmountable, that I apprehend it will be wisdom and sound discretion in me to content myself with giving silent votes." Fortunately he did not adopt this resolution. The difficulties with which he had at first to struggle, and his diffidence in himself, gradually subsided, while the mildness of his manners, the mastery which he possessed over the subjects

on which he spoke, and the purity of his intentions, speedily secured him a very extensive influence both in the house and the country, and gave great weight to his opinions.

The habits of this able and excellent person were those of business, and business of a contracted kind, as little likely to fit the mind for abstract and general inquiries as to point the attention towards them. His life had been passed on the stock exchange, like that of so many members of the Jewish persuasion, to which his family originally belonged. But his leisure hours had been devoted to study, and no man was better acquainted with all the ordinary topics of political information. When the bullion question was forced upon the attention of parliament and the country, by the manifest effects of inconvertible paper having so long been issued by the Bank of England, and still more perhaps by the excessive issue of country bank-notes, contrary to all the speculative arguments of the other school, founded upon a fallacious notion, that their being made payable in Bank of England paper, imposed an effectual check upon their issue, whereas country people, preferring paper on which names well known to them were seen, never thought of making any such exchange, Mr Ricardo took a part in the controversy that arose, and published one or two tracts on the depreciation. Lord King had first demonstrated this as early as 1804, the book of Mr Thornton, and Mr Horner's able and learned analysis of it in the "*Edinburgh Review*," having left this important question altogether undecided. But Mr Ricardo's arguments and his facts, added to his great practical knowledge of all monetary questions, produced a powerful impression, and greatly aided the proceedings of the first bullion committee, that of 1810. As a literary performance the pamphlet had a merit almost equal to that of its argument and its information. The style was simple, clear, and nervous; shewing powers, both of reasoning and of explanation, which were of a high order, and disfigured by no deviation whatever from the rules of correct taste.

During the few succeeding years, in the enjoyment of high reputation among political economists, and taking a distinguished place among literary men, he continued his labours as an author, and, consolidating his views in one work, gave to the world his excellent treatise on his favourite science, which, with Mr Malthus' essay on the "*Principle of Population*," divides the claim to a second place, after the "*Wealth of Nations*," among the books which this country has produced upon the important science of economics. Meanwhile his controversial discussions with Mr Malthus and others were conducted in a spirit of candour and genuine unaffected good

humour, joined to first-rate ability and argumentative skill, that makes them a model for all succeeding combatants in the fields of reasoning. The distinguished men who carried on this discussion in public, through the press, betrayed no heat or impatience of temper; no anxiety to take an unfair advantage; no wish to catch at trifling omissions or slips; nothing of heat or animosity whatever;—they were manifestly impressed with one only desire, and in pursuit of one object alone; desirous only that the truth should be discovered—the truth, the sole object of their search;—and although there was involved in the contest the question of their own fame, it was conducted as calmly as a game at chess, or the investigation of a problem in the mathematics.

The bill which usually goes by Sir Robert Peel's name had been passed for restoring the currency a short time before Mr Ricardo came into parliament; but the committee, (commonly called the second bullion committee,) out of whose report the measure arose, had fully adopted the principle, and had closely followed the plan, laid down by Mr Ricardo. When he took his place in the House of Commons, after the high reputation which had preceded him, he necessarily appeared to some disadvantage under the weight of the great expectations formed of him. But, as far as these were reasonable, however ample, they were fully answered. His speaking, his conduct, his manner, were all unexceptionable, and all suited to the man, his high station among philosophers, his known opinions on political affairs, his kindly nature, and his genuine modesty. There was something about him, chiefly a want of all affectation, as well as pretension, in everything he said or did, that won the respect of each party. His matter was ever of high value. Whether you agreed or differed with him, you were well pleased to have it brought out and made to bear upon the question, if indeed the pursuit of right and truth was your object. His views were often, indeed, abundantly theoretical, sometimes too refined for his audience, occasionally extravagant from his propensity to follow a right principle into all its consequences, without duly taking into account in practice the condition of things to which he was applying it, as if a mechanician were to construct an engine without taking into consideration the resistance of the air in which it was to work, or the strength, and the weight, and the friction of the parts of which it was to be made. When he propounded, as the best way of extricating us from our financial embarrassments, that the capital of the country should be taxed 700 or 800 million, and the debt at once paid off, and defended this scheme upon the twofold

ground, that what a debtor owes is always to be deducted from his property and regarded as belonging to his creditors, and that the expense of managing the debt and raising the revenue to pay the interest would be a large saving to the nation, he assumed as true two undeniable facts ; but he drew a practical inference not more startling at its first statement than inadmissible when closely examined upon the clearest grounds of both expediency and justice. It may even be doubted whether the only feasible portion of the plan, the diminution of interest from time to time, effected by threats of repaying the principal, or rather redeeming the annuities, (the only thing to which the public creditor is entitled,) be not a step too far in this direction both as to justice and policy. In like manner he always greatly under-valued the amount of the depreciation in the currency upon prices generally, estimating it solely by the difference between the mint price and the market price of gold ; and so confidently did he believe in this speculative estimate, that his practical plan for restoring the currency was grounded upon it. But while such were his errors, and those of a kind to excite very strong feelings in certain large and important classes in the House of Commons, he was uniformly and universally respected for the sterling qualities of his capacity and his character, which were acknowledged by all.

His speaking was of an admirable description : clear, simple, correct in diction, copious in argument, pregnant with information, but never thrown away. He reserved the share which he took in debate for questions to which his attention had been particularly directed, with which he was familiar, and to which he attached great importance. Hence, even his extreme opinions upon questions connected with the reform of the constitution in church and state gave no offence ; for he appeared not to court the opportunity of delivering them, but as if compelled by a sense of duty to declare his mind, careless or indisposed otherwise to make a speech. Few men have, accordingly, had more weight in parliament ; certainly none who, finding but a very small body of his fellow-members to agree with his leading opinions, might be said generally to speak against the sense of his audience, ever commanded a more patient or even favourable hearing ; and, as this was effected without any of the more ordinary powers of oratory or of entertainment possessed by others, it might be regarded as the triumph of reason, intelligence, and integrity, over untoward circumstances and alien natures. The regret felt for his loss was in proportion to the high estimation in which he had been held during the three years that he sat in parlia-

ment; and the country, as well as its representatives, justly sorrowed over a great light extinguished prematurely, which had already proved so useful, and which might have been expected to render so much greater and longer service in illuminating the world.

Mr Ricardo was not one of those who make speeches to suit the ephemeral circumstances and politics of the day: he spoke only from principle, and with a fixed resolution never to diverge in any degree from the path which it pointed out; he neither concealed nor modified an opinion for the purpose of conciliating the favour, or of disarming the prejudices or hostility, of any man or set of men; nor did he ever make a speech or give a vote which he was not well convinced was founded on just principles, and calculated to promote the lasting interests of the public. Trained to habits of profound thinking, independent in his fortune, and inflexible in his principles, Mr Ricardo had little in common with mere party politicians. The public good was the grand object of his parliamentary exertions; and he laboured to promote it, not by engaging in party combinations, but by supporting the rights and liberties of all classes, and by unfolding the true sources of national wealth and general prosperity.

In 1820 Mr Ricardo contributed an article on the "*Funding System*" to the Supplement to the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*." This tract, though somewhat confused in its arrangement, embraces many valuable discussions. He was a decided friend to the plan for raising the supplies for a war within the year, by an equivalent increase of taxation; and he also thought (in which opinion few probably will be disposed to concur,) that it would be not only expedient but practicable to pay off the public debt by an assessment on capital.

In 1822 he published, during the parliamentary discussion on the subject of the corn laws, his tract on *Protection to Agriculture*. This is the best of all his pamphlets, and is, indeed, a *chef-d'œuvre*. The important questions respecting remunerating price, the influence of a low and high value of corn over wages and profits, the influence of taxation over agriculture and manufactures, and many other topics of equal difficulty and interest, are all discussed in the short compass of eighty or ninety pages, with a precision and clearness that leaves nothing to be desired. Had Mr Ricardo never written anything else, this pamphlet would have placed him in the first rank of political economists.

Though not robust, Mr Ricardo's constitution was apparently good, and his health such as to promise a long life of usefulness. He had, indeed, been subject for several years to

an affection in one of his ears ; but as it had not given him any serious inconvenience, he paid it but little attention. When he retired to his seat in Gloucestershire, (Gatcomb Park,) subsequently to the close of the session of 1823, he was in excellent health and spirits ; and besides completing a tract containing a plan for the establishment of a *national bank*, he engaged, with his usual ardour, in elaborate inquiries regarding some of the more abstruse economical doctrines. But he was not destined to bring these inquiries to a close ! Early in September he was suddenly seized with a violent pain in the diseased ear ; the symptoms were not, however, considered unfavourable ; and the breaking of an imposthume that had been formed within the ear contributed greatly to his relief. But the amendment was only transitory ; within two days inflammation recommenced ; and after a period of the greatest agony, pressure on the brain ensued, which produced a stupor that continued until death terminated his sufferings on the 11th September, in his 52d year.

We quote the following, as specimens of his opinions on the great questions of wages and price of corn.

SECT. XIV.—DAVID RICARDO ON THE INFLUENCE OF A RISE OF WAGES ON THE PRICE OF CORN.

“ Much of what has been said in the foregoing section would probably be allowed by some of those who are the advocates for a restricted trade in corn ; they would, however, add, that though it could be shewn that no protecting duties on the importation of corn could be justifiable, merely on account of the increased expenditure of labour necessary to obtain a given quantity in this country, yet such duties were necessary to protect the farmer against the effects of high wages in this country, caused by the taxation which falls on the labouring classes, and which must be repaid to them by their employers, by means of high wages. This argument proceeds on the assumption, that high wages tend to raise the price of the commodities on which labour is bestowed. If the farmer, they say, could, before taxation and the high wages which are the effect of it, compete with the foreign grower of corn, he can no longer do so now he is exposed to a burthen from which his competitor is free.

“ This whole argument is fallacious—the farmer is placed under no comparative disadvantage in consequence of a rise

of wages. If, in consequence of taxes paid by the labouring class, wages should rise, which they in all probability would do, they would equally affect all classes of producers. If it be deemed necessary that corn should rise in order to remunerate the growers, it is also necessary that cloth, hats, shoes, and every other commodity should rise, in order to remunerate the producers of those articles. Either then, corn ought not to rise, or all other commodities should rise along with it.

“ If neither corn nor any other commodity rise, they will, of course, be all of the same relative value as before; and if they do all rise, the same will be true. All must require protecting duties or more. To impose protecting duties on all commodities would be absurd, because nothing would be gained by it—it would in no way alter the relative value of commodities; and it is only by altering the relative value of commodities that any particular trade is protected, not merely by an alteration of price. If England gave a yard of superfine cloth to Germany for a quarter of wheat, she would neither be more nor less disposed to carry on this trade if both cloth and corn were raised 20 per cent. in price. All foreign trade finally resolves itself into an interchange of commodities; money is but the measure by which the respective quantities are ascertained. No commodity can be imported unless another commodity is exported; and the exported commodity must be equally raised in price by the rise of wages. It is essential that a drawback should be allowed on the exported article if the one imported be protected by a duty. But it comes to the same thing if no drawback be allowed on the one nor protection granted to the other, because, in either case, precisely the same quantity of the foreign commodity will be obtained for a given quantity of the home-made commodity

“ If a quarter of corn be raised from 60s. to 75s., or 25 per cent. by a rise of wages, and a certain quantity of hats or cloth be raised in the same proportion by the same cause, the importer of corn into England would lose just as much by the commodity which he exports as he would gain by the corn which he imports. If trade were left free corn would not rise from 60s. to 75s., notwithstanding the rise of wages; nor cloth, nor hats, nor shoes, rise from this cause. But, if I should allow that they would rise, it would make no difference to my argument; we should then export money in exchange for corn, because no commodity could be so profitably employed in paying for it; for, by the supposition, every other commodity is raised in price. The exportation of money would gra-

dually lessen the quantity and raise its value in this country, while the importation of it into other countries would have a contrary effect in them; it would increase the quantity and sink its value, and thus the price of corn, of cloth, of hats, and of all other things in England, would bear the same relation to the prices of the same commodities in other countries as they bore before wages were raised. In all cases, the rise of wages, when general, diminishes profits, and does not raise the prices of commodities. If the prices of commodities rose, no producer would be benefited; for of what consequence could it be to him to sell his commodity at an advance of 25 per cent., if he, in his turn, were obliged to give 25 per cent. more for every commodity which he purchased? He would be precisely in the same condition, whether he sold his corn for 25 per cent. advance, and gave an additional 25 per cent. in the price of his hats, shoes, clothes, &c., &c., as if he sold his corn at the usual price, and bought all the commodities which he consumed at the prices which he had before given for them. No one class of producers, then, is entitled to protection on account of a rise of wages, because a rise of wages equally affects all producers; it does not raise the prices of commodities because it diminishes profits; and, if it did raise the price of commodities, it would raise them all in the same proportion, and would not, therefore, alter their exchangeable value. It is only when commodities are altered in relative value by the interference of government that any tax which shall act as a protection against the importation of a foreign commodity can be justifiable.

“It is by many supposed that a rise in the price of corn will raise the price of all other things. This opinion is founded on the erroneous view which they take of the effect of a general rise of wages. Corn rises because it is more difficult to produce, and its cost is raised. It would be no rise at all if all other things rose with it. It is a real rise to the hatter and clothier, if they are obliged—the one to give more hats, the other more cloth, for their corn. It would be no rise at all to them, and it would be impossible to shew who paid for the increased cost, if their commodities also rose and exchanged for the same quantity of corn.

“It may be laid down as a principle, that any cause which operates in a country to affect equally all commodities, does not alter their relative value, and can give no advantage to foreign competitors; but that any cause which operates partially on one does alter its value to others, if not countervailed by an adequate duty; it will give advantage to the foreign competitor, and tend to deprive us of a beneficial branch of trade.”

SECT. XV.—LORD KING.

Few men occupied the public attention for so long a period, and in the advocacy of such good objects, of whom the political generation which had its birth about the time of his death (1833) know so little, as they do of the amiable and excellent Lord King.

The Earl Fortescue, his brother-in-law, in the introduction to a memoir published in 1844, during the heat of the anti-corn law agitation, remarked :—

“ When all questions of commercial policy, and particularly the corn laws, form so prominent a topic of public discussion, we are naturally led to recur to the opinions of those who, in past times, directed their attention to such subjects; and it is presumed that the supporters of free trade at this period of its advancement in popular favour, may regard with some interest the views developed by one of its earlier champions in less prosperous times; whilst the friends and admirers of the late Lord King will feel an honest pride in the homage now so generally paid to those great political truths which, when advanced by him nearly thirty years ago, were ridiculed as visionary or denounced as dangerous, not only by overwhelming majorities of both branches of the legislature, but by the great bulk of all the higher classes throughout the country.”

Lord Fortescue says such are his motives for publishing Lord King's speeches. He proceeds to give a few personal notices, which are too meagre to be called a biography; but in the absence of other information we adopt them.

Peter, the seventh Lord King, was the great grandson of the lord chancellor of that name, whose title, conferred on him in 1725, passed in turn to each of his four sons. The youngest of these, Thomas, left two sons, Peter and Thomas, the former of whom succeeded him, and was the father of the subject of this memoir. Lord King was born in 1775, and at the age of six was sent to Eton, where he remained nearly twelve years. Being early impressed with the defects in the system of education then in use at our public schools, he sought to acquire more of classical learning than was necessary to carry him creditably through his school exercises, but applied himself assiduously to various branches of more practical knowledge, particularly mechanics, geometry, and drawing; and among his early amusements at Eton, was the making a detailed survey and map of the country immediately round it.

He was distinguished among his school-fellows for the cheerful ease of his temper and the kindness of his disposition, of which the writer of this memoir (himself sent to Eton at the age of ten years) received many proofs during the short period that they were there together in 1793. He still recollects with grateful pleasure the happy hours which he spent at that time in the society of his older friend, to whose protection he had been recommended, and in whose room he always found a refuge from the little annoyances, which in those days, more than at present, younger boys at public schools occasionally encountered from their seniors. Then were laid the foundations of an intimacy, which was cemented afterwards by family ties into brotherly affection, and continued without an hour's interruption or abatement up to the period of Lord King's lamented death.

From Eton he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, and shortly after succeeded to his title on the death of his father in 1793. After spending the usual time at the university, he made a tour through such parts of the continent as were then open to British travellers, including Switzerland, Germany, and the north of Italy, and returned home as soon as he was of age.

On taking his seat in the House of Lords, he joined the small band of Mr Fox's friends, of which the chief leaders in that house were Lord Holland and the Duke of Bedford; the former of whom, in a letter written to Lady King, shortly after her husband's death, thus refers to the friendship which subsisted between them:—

“ In addition to the pleasure of his intercourse, and of an early, long, and uninterrupted friendship, I have to look back on repeated obligations, as well as uniform kindness, experienced from him. And if concurrence of sentiment in politics confirms and strengthens affection, I believe I can say, that from the period of our entering public life (and, if I mistake not, we attended for the first time on the same day), we never differed twice in our votes for more than thirty-six years.”

By Lord Holland he was probably introduced to the acquaintance of Mr Fox, who, justly appreciating his character and talents, shewed him many marks of friendly regard; and as the neighbourhood of their respective homes at Ockham and St Anne's Hill afforded frequent opportunities of intercourse, some of the most delightful hours of Lord King's life were spent in the society of Mr Fox.

His first speech in the House of Lords was on the 12th February 1800, on Lord Holland's motion for a committee to inquire into the causes of the failure of the expedition to

the Helder, and was made mainly by the advice and persuasion of Lord Holland, as appears from the following letter:—

“Dear Lord King,—It may be very impertinent in me to bore you so much upon the subject of making this motion or speaking in the house, especially when I am evidently so personally interested in procuring assistance there, and particularly so on this occasion; but I assure you that as far as I can divest myself of all considerations of the personal advantage which would result to me in the House of Lords from your taking an active part in debates, I think that for the effect of a motion on the subject upon the public, and for your own sake (if you wish ever to take a part in debates), it is desirable that you should make the motion. The circumstance of one man constantly and exclusively opposing everything that is brought in, and making hostile motions against ministers, is to the full as disadvantageous to the cause of opposition as irksome to himself and the house. I think it is essential that some motion against the Dutch expedition should be made, because you may rely upon its having been an expedition ill-conceived and ill-conducted, and generally felt and acknowledged to be so. Any general disapprobation of ministers is so uncommon among the upper ranks, that when it is actually felt, it is surely imprudent in those who condemn their whole system not to endeavour to bring it to light. And, indeed, without any canting upon public duty, I do not know how one is justified in regularly attending the house, and doing nothing to oppose so scandalous a waste of men, money, and honour, as in that expedition. General reasons against my moving it I have given you; but there are other particular ones also. I have already expressed my opinion on the expedition, and even argued on the absurdity of it while it was going on; but the fact is, that any great failure of government that has made a sensation cannot be brought into public notice with so much advantage to the enemies of the undertaking, as by a person not before in the habit of speaking; and, on the other hand (which I am sure you will believe me, is to the full as strong a motive with me for pressing you on the subject), there is no occasion on which a young man can come forward with greater advantage to himself. If I did not think that you had an inclination to take a part some time or other in debates, I would not press you so much upon it; but if, as I think, you have, there is no way of rendering yourself useful, when anybody can be so, but by beginning now, and I think you can hardly hope for an opportunity which is at once so creditable and so easy to you. For this business is of that sort that the arguments of

the inquiry may be confined to a very few words, viz. to the propriety and advantage of investigation in all cases of failure, and to the greatness of the failure in this instance; or one may enlarge as much or as little as one likes on the object of the expedition, the impolicy with which it was planned and executed, &c. &c. &c. What have you to answer to this? Nervousness. An answer I will allow to be forcible, but one which it is childish not to get over, and which in short, must sooner or later be got over. No person, I assure you, is more nervous than myself about speaking, but it is only to be kept down by practice; and after all you cannot have so mean an opinion of yourself as not to suppose that you would speak as well as above one half of those who speak in the House of Lords, and till you try you cannot be sure of what you can and what you cannot do.

“I shall write if I hear of the day being put off in the House of Commons; but I hope at any rate you will come up, if it is only to talk this over. Yours, &c.,

“VASSALL HOLLAND.”

Encouraged by the success of his first effort, he spoke again on the 27th of February in opposition to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and became thenceforth a pretty constant attendant in the House of Lords, and not an unfrequent speaker. But he never was known to correct any speech for the press, except in the single instance of his masterly defence of himself on the 2d of July, 1811,* from the attack made on his conduct in demanding payment of his rents in cash, according to the terms of his written agreements with his tenants, instead of in paper of the Bank of England, which was then depreciated to the amount of above twenty per cent.†

*Afterwards published as a pamphlet.

† In the debate on this occasion, Lord King was most powerfully supported by Lord Grenville, whose eloquent and convincing speech is worthy of every attention. From the same high authority he afterwards received the following letter on the question, whether he should follow up this demand on his tenants by legal proceedings against one of them, a director of the Bank of England, whom he had selected for the purpose as the best able to bear the expence of the suit:—

“Dropmore, Nov. 19, 1811.

“My Dear King,—I found your letter on my return here, and I am vexed that I have so long omitted to answer it. I have not a moment's hesitation in giving it as my decided opinion, that you ought to go on with your action against the director. To do otherwise would argue a distrust, which you have no reason to feel, in the propriety of your former conduct; and it would be such a concession to clamour as one should be very unwilling to make in any case, but most of all where every principle of common sense and justice is clearly with you.

“I cannot agree in thinking that there is any danger of your thus provoking further mischief beyond what would otherwise take place. That ministers will gladly impute to you all the follies and violences into which their system must

Lord Fortescue proceeds to remark of the speeches selected by him for publication, though all are no doubt substantially correct, many are probably abridged, and convey rather the general views and arguments, than the precise words of the speaker; such as they are, however, they afford abundant proof of his extensive information on all subjects which he approached, and of his constant desire to make that information available for the vindication of truth and justice, for protecting the rights and increasing the comforts of all, but especially of the humbler classes of his countrymen. These were, in fact, his only motives for exertion—the sole objects of his ambition in public life.

Lord King married in May, 1804, Lady Hester Fortescue, eldest daughter of the late Earl Fortescue, and by her had two sons and three daughters, all of whom are now living. From the period of his marriage he generally resided for some months of every year, during the sitting of parliament, at his house in London; but the greater part of his time was passed at his seat at Ockham, to which he was much attached, and which in his various improvements of the house and grounds exhibits many proofs of his taste, both for architecture and gardening. There, in the winter of 1828-9, he collected and prepared the materials for his account of the life of his maternal ancestor, John Locke, whose character, delineated in that work, has supplied the words which are prefixed to this, as peculiarly descriptive of him by whom they were written.*

The life of Locke, published in the spring of 1829, is too well known by the flattering reception given to it by the public, to call for further notice here.

The excellent health which Lord King had enjoyed from childhood, and which his temperate, active, and regular habits were

lead them, is unquestionable; but these, as you well know, are the necessary consequences, proved by all experience, as well as by theory, to be unavoidably attendant on the pursuit of such a system. You have, therefore, no reason to fear that the mischief will really originate with you; and as to the imputation, if it be false you will despise it.

“The mere fact of the general issue of private tokens, sufficiently shews that matters cannot rest as they now are; nor, indeed, is it in my judgment at all desirable that they should.

“In thus recommending to you what I know will be unpopular, not only with the ignorant mass of the community, but still more with our own *timid* friends, I can only say that I am advising you to do as I would do myself; and that I shall have no hesitation in openly avowing that such was my advice.

“Ever most truly and affectionately yours,

“GRENVILLE.”

* The words prefixed were, “He possessed those great requisites of happiness, equanimity, cheerfulness of temper, and the habit of constantly employing his mind in the pursuit of noble or useful objects.”—*Lord King's Life of Locke.*

so well calculated to preserve, seemed to promise a long continuance of his useful and happy life, but early in the spring of 1833 he was attacked with a disorder of the stomach which baffled all the efforts of medical skill, and brought him to the grave on the 4th of June, in the 58th year of his age.

With the full possession of his faculties he retained to the last the unclouded serenity of mind and sweetness of temper which had distinguished him through life, and during the whole progress of his distressing malady, not a sign of impatience, scarcely an accent of complaint ever escaped him.

An attempt at a general delineation of his character would not come with good grace from one so nearly connected with him as the writer of these pages, but he cannot refuse himself the gratification of transferring to them the tribute paid by a far abler pen to the memory of his departed friend :—

“To Lord King was due the detection and the proof of the effects actually produced by Mr Pitt’s fatal measures ; and the excellent individual who rendered so great a service to his country was distinguished for qualities of a very high order. To a strong natural understanding, which eminently excelled in clearness of perception and quickness of apprehension, he joined habits of study seldom found in the patrician order, but which, as well as his sound and enlightened principles, might well be expected in one who had the glory of descending from the second of English philosophers ; for he was the personal representative of Locke, his great-grandfather the Lord Chancellor King having been the nephew and ward of that illustrious person. Although he had far too little ambition, too little thirst for power or for literary fame, ever to exert his talents in any thing like their full extent, he had passed his life in reading, with little other object than to occupy his time agreeably, and to improve his mind. His information, therefore, was extensive and accurate. With most parts of historical, philosophical, and theological controversy, he was familiarly conversant ; and he had gathered from all his studies, and all his reflections, a firm belief in the title of the people to as large a portion of liberty and of power as they are capable of enjoying with advantage to themselves ; a deeply rooted conviction of the sinfulness as well as the folly of intolerance, religious or civil ; and an habitual veneration for the pursuit of truth, and truth alone, in all inquiries, whether practical or speculative. In following this worthy object, he was as little to be daunted by perils in action as to be scared by consequences in argument. Difficulties had more influence over him by far than dangers ; for though he was of an active turn of mind, and applied himself to his favourite pursuits, whether

of agriculture or study, with assiduity, yet as he had no great stimulus from ambition or from vanity, he cared little to struggle with what cost trouble, as long as he could occupy himself as well in easier pursuits. The firmness with which he stood up on all occasions for his principles, the great doctrines of civil and religious liberty, would have done honour to the saints and martyrs of the seventeenth century. The offence which he gave by his warfare with ecclesiastical establishments never abated his hostility. Superficial men fancied they saw in this course an indication of indifference to religion itself; whereas, one of his chief reasons for objecting to a state endowment, was its tendency to undermine religion, as he thought, whether rightly or erroneously, and its liability to be perverted into an engine against the liberties of the country.

“With the solid qualities which have been described, he possessed others of a lighter kind; and to the more valuable acquirements of extensive study, he added several of the more trivial but more elegant accomplishments. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous; his taste in composition was pure; his style natural, simple, and clear. Nothing can be more admirably written than his celebrated ‘Tract on the Currency;’ of which the philosophy, too, is as excellent as the argument and the inferences are practical. He had an excellent taste in gardening and in architecture, down to its most minute details; nor was there a more perfect draughtsman for the more ornamental parts of rooms, upon the pure models which in Italy he had studied, than the political economist who could unravel all the mysteries of currency and exchanges, the philosopher who could throw light on the darker passages of metaphysical science.

“This distinguished person was equally delightful in private, and respectable in public life. His gaiety was perpetual; natural, lively, playful, no one was more easily interested and amused; few brought more into the stock of entertainment. The difference of ranks was probably less known to him than to any one of the order to which he belonged. Pride of every kind was an alien to his nature as vanity. He seemed unconscious that the chancellor King or the philosopher Locke had ever lived; and equally unconscious of his own existence.”

“Such is the picture,” continues Lord Fortescue, “drawn of Lord King by the eloquent author of ‘Sketches of British Statesmen,’ (Lord Brougham;) and though it is drawn by the partial hand of friendship, few who enjoyed the pleasure of knowing the original, will fail to recognize the likeness, or to acknowledge the fidelity of the painting.”

In giving a specimen of Lord King's speeches, we select that in which he defends himself from the imputation of injustice in demanding payment of his rents in gold. The arguments and facts are worth the study of those who, in this day, would emancipate bank notes from the control of a gold standard.

ON THE SECOND READING OF EARL STANHOPE'S BILL RESPECTING
GUINEAS AND BANK NOTES—JULY 2, 1811.

My Lords,—Entertaining strong and decided opinions on the subject of paper currency, which I have never lost any opportunity of expressing, both in my place in this house, and by every other means in my power, I have always been ready to discuss the subject in general, and naturally feel at present most anxious to justify my own conduct, in consequence of the charges which, on a late debate, have in my absence been made against me.

Under these circumstances, I must crave your lordship's pardon, if I feel compelled to speak of myself, and of my private concerns, in an assembly where such topics in general are so improper; but the course of the late debate renders that detail imperative on me; and, indeed, the question has assumed that shape that it cannot be treated otherwise than by dividing it into two principal parts: 1st, my individual conduct; and 2nd, the general subject of the present depreciated currency of the country, and the alarming projects held out of destroying the ancient standard of value, and of subverting the basis and denomination of the lawful money of the realm.

I shall therefore proceed to state plainly and explicitly, my reasons for refusing at this time to receive bank notes at their nominal value in certain cases, and to avail myself of the remedy provided by the law. Since the late decision in the House of Commons, it appears to be the declared intention of the government, that the restriction shall continue to the end of the war, however distant that period may be. The subject is thus brought home to the individual interest of every man whose property is yearly, even monthly, deteriorated in consequence of the unnatural state of the currency of the country. Under these circumstances, therefore, I have thought this the proper time to make a stand in defence of my property, and to endeavour to protect myself from farther spoliation and injury.

During the last twelve years we have seen the depreciation

of bank notes progressively advancing in the most alarming manner; and every hope and prospect of amelioration being destroyed by the recent resolution of the House of Commons, there appeared to remain no other choice than either to submit with tame and patient resignation to receive payment in currency, of whatever value it shall please the Bank of England, in their forbearance and moderation, to permit henceforth to belong to the currency of the country; or to have recourse to the remedy which individuals possess by law, and which I shall hereafter shew has been purposely allowed and secured to them by the law. There is also another reason, which, I confess, has had some influence with me in this determination. It was asked, insultingly, in another place, whether any person had ever yet ventured to refuse bank paper in payment or satisfaction of a lawful debt; and, on that foundation it was attempted to be argued that, in point of fact, there existed no difference in value between paper and gold, and no actual depreciation. By bringing this question to issue, at least one of the remaining wretched supports of this fatal system will be overthrown. In this state of things, for the defence of my property, I have thought it advisable, in the management of my private concerns, to inform my tenants holding lands under old leases, and under old leases only, that I can no longer continue to receive bank notes at their nominal value in payment or satisfaction for such contracts; and I am now prepared to assert, not the bare legality, for that is unquestionable, but, what I am much more anxious to prove, the justice and equity of the course I have thought myself obliged to adopt. The plain broad principle upon which I have acted is, to require payment in a currency of the same intrinsic value which the currency possessed at the date of each respective agreement; and, in order to ascertain this intrinsic value, I calculate the amount of gold which the stipulated rent was able to purchase at the date of the lease or agreement, and require the same weight of gold, or a sum in bank notes sufficient to purchase that quantity of gold at the present time. I offer this alternative as an accommodation to the tenant, in case he makes the option of paying in paper money, instead of fulfilling his agreement by payment of his rent in the lawful gold coin of the kingdom.

The following is a copy of the notice:—"By the lease, dated 1807, you have contracted to pay the annual rent of L.100 in good and lawful money of Great Britain. In consequence of the late great depreciation of paper money, I can no longer consent to receive bank notes at their nominal value, in payment or satisfaction of an *old* contract. I must therefore

desire you to provide for the payment of your rent in the legal gold coin of the realm. At the same time, having no other object than to secure payment of the real intrinsic value of the sum stipulated by agreement, and being desirous to avoid giving you any unnecessary trouble, I shall be willing to receive payment in either of the modes following, according to your option: first, in guineas; secondly, if guineas cannot be procured, by payment of Portugal gold coin, equal in weight to the number of guineas requisite to discharge the rent; or, thirdly, by the payment in bank notes of a sum sufficient to purchase the weight of standard gold requisite to discharge the rent. The alteration of the value of paper money is estimated in this manner: The price of gold in 1807, the year of your agreement, was L.4 2s. per ounce; the present market price is L.4 14s., arising from the further depreciation of the value of paper; in that proportion an addition of L.14 12s. 8d. per cent. in paper money will be required as the equivalent for the payment of rent."

In the above instance there is a difference of L.14 12s. 8d. per cent. in the currency between the year 1807 and the present time. In the case of an agreement dated 1796, when the market price of gold did not exceed the mint price, because the currency was then in a pure and perfect state, the difference between the payment in gold or in paper money amounts to the whole of the actual depreciation of the currency at this day; and if the market price of gold was L.4 14s. on the 10th of May, when the calculation was made, it follows, that in the proportion of L.3 18s., the mint price of gold, to L.4 14s., the present market price, L.100 will give L.120 9s. The principle being thus clearly stated, the only dispute which can arise, as to the equity and fair dealing of the transaction, must proceed from a doubt as to the correctness of the data on which the calculation is founded. The prices of bullion at the different periods are taken, as far as they can be collected, from the returns made by the mint to the House of Commons, as far as they reach; and since the 5th of March, 1811, the price of gold is taken from Wettenhall's prices-current, the same source from which the officers of the mint derive their information: if there is any error, it is therefore open to correction.

Where, may I ask, is the hardship of this demand? The price of the produce of land, the price of labour, the price of every great staple commodity, are all affected by the value of the currency, which serves to circulate the wealth and industry of the country. In proportion as the currency is depreciated, the price of wheat, of cattle, of all the produce of the

land, and of every commodity, is augmented. Of course it must always be understood, that in all cases the price of everything whatever is regulated by the supply and the demand, and, when so determined, is afterwards affected by every variation in the intrinsic value of the currency by which they are circulated. The covenants of a lease secure the payment of rent in the lawful money of Great Britain (these are the express words of the contract) : the lawful money of Great Britain contains a certain known weight of gold of a certain known fineness of standard ; and if bank notes, from any cause whatever, will no longer purchase that weight of gold which, according to the regulation of the mint, ought to be contained in a certain given sum of lawful money, they will no longer fulfil an old contract according to the spirit and essence of the agreement.

In the case of a contract made for a fixed sum at a distant period, under the uncertainty and irregularity of a paper currency not convertible into gold at the will of the holder, the only equitable course for both parties to adopt appears to be, to ascertain the quantity of bullion which a pound note of the common currency was able to command at the date of the agreement, and for every pound of rent, or interest, or principal sum due, to require the same quantity of bullion, or the amount of debased currency sufficient to purchase that quantity of bullion. This is the true and equitable payment and satisfaction of such contract. On every sound principle of law and equity, the landlord is entitled to receive the real intrinsic value of the stipulated sum, in good and lawful money ; or at least in currency equal in value to the currency at the date of the contract. He is strictly in law entitled to the legal gold coin of the realm, if such is the condition and obligation of the contract ; as matter of favour and concession, he may consent to receive his payment in any other shape, for the convenience or relief of the party bound to the fulfilment of a contract ; but a payment in a debased paper currency is a payment in name only, and not in reality. It formed no part of the stipulation of the bond ; there is no limitation to the extent to which a loss, proceeding from that cause, may be carried. To put an extreme case, which no man can assert to be impossible, because in another country it has actually been exceeded : a note of one pound may not be worth or pass current for more than one shilling, consequently all commodities would be advanced to twenty times their former value. In a case so palpable, it would be impossible for any one to imagine that a payment, in such degraded currency, would be in any sense a satisfaction for a contract

concluded before the depreciation of the currency had taken place. It would be impossible to deny, that by such a payment the landlord would be defrauded of nineteen parts out of twenty of his just demand.

In order to prevent any misconception and false statement of my conduct, I take this opportunity of openly stating, that so far from taking any undue advantage, by making in this year, or last year, or at any time, an agreement for land at a greatly advanced rent, calculated on the advanced price of all produce in consequence of the debased state of the paper currency, and then taking advantage of the law, and calling on a tenant, under such circumstances, to pay in gold, or the value in gold, equal in fact to an addition of twenty per cent. at the present market price of gold,—I am, on the contrary, ready to reprobate such conduct, as most unfair and unjustifiable. My conduct has been totally different; I have strictly abstained from making any such demand, or from requiring a compensation for any alteration in the value of the currency for two or near three years, though such alteration is not inconsiderable. I shall continue to receive payment in bank notes until, by a farther depreciation, the notes, at some future period, shall become visibly and sensibly deteriorated below their actual value at the date of the leases in question; I shall then expect to receive that difference, if any, whatever it may be. And farther, I am prepared to say, that in the unexpected event of the restoration of the currency to an improved state, I shall be perfectly satisfied to receive such rents, diminished in proportion to the improvement of the currency at any future period, compared with the currency at the date of such leases. For all land let to tenants at will I shall continue to receive bank notes, conceiving the land to be let for the price of the times, or that I have at least the power of obtaining, if I please, the fair price of the times.

To place this subject in a clearer light, and to remove any remaining prejudice respecting the oppression or hardship of the proceeding, it may be useful to explain the nature of rent. Rent is generally defined to be the value of that part of the gross produce of a farm which remains after making full allowance for all expenses, taxes, and profit of capital employed by the farmer in cultivation. The gross produce is generally supposed to be divided into four shares, three of which are allotted for the above purposes, and one for the rent: this last portion is then estimated at the average price of produce during some preceding years, and thus converted into a money price for the mutual convenience of both landlord and tenant.

But the effect of the depreciation of the currency is to augment the price of all the four shares of the gross produce of the farm, of those which are to defray the expenses, as well as of that portion from which the rent is supplied. It will be found that the tenant suffers no loss, if he is required to make only an equitable compensation, equivalent to the depreciation of the currency; he has already received an advance in the sale of his produce; he is only prevented from acquiring an additional profit, to which he can have no just claim. To any increase of price, in consequence of the increasing opulence and prosperity of the country, the tenant is in every sense justly entitled: the two causes of increased price are totally distinct; the one arises from the fair increased demand and consumption of the country, which may well have entered into the calculation of the amount of rent; the other proceeds from an anomaly in the currency, which never could have entered into the contemplation of the parties.

I presume it will not be denied, that paper currency is in its nature liable to depreciation, after having witnessed the example of so many countries on the continent, of the assignats in France, of the paper money of Sweden, of Portugal, and the most recent instance of Austria. The symptoms of depreciation have manifested themselves unequivocally in this country. They are apparent in the advanced price of bullion keeping pace with the excessive issue of notes, in the unfavourable exchange, and in the general rise in the price of all commodities. The average price of wheat, which, from the year 1771 to 1785, was 46s.; and from 1786 to 1797 was 52s.; has since that period, which, it must be remembered, was also that of the bank restriction, increased in a very different ratio. In the twelve years, from 1798 to 1810, (omitting 1800 and 1801, years of dearth), the average price of wheat for England and Wales, has amounted to 71s. the quarter. At the price of 52s. the quarter, it required eighteen quarters of wheat to purchase a pound weight of gold, which, by the mint is coined into 44½ guineas. It appears that during five years, beginning in the year 1802, and ending in 1806, the average price of wheat was 70s.; and as in the same years the mean price of gold bullion was nearly L.4 2s. per ounce, or L.49 4s. per pound, it required fourteen quarters and half a bushel of wheat, at 70s., to purchase a pound of gold at that market price of bullion. During the last five years, 85s. a quarter may be stated as the average price of wheat, and the mean price of gold has been nearly L.4 7s. per ounce, or L.52 4s. per pound: it required therefore only twelve quarters and two bushels of wheat, at the price of eighty-five

shillings to purchase a pound of gold, even at the advanced rate of gold during these five years.

It may be inferred from the highly advanced prices of wheat, compared with former times, and particularly its rapid increase since 1797, that the paper currency has suffered a material alteration of value. But from this examination of the relative value existing between corn and gold bullion, after making great allowance for the advance in the price of wheat in consequence of an increased demand, it may also be suspected that the supply of gold itself has been likewise very considerably increased; or, in other words, that the real price of gold has been most sensibly diminished. This view of the subject has convinced me of the propriety of not submitting any longer to the loss which arises from the present great inferiority of the value of the note to that of gold, seeing that the gold itself, compared with the best standard of value, has in all probability become really much cheaper and more abundant than at any former time. It must be kept in view, that payment in gold is the condition of the obligation, and that, in most instances, the option proposed is much to the advantage of the tenant, and intended as an equitable modification and abatement of the legal demand. In the north of Ireland it is not unusual to require rents to be paid in specie, and the effect has been to retain the gold coin in those districts where that practice continues.

Having acted on principles such as I have described, and being satisfied with my own conduct, I shall not be deterred by clamour, or by any imputation whatever, by which it may be attempted to prevent me from insisting, at the same time with firmness and moderation, on a just and legal demand. It may suit the interest of some persons, by such unworthy means to attempt to put down that, which they hesitate and fear to do by legislative interference, notwithstanding the facility with which, of late years, acts of parliament have been passed to suit the convenience or inconvenience of the moment. It was attempted in France to intimidate individuals who preferred the good metallic money to worthless assignats, by branding them with the charge of incivism, or incivic practices, in the revolutionary phrase; and, to judge from the language of his Majesty's servants, who are endeavouring to inculcate the acceptance of paper money as a moral and political duty, we are here also to be governed according to the true Jacobin doctrine, which required individuals to regulate their conduct, not by their own proper interest and convenience, but according to some speculative principles. In a well-regulated state, the proper interest of individuals is

inseparable from that of the government; and it is the duty of government to take care to avoid any system or state of things in which individuals, pursuing their own interest, and acting legally, shall have the appearance of acting at variance with the public interest. If the notes of the Bank of England are not depreciated in value, and if, in fact, there is no difference between paper and gold, the preference given to the latter will be an idle preference, of no public inconvenience, because it will not be followed. If the value of the bank paper is really at par, it is not in the power of any individual to alter the fact; and any attempt to do so would be despised as it deserved: but if, on the contrary, the bank paper is greatly inferior in value to gold coin and bullion, it is highly meritorious to expose and resist a system through which the whole community is impoverished and defrauded.

I must desire to be informed by what new rule, by what new order of things, an individual is bound to account in parliament for his conduct in the management of his private affairs: if he has claimed his right only, it is his by law; and if he has demanded more than his right, the poorest man in the country may have redress against him.

Having now, my Lords, as I conceive, proved the justice of my conduct by a statement irresistible in a court of equity, I shall proceed to the other part of the subject, and I shall, in the first place, endeavour to shew that in the year 1797 the law respecting legal tender was by design left without alteration. The legislature, contemplating the inconvenience to which individuals were exposed by the bank restriction, took away the power of arrest: as long as the value of gold and paper money was equal, there was no temptation to insist on gold; but if gold was demanded, the debtor had it in his power to buy bullion, and take it to be coined at the mint, the law in the meantime protecting him from arrest. The legislature, when it sanctioned the bank restriction in 1797, most assuredly never contemplated the depreciation of the currency as now existing to so great an extent. The association agreement, to receive bank notes, entered into by the members of the privy council, and the great merchants and bankers in London, was perfectly voluntary; it was entered into on the presumption that the currency was then, and would continue to remain at the full standard of value. At that time it was little expected that the Bank of England note of one pound, which had always been able to command a certain weight of standard bullion, would ever be so reduced in value as to contain sixteen shillings and sevenpence only, instead of twenty shillings, its former intrinsic value; a defal-

cation of three shillings and fivepence in the pound on all fixed income, a privation much greater than the income tax, the heaviest burden ever imposed at once on any country. That at least is paid for the public service; but is it to be endured, that a bank tax of near double the income tax shall be taken from the income of individuals, not for the public service, but for the sole gain and benefit of that corporation? I am almost tempted to say, (if the bank is so accustomed to the vast gains it has acquired, by the continuance of the restriction, that it will not consent to forego them,) that the government would make a provident bargain by paying five or six hundred thousand pounds annually to the bank, stipulating in return, that the bank should reduce the quantity of notes in circulation until their intrinsic value was restored.

Some step must be taken to put an end to all the manifest injuries, both public and private, arising from the depreciation of the currency. To consider it in one point of view, the public expenditure this year of ninety millions is equivalent to seventy-four millions only of currency of the former standard; but as the interest due to the public creditor is a fixed sum, the extraordinary expense incurred in this single year, in consequence of the state of the currency, has been little short of ten millions sterling. It is now evident that it will be found impossible to avoid augmenting the pay of the army, of the navy, of all the servants of the government, unless you speedily interpose and take effectual measures to restore the value of the currency.

In Portugal and Sicily, the loss incurred by government from the adverse exchange in the last year, is not less than twenty per cent. on all money remitted to those countries; and it is in vain to attempt to conceal the fact, that the expenses of the government at home, in the supplies for the navy and for the ordnance, are all equally augmented. The only advantages, indeed, which the government derive from the continuance of the bank-restriction, are some certain accommodations which it receives from the bank in discounting exchequer bills and government securities, and the shameful profit of defrauding the public creditor, by compelling him to receive payment in depreciated paper money. It has sometimes been argued, that the value of gold, by some unusual circumstances, has of late years greatly increased; and it is contended that gold, which is the common standard and measure of value in all parts of the world, is not in this country the best suited for that purpose, or at all comparable in certainty and steadiness to the standard value of the Bank

of England note. On examination it will be found that this alleged dearness of gold depends entirely on the commodity which you have to give in exchange for it. It is perfectly true, that if you have only bank paper to give in exchange, the gold is extremely dear in the exact proportion as the paper to be given in exchange is become cheap; but if you have corn or labour, which have been considered as the most perfect standard of value, it will be found that gold is really much cheaper than at any former time, as less labour and less corn will now command the same weight of gold. The same result will be found to take place universally in every quarter of the globe. In France, the money prices of all commodities appear to have risen one-fifth since the revolution. In every country it will be found that the prices of commodities, of food, and of labour, have risen, or, what is the same thing, that gold has in fact fallen in value. That the supply of gold imported into England is very large, may be seen from the evidence of the greatest bullion merchants in London, who say you may procure any quantity, provided you will pay the price. It is farther said, that all the gold in England is clandestinely exported to France in payment for corn, which we must of necessity procure, and which they will not consent to give us except in exchange for gold. It is perfectly true, not only that the exports, but the imports of gold, are in much larger quantities than at any antecedent period. All the bullion, which in the shape of tribute, and in the ordinary course of commerce, flowed constantly from Spain and Portugal into France, and through France to the other parts of the Continent, has now, from the total interruption of all intercourse, ceased to be carried in that direction.

A new and more easy channel has been discovered by which the produce of the gold mines of South America can be distributed over the continent of Europe; the more open communication and intercourse which has lately taken place between Great Britain and the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in South America, has opened a new road through this country, for the passage of the precious metals from the New World, where they abound, to the Old Continent, which does not produce them. That this is the new course of commerce is obvious from the state of our commercial relations with, and easy access to, South America; it must be so in the present state of the world. It follows, of course, that the gold must be cheaper in this country than in other countries to which it is afterwards exported; it is in the nature of things that it must be dearer in France, by all the expense

of transport, risk, and insurance, which is incurred by the export of bullion.

The proposal of introducing an alteration of the law of legal tender, which has been intimated with a view, I suppose, of feeling the way before so dangerous an innovation of the general rules of law and justice shall be openly avowed, is the most pernicious and destructive ever ventured to be made by the wildest theorist in any civilised country. All the fatal consequences of such a measure, once carried into execution, no man can possibly foresee. But of this we may be well assured, that it threatens to subvert the whole system of the political economy of the country; that it will overturn all fixed and certain standards of value, and totally destroy the spirit and meaning of all contracts and engagements between man and man. By such an act you at once declare bank notes to be a *forced* paper currency, no longer resting on the basis of voluntary circulation: you will proclaim to the world that your bank notes are *assignats* to all intents and purposes, differing in degree only, and not in kind. Mr Burke, when contrasting the paper money of England with the assignats in France, describes them as powerful on the exchange, because impotent in Westminster Hall. How little did that great man imagine, when he was describing the horrible system of the French assignats, that he was also drawing the future picture of his own country!

A forced paper currency, once established by law, will leave no means of retreat; it will advance thenceforward with rapid strides towards that horrible system of finance which ruined millions in France; if once you start on the same course, you must inevitably run the same race. Your enactments must be either ineffectual or intolerably tyrannical. The symptoms of rapid depreciation have already unequivocally appeared, and a legislative enactment, vainly intended to support the value of your paper money, will prove here, as infallibly as it has proved in all other countries where the same fatal measure has been adopted, the immediate forerunner of the last crisis of the paper system.

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